THE PITTSBURGH DISTRICT

CIVIC FRONTAGE

THE PITTSBURGH SURVEY

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THE PITTSBURGH DISTRICT

CIVIC FRONTAGE

THE PITTSBURGH SURVEY

FINDINGS IN SIX VOLUMES

EDITED BY
PAUL UNDERWOOD KELLOGG

NEW YORK
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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE gist of the Pittsburgh Survey was brought out in thirty-five magazine articles in the six months following completion of the investigation. The succeeding year the findings of four major lines of inquiry were published under separate covers.

In binding up the minor reports at this date in permanent form, only those are included which as transcripts of the human consequences of some phase of our civic or economic order, as cross sections of the community life, or as exhibits of either retrograde or nascent social institutions, will be of service generally to those at work upon the fabric of the common welfare.

Booth compressed into a single masterful phrase the scope of his panoramic analysis of the People of London. He dealt with their life and labor. We fell into the same great division in our much less exhaustive study of the wage-earning population of Pittsburgh, taking up both the civic conditions which bore especially upon them, and their industrial relations. It has been natural to employ the same division in bringing out these final monographs under two titles: The Pittsburgh District and Wage-earning Pittsburgh.

Certain writings are included which give the inter-relation of the various studies and their Pittsburgh setting. As the set stands on a shelf, therefore, these concluding volumes may well become the first of the six; and it is appropriate to incorporate as Appendix E a brief statement of the whole working scheme.

PAUL U. KELLOGG
Director Pittsburgh Survey

TABLE OF CONTENTS

[The explanatory paragraphs, after each section of the contents, cover in turn the standing and equipment of the contributors to this volume at the time of the Pittsburgh Survey; their present standing, and analogous work since; their writings; and the dates and channels through which these contributions, if previously published, were brought out. The term "magazine publication" refers to the original publication of the findings in *Charities and The Commons*, then published under Charities Publication Committee, a national committee of the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York; since become *The Survey*, published by Survey Associates, a membership corporation.]

I. THE COMMUNITY

PITTSBURGH THE YEAR OF THE SURVEY 3

By Edward T. Devine

Editor of *Charities and The Commons* and general secretary Charity Organization Society of the City of New York (the magazine and agency which carried on the Pittsburgh Survey); trustee the National Child Labor Committee, 19–; member board of directors National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, 1904–12; professor of social economy, Columbia University, 1905–; president National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1906; director relief work American Red Cross, San Francisco, 1906;

Director New York School of Philanthropy, 1912–; associate editor *The Survey*, 1912–; secretary New York Charity Organization Society, 1912–;

Director relief work American Red Cross, Triangle Fire, New York, 1911, and flood relief, Dayton, Ohio, 1913; member executive board American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology; director New York Probation Association; chairman Committee to Secure Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, 1911–12; chairman Committee on Social Insurance, American Association for Labor Legislation, 1913–; chairman executive committee International Congress on Social Insurance, Washington, 1915.

Author: Economics (1898); The Practice of Charity (1901); The Principles of Relief (1904); Efficiency and Relief (1906); Misery and its Causes (1909); Social Forces (1909); The Spirit of Social Work (1911); The Family and Social Work (1912).

Magazine Publication, *March, 1907. Being part of an address in which for the first time the economic bearings of the Pittsburgh Survey were set forth, before the joint meeting of the American Economic Association and the American Sociological Society, Atlantic City, December, 1908; reprinted April, 1910, in report of Charities Publication Committee; and, 1911, in Social Forces; published in full in the proceedings in the American Journal of Sociology and in the proceedings of the American Economic Association, 1909.*

PITTSBURGH: AN INTERPRETATION OF ITS GROWTH . 7

By Robert A. Woods

Born in Pittsburgh and a graduate of the Pittsburgh high school, Mr. Woods brought the vision and hard-won experience gained in civic leadership in New England to his interpretation of the genesis of his native city; articulated the field work of the Survey to local forces, and projected various movements as a

national outgrowth thereof—notably the institution of the Pittsburgh Civic Commission.

Head of South End House, Boston, 1896–; lecturer on practical philanthropy, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass., 1896–; member Boston Public Bath Commission, 1897–1907; trustee Foxboro State Hospital for Inebriates, 1907–; member Licensing Board for the City of Boston, 1914–; president Boston Social Union (settlement federation); secretary National Federation of Settlements; trustee Amherst College.

Author: English Social Movements (1897); editor The City Wilderness (1898); Americans in Process (1902); (with Albert J. Kennedy) Handbook of Settlements (1911); Young Working Girls (1913).

MAGAZINE PUBLICATION, *in two parts. Pittsburgh: An Interpretation of its Growth, January 2, 1909; A City Coming to Itself, February 6, 1909.*

COALITION OF PITTSBURGH'S CIVIC FORCES . . . 44

BY ALLEN T. BURNS

Secretary Pittsburgh Civic Commission, 1909–14 (appointed by Mayor Guthrie at the close of the Pittsburgh Survey); theretofore assistant to the warden, Chicago Commons, 1907–09; dean of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy; member executive committee of the Municipal Voters' League, and member Chicago Building Code Commission;

Secretary the Progressive Club, Pittsburgh, 1914–; secretary the Pittsburgh New Charter Committee, 1913–14; Washington representative Committee to Secure Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, 1912; director Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania; Child Labor Association of Western Pennsylvania; chairman Pittsburgh Clearing House of Charitable Information.

Author: Magazine articles on civics and industrial subjects.

MAGAZINE PUBLICATION. *Coalition of Pittsburgh's Civic Forces, February 4, 1911.*

II. CIVIC CONDITIONS

CIVIC IMPROVEMENT POSSIBILITIES IN PITTSBURGH . 49

BY CHARLES MULFORD ROBINSON

Civic adviser; secretary American Park and Outdoor Art Association, 1902–04; first secretary American Civic Association, Alliance of Civic Organizations; former secretary American League for Civic Improvement; editor Civics Department, *Charities and The Commons;* professor of Civic Design, University of Illinois, 1913–. Adviser on city planning, Denver, Colorado Springs, Honolulu, Oakland, Los Angeles, Fort Wayne, Columbus.

Author: Modern Civic Art (1903); The Call of the City (1908); Improvement of Towns and Cities (1910); The Width and Arrangement of Streets (1911).

MAGAZINE PUBLICATION. (From which this page is excerpted.) *Civic Improvement Possibilities in Pittsburgh, February 6, 1909.*

THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OF TYPHOID 63

BY FRANK E. WING

Associate director Pittsburgh Survey, 1907–08; secretary Pittsburgh Typhoid Fever Commission, 1908; director Civic Exhibit of Pittsburgh Survey, 1908. As former investigator and assistant general agent New York Association for improving the Condition of the Poor, 1903–1905, master biological sciences,

Allegheny Preparatory School, 1906–07, and member board of directors Woods Run Industrial Settlement, Allegheny, 1908, Mr. Wing happily combined local acquaintance with scientific and social training. His investigations in the field of public health were carried on in addition to a large executive work in co-operating with local movements—notably the institution of the Pittsburgh Associated Charities, the Pittsburgh Typhoid Fever Commission, and the Civic Exhibit at Carnegie Institute in the fall of 1908.

General superintendent Chicago Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium, 1911–; superintendent Chicago Tuberculosis Institute, 1909–10; chairman health section Chicago Child Welfare Exhibit, 1911; chairman Committee on Surveys, Illinois State Conference of Charities and Correction, 1913; president Chicago Social Service Club, 1913.

Author: Various reports and articles on social and health subjects.

MAGAZINE PUBLICATION. *Thirty-five Years of Typhoid, February 6, 1909. Charts, diagrams, and so forth, displayed at Pittsburgh Civic Exhibit, November, 1908.*

THE HOUSING OF PITTSBURGH'S WORKERS . . . 87

BY EMILY WAYLAND DINWIDDIE

Secretary Tenement House Committee, Department for the Improvement of Social Conditions, Charity Organization Society of the City of New York, 1905–1910; housing editor *Charities and The Commons;* investigator for Octavia Hill Association, 1903–04; inspector New York City Tenement House Department, 1903; supervisor of dwellings, Trinity Church Corporation, New York, 1910–; chairman Tenement House Committee, New York Association of Neighborhood Workers.

Author: Housing Conditions in Philadelphia (1904); Trinity's Tenements; Tenants' Manual (1913); Social Workers' Handbook (1913).

MAGAZINE PUBLICATION. *Pittsburgh's Housing Laws, February 6, 1909.*

and by F. ELISABETH CROWELL

Assistant secretary Tenement House Committee, Charity Organization Society of the City of New York; formerly superintendent St. Anthony's Hospital, Pensacola, Fla., 1901–06; special investigator Neighborhood Workers' Association, New York, 1906; New York state secretary Public Health Defense League, 1907; executive secretary Association of Tuberculosis Clinics, New York; director National Organization for Public Health Nursing.

Author: Various reports and papers on special investigations, housing, and tuberculosis.

MAGAZINE PUBLICATION, *in two sections: What Bad Housing Means to Pittsburgh, March 7, 1908. Distributed as pamphlet, Housing Committee Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce. The Housing Situation in Pittsburgh, February 6, 1909.*

Miss Dinwiddie and Miss Crowell did their field work as members of the staff of LAWRENCE VEILLER, director of the Department for Improvement of Social Conditions, Charity Organization Society of the City of New York, secretary New York State Tenement House Commission, 1900; first deputy commissioner New York Tenement Department, 1902–03; organizer and secretary National Housing Association.

Author, in collaboration with Robert W. de Forest, The Tenement House Problem (1903); A Model Tenement House Law (1910); Housing Reform (1910); A Model Housing Law (1914).

THREE STUDIES IN HOUSING AND RESPONSIBILITY . 124

SKUNK HOLLOW: THE SQUATTER

By Florence Larrabee Lattimore (See p. x)

Magazine Publication. *Skunk Hollow, a Pocket of Civic Neglect, February 6, 1909.*

PAINTER'S ROW: THE COMPANY HOUSE

By F. Elisabeth Crowell (See p. vii)

Magazine Publication. *Painter's Row; the United States Steel Corporation as a Pittsburgh Landlord, February 6, 1909.*

TAMMANY HALL: A COMMON ROOKERY

By F. Elisabeth Crowell (See p. vii)

Magazine Publication. *As part of larger reports, March 7, 1908, February 6, 1909.*

THE ALDERMEN AND THEIR COURTS 139

By H. V. Blaxter

Member Allegheny County bar; chairman sub-committee on Lower Courts of Justice, Pittsburgh Civic Association; incorporator and member board of directors Legal Aid Society, Pittsburgh; member organization committee National Association of Legal Aid Societies; incorporator Consumers' League of Western Pennsylvania.

and by Allen H. Kerr

Member Allegheny County bar; incorporator and member board of directors Legal Aid Society, Pittsburgh; incorporator and member board of directors Colman Industrial Home for Colored Boys.

Magazine Publication. *The Aldermen and Their Courts, February 6, 1909.*

THE DISPROPORTION OF TAXATION IN PITTSBURGH . 156

By Shelby M. Harrison

University scholar and assistant in taxation, Harvard University Graduate School, 1907–09. At the close of the field investigation in 1908, Mr. Harrison was charged with the responsibility for the statistical and graphic work entering into the final reports and exhibits of the Pittsburgh Survey; in 1910, he made his supplementary inquiry into the tax system which the earlier field work had indicated was an unjust burden upon the people.

Director Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation, 1912–; executive secretary Federated Boys' Clubs, 1909; editorial staff *The Survey*, 1910–12; contributing editor, 1912–; director Birmingham Survey, 1911; Syracuse Survey, 1911; Topeka Survey, 1913; Springfield (Ill.) Survey, 1914.

Author: Various articles and reports on public health, taxation, crime, schools, municipal needs, surveys, and so forth.

Magazine Publication. *This article hitherto unpublished. Placed in hands of Pittsburgh organizations, legislative campaign of 1911.*

III. CHILDREN AND THE CITY

PITTSBURGH SCHOOLS 217

By Lila Ver Planck North

Head of Department of Greek, Goucher College, Baltimore, 1898–1911; assistant secretary New York Committee on Physical Welfare of School Children, 1906–07; member board of managers Baltimore Federated Charities, 1898–1911; manager Consumers' League of Baltimore, 1903–1911; member of its special committee to investigate conditions of children at work, 1905–06; member Maryland Child Labor Committee, 1907–11; assistant director Research Bureau, Woman's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston, 1912–13.

Author: Reports on children at work in Baltimore, 1906 (a campaign document used to obtain Maryland Child Labor Law); on effect of school conditions in New York on the physical welfare of children (1907); on medical inspection in New York schools (1907); on home conditions and habits of a group of Baltimore school children (1908); shoe making as a trade for women in Boston (1913); why children in the North End of Boston leave school at fourteen years of age (1913).

Magazine Publication. *The Elementary Schools of Pittsburgh, March 2, 1909.*

THE PLAYGROUNDS OF PITTSBURGH 306

By Beulah Kennard

President Pittsburgh Playground Association, 1906–14; chairman Department of Education, Civic Club of Allegheny County, 1896–1900; joint committee of Women's Clubs on Playgrounds and Vacation Schools, 1900–06; organizer and member board of directors Playground Association of America, 1906–11; lecturer on Play and Social Institutions, University of Pittsburgh, 1911–13; director of Department of Play, University of Pittsburgh, 1913–14; member Board of Public Education, Pittsburgh, 1912–14; president Western Pennsylvania Association of Women Workers, 1912–14; member board of directors National League of Women Workers, 1911–14;

Educational director Department Stores, Educational Association, New York City, 1914–.

Author. Occasional papers and articles.

Magazine Publication. *Pittsburgh's Playgrounds, May 1, 1909.*

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY 325

By Frances Jenkins Olcott

Organizer and chief of Children's Department, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, 1898–1911; organizer and director Training School for Children's Librarians, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, 1900–1911; installer of exhibit of library work with children, Jamestown Exposition, 1907; compiler-in-chief of lists and catalogues for the use of children, mothers, and teachers, published by Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, 1898–1911.

Author: Bibliography of Fairy Tales (1898); Rational Library Work with Children (1905); The Children's Reading (1912); Story-telling Poems (1913); Library Work with Children (1914).

Magazine Publication. *The Public Library, a Social Force in Pittsburgh, March 5, 1910.*

PITTSBURGH AS A FOSTER MOTHER 337

By Florence Larrabee Lattimore

Member of staff Seybert Institution for Poor Boys and Girls, Philadelphia; investigator Committee on Physical Welfare of School Children, New York, 1906. Miss Lattimore's initial inspection of children's institutions for the Pittsburgh Survey was followed by a case work investigation carried out by a staff under her direction the year succeeding, for the Russell Sage Foundation.

Associate director Department of Child Helping, Russell Sage Foundation, 1909–.

Magazine Publication. *This article hitherto unpublished. Special reports were made by Miss Lattimore to the board of directors of the Pennsylvania Industrial School at Morganza and other agencies.*

APPENDICES

PAGE

A. Facsimile of Card Used in Typhoid Fever Investigation. 453

B. Tax Laws, Rates, and Exemptions 455

C. The New Pittsburgh School System. By Beulah Kennard 469

D. Report on City Planning, Pittsburgh Civic Commission. By Frederick Law Olmsted, Bion J. Arnold, John R. Freeman 480

E. Field Work of the Pittsburgh Survey 492

Index 517

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	FACING PAGE
The Point: Pittsburgh	*Frontispiece*
Pittsburgh: Night (In color). Drawn by Joseph Stella	1
Profiles of Pittsburgh	6
Pittsburgh Social Forces, 1908. Map	7
British born (In color). Drawn by Joseph Stella	8
Italian leader (In color). Drawn by Joseph Stella	12
The strength of the new stock (In color). Drawn by Joseph Stella	16
Night scene in downtown Pittsburgh	20
The business district (1908): Smithfield Street from Fourth Avenue	21
George W. Guthrie	24
A. Leo Weil	25
Carnegie Institute of Technology	28
Carnegie Institute: Library to the right	29
Phipps Conservatory, Schenley Park	29
Rev. George Hodges	36
William H. Matthews	36
Joseph Buffington	37
Addie S. Weihl	37
Miss Kate Cassatt McKnight	38
Mrs. Franklin P. Iams	38
Eustace S. Morrow	39
Oliver McClintock	39
The new hillside group of the University of Pittsburgh	42
The Pittsburgh Arch. Sesqui-centennial week	43
The sesqui-centennial parade in 1908	43
One of the inclines which scale the Pittsburgh hills	44
Denuded land, responsible for floods	45
A mile of water on Penn Avenue	45
Natural beauty *vs.* industrial odds	48
Thoroughfares and Civic Center	50–51
Public building suggestion for site shown below	
Present condition of site for public building and plaza	
General map of the Pittsburgh District	
Plan for improving downtown district	

FACING PAGE

Site of civic center proposed by Pittsburgh Civic Commission . . 54
Pittsburgh at night 55
H. D. W. English 58
W. D. George 59
Morris Knowles 59
Isometric of Pittsburgh's filtration plant 64
Filtration Tools 65
Interior view of a filter
Sand-scraping machine
Extreme civic neglect 92
Saw Mill Run 93
Stewart's Row 96
Alley dwellings 97
Row of five new one-family brick houses 110
Tenement of old dwelling type 110
Model tenements 111
Franklin Flats
Phipps Model Tenement, North Side
Looking down on Skunk Hollow 124
A firmly entrenched shanty 125
A Skunk Hollow dairy 128
Institutional charity in Skunk Hollow 129
Play in Skunk Hollow 129
"Progress" Pictures of Painter's Row (Eight full-page illustrations) 132–133
Painter's Row. Drawing by J. Stella
The lower rows in 1907
One year later: the rows torn down
Where the tenements were torn down
The "Town Pump"
Wooden chute from a second-story gallery
A cellar bedroom
Passage and area
Painter's Row as it stood in the spring of 1908. Drawing by J. Stella
Tammany Hall in 1908 136
Six-dollars-a-month room in Tammany Hall 137
One of the passageways in Tammany Hall 138
Two-story passage 138
Tammany Hall torn down 139
Homes of the tax burden bearers 156

FACING PAGE

Taxed as rural for many years 157
Taxed as "Farm" land 157
Pittsburgh real estate classification for purposes of local taxation. Map 164
Taxed one-half and held out of the market for years 168
Taxed "Full" 169
Bellefield and "Rural" East End 169
Taxed "Full" 170
Taxed one-third off 170
High hills and low taxes 171
Pittsburgh separate tax districts with rates applied in 1910. Map . 182
Pittsburgh actual city tax rates applied to real estate on the basis of assessed valuation, 1910. Map 183
Taxed at two-thirds rate 208
Tax-saving shrubs and lawns 208
High taxes and few improvements 209
Property along Poe Alley 209
Keil's Row, Plum Alley 209
Epiphany Parochial School: A modern plant 232
Contrasts in parochial school equipment 232
St. Agnes Parochial School 233
Features of two Pittsburgh public schools 252
Tenement court at entrance to Monongahela Public School . . 253
Basement school room, Monongahela Public School 253
Four pages of contrasts 256–257
Sterrett Public School
Library
Gymnasium
Exterior
First floor corridor, showing one of the two stairways
School yard
Fifth grade class room, amply lighted
Moorhead Public School
Exterior: showing drain pipes emptying on sidewalk
Main and only stairway on an exceedingly bright day
First grade class room with 114 pupils
Boys' playground and toilet
Room for non-English-speaking children, Moorhead School
Detail of assembly room
Kindergarten room in School No. 5, Colfax district 292
Woodworking class. Vacation school, Pittsburgh Playground Association 293

FACING PAGE

Washington Park 308
Wading pool and pergola, Lawrence Park 309
Bringing art into a neighborhood 312
And color into neighborhood life 312
Recreation: the equipped playground 313
Rest: one of the summer groups 316
Refreshment: one of the swimming pools 317
Lawrence Park 320
The playgrounds of Pittsburgh, 1914. Map 321
At an evening recreation center 324
Story-hour group 325
Homewood Branch, adult reading room 328
Homewood Branch, children's room 329
Library in a South Side recreation center 332
Lawrence Park playground library 332
Home Library group 333
Playmates in the County Almshouse 342
Little orphan Annie, an almshouse waif 342
Lunch time, Pittsburgh City Home 343
Happiness against odds, Pittsburgh City Home 343
Children's pavilion, City Home, Marshalsea 344
At the Allegheny County Home, Woodville 344
The "Playground," Allegheny County Home 345
Men's—and little boys'—ward, Woodville 345
Childhood en masse 352
The march to supper 353
Why do children have spinal curvature, crooked shoulders, and eye-strain? 353
Dormitory, Avery Trade School 360
Girls' dormitory, Morganza (1908) 360
The running track, Morganza 361
Under the trees at Morganza 361
Industrial training for boys 368
"Industrial training" in one congregate plant
Shop work at Morganza
Industrial training for girls 369
The laundry of a congregate plant
Outdoor work at Morganza
Franklin School. Old non-fireproof stairway 472
Allen School. Main hall, entirely fireproof 472

FACING PAGE

Andrews School 473
Main stairs and hall before alteration
The same after alteration. Fireproof
Conditions disclosed and altered 474–475
Franklin School. Fire-escapes in enclosed court
West Liberty School. Dangerous furnaces removed
Thaddeus Stevens School. Insanitary closets removed
Andrews School. Old fire exit from annex
Andrews School. New fire exit from annex

LIST OF TABLES

COALITION OF PITTSBURGH'S CIVIC FORCES

Burns

TABLE PAGE

1. Increases in total population and in foreign-born population of Pittsburgh, including increases due to annexation. 1860–1910 47
2. Growth of Pittsburgh by annexation. 1816–1909 48

THE HOUSING OF PITTSBURGH'S WORKERS

Dinwiddie and Crowell

1. Nationalities of 12,300 heads of families in the tenement population of Greater Pittsburgh. 1908 117
2. Racial groups of 12,300 heads of families in the tenement population of Greater Pittsburgh. 1908 117

THE DISPROPORTION OF TAXATION IN PITTSBURGH

Harrison

1. Real estate valuations of Pittsburgh in 1909 and 1910, by property classification 163
2. Schedule of tax rates used by the Pittsburgh assessors in 1910 . . . 176
3. Pittsburgh (nominal) tax rates, by wards, in order of size of rate. 1910 . 180
4. Actual tax rates in different localities of Pittsburgh in order of size of rate. 1910 183
5. Actual and nominal tax rates in different localities of Pittsburgh by property groups. 1910 188
6. Exempt commercial property in Pittsburgh in 1907 201

PITTSBURGH SCHOOLS

North

1. Total enrollment in all schools, by type of school. Old Pittsburgh, 1908 . 221
2. Total enrollment and average attendance in public and parish schools in Old Pittsburgh, for the period from 1905 to 1909 inclusive . . . 222
3. Pupils attending public elementary and high schools, by nativity and race of fathers. Old Pittsburgh, December, 1908 225
4. Proportion of foreign-born white children and of white children of foreign or mixed parentage among children six to fourteen years of age who attended school in Greater Pittsburgh and in nine other cities at any time between September 1, 1909, and April 15, 1910 226
5. Enrollment and attendance in the parish schools of Greater Pittsburgh for the period from 1905 to 1909 inclusive 230

TABLE PAGE

6. Pupils enrolled in the parish schools of Greater Pittsburgh, during the period from 1905 to 1909 inclusive, by racial character of schools . . 231
7. Pupils enrolled in the parish schools by grades. Greater Pittsburgh, 1909 . 236
8. Provisional time table for parish schools. Diocese of Pittsburgh . . 238
9. Pupils attending public elementary schools by age and grade. Old Pittsburgh, December, 1908 273
10. Retardation among all pupils attending public elementary schools, and among those pupils whose fathers were native-born whites, for Old Pittsburgh and nine other cities. December, 1908. 276
11. Pupils attending public elementary schools, by nativity and race of fathers and by school grades. Old Pittsburgh, December, 1908 . . . 278
12. Results of the medical inspection of 492 pupils from five to fifteen years of age in public elementary schools in Old Pittsburgh. 1907 . . . 282
13. Proportion of pupils attending high schools and of pupils whose fathers were foreign born, among all pupils attending public elementary and high schools, for Old Pittsburgh and nine other cities. December, 1908 295
14. Proportion of pupils attending high schools among pupils attending public elementary and high schools in Old Pittsburgh, by nativity and race of fathers. December, 1908 298
15. Distribution by school year of pupils attending the public high schools of the United States, of the state of Pennsylvania, and of Old Pittsburgh, in 1908 301

PITTSBURGH AS A FOSTER MOTHER

Lattimore

1. Amount and sources of income of children's institutions, Allegheny County, during one year 339
2. Children's institutions in Allegheny County, by religious control and by type of institution 342
3. Immediate reasons discovered to underlie applications for institutional care of children, in 275 families having children in institutions . . 378
4. Nativity of parents in 247 families having children in institutions . . . 380
5. Vital status when the investigation was made of parents in 275 families having children in institutions 380
6. Ages at the time their children became dependent of 159 fathers and 144 mothers having children in institutions and known to be living at the time of the investigation 380
7. Ages at death of 77 fathers and 89 mothers having children in institutions . 381
8. Children per family in 275 families having children in institutions. . . 381
9. Relief situation in 275 families having children in institutions . . . 382
10. Age and sex of 557 children in institutions studied 382
11. Home influences, physical environment and resources at the time of the investigation in 111 families of Group A 384

TABLE PAGE

12. Home influences and conjugal relationship of parents at the time of the investigation in 96 families of Group B 389
13. Whereabouts, at the time of the investigation, of 208 children discharged from institutions 411
14. Home influences, physical environment and resources in 140 families in which children who were discharged to a parent or parents were found to be living at the time of the investigation 412
15. Results of trade accidents and occupational diseases to 68 fathers and 3 mothers in 70 families having children in institutions . . . 430
16. Community causes found to underlie applications for institutional care of children in 275 families having children in institutions 438

Drawn by Joseph Stella

PITTSBURGH: NIGHT

HYMN OF PITTSBURGH

BY RICHARD REALF

MY father was mighty Vulcan,
I am Smith of the land and sea,
The cunning spirit of Tubal Cain
Came with my marrow to me;
I think great thoughts strong-winged with steel,
I coin vast iron acts,
And weld the impalpable dream of Seers
Into utile lyric facts.

I am monarch of all the forges,
I have solved the riddle of fire,
The Amen of Nature to need of Man,
Echoes at my desire;
I search with the subtle soul of flame,
The heart of the rocky earth,
And out from my anvils the prophecies
Of the miracle years blaze forth.

I am swart with the soot of my chimneys,
I drip with the sweats of toil,
I quell and scepter the savage wastes
And charm the curse from the soil;
I fling the bridges across the gulfs,
That hold us from the To Be,
And build the roads for the bannered march
Of crowned Humanity.

Published in the "National Labor Tribune,"
Saturday, February 23, 1878

I

THE COMMUNITY

PITTSBURGH THE YEAR OF THE SURVEY

EDWARD T. DEVINE

AT the close of the field work in 1908 we summed up under eight heads the results of the Pittsburgh Survey as to the conditions of life and labor among the wage-earners of the American steel district. We found:

"I. An altogether incredible amount of overwork by everybody, reaching its extreme in the twelve-hour shift for seven days in the week in the steel mills and the railway switchyards.

"II. Low wages for the great majority of the laborers employed by the mills, not lower than in other large cities, but low compared with prices,—so low as to be inadequate to the maintenance of a normal American standard of living; wages adjusted to the single man in the lodging house, not to the responsible head of a family.

"III. Still lower wages for women, who receive for example in one of the metal trades, in which the proportion of women is great enough to be menacing, one-half as much as unorganized men in the same shops and one-third as much as the men in the union.

"IV. An absentee capitalism, with bad effects strikingly analogous to those of absentee landlordism, of which also Pittsburgh furnishes noteworthy examples.

"V. A continuous inflow of immigrants with low standards, attracted by a wage which is high by the standards of southeastern Europe, and which yields a net pecuniary advantage because of abnormally low expenditures for food and shelter and inadequate provision for the contingencies of sickness, accident, and death.

"VI. The destruction of family life, not in any imaginary or mystical sense, but by the demands of the day's work, and by the very demonstrable and material method of typhoid fever and industrial accidents; both preventable, but costing in single years in Pittsburgh considerably more than a thousand lives, and irretrievably shattering nearly as many homes.

"VII. Archaic social institutions such as the aldermanic court, the

ward school district, the family garbage disposal, and the unregenerate charitable institution, still surviving after the conditions to which they were adapted have disappeared.

"VIII. The contrast,—which does not become blurred by familiarity with detail, but on the contrary becomes more vivid as the outlines are filled in,—the contrast between the prosperity on the one hand of the most prosperous of all the communities of our western civilization, with its vast natural resources, the generous fostering of government, the human energy, the technical development, the gigantic tonnage of the mines and mills, the enormous capital of which the bank balances afford an indication; and, on the other hand, the neglect of life, of health, of physical vigor, even of the industrial efficiency of the individual. Certainly no community before in America or Europe has ever had such a surplus, and never before has a great community applied what it had so meagerly to the rational purposes of human life. Not by gifts of libraries, galleries, technical schools, and parks, but by the cessation of toil one day in seven and sixteen hours in the twenty-four, by the increase of wages, by the sparing of lives, by the prevention of accidents, and by raising the standards of domestic life, should the surplus come back to the people of the community in which it is created."

As we turned the typewritten pages of reports, and as we got behind them to the cards of original memoranda on which they were based, and as we got behind them again to the deepest and most clearly defined impressions made over a period of months on the minds of the members of the investigating staff, it was the first and the last of these results that we saw more clearly than any others—the twelve-hour day, and social neglect.

Sunday work and night work are but another expression, as it were, of the same principle of long hours of overwork, of which the typical and persistent expression was [and is] the twelve-hour shift. Nothing else explains so much in the industrial and social situation in the Pittsburgh District as the twelve-hour day—which is in fact for half the year the twelve-hour night. Everything else is keyed up to it. Foremen and superintendents, and ultimately directors and financiers, are subject to its law. There are to be sure bankers and teachers and bricklayers in Pittsburgh who work less, but the general law of the region is protracted, unremitting toil,—extending in 1907–08 in some large industries to twelve hours for six days one week, and eight days the next. For them there was no seventh day save as it was stolen from sleep.

For the effect, as well as for the causes of the twelve-hour day, and for a more exact statement of its extent, its limitations, and the exceptions, I must refer to the reports.* There are of course occupations, as in the blast furnaces, in which there are long waits between the spurts of brief, intense expenditure of energy, but the total effect of the day is as I have described. The unadorned fact remains that in our most highly developed industrial district, where the two greatest individual fortunes in history have been made, and where the foundations of the two most powerful business corporations have been laid, the mass of the workers in the master industry are driven as large numbers of laborers whether slave or free have scarcely before in human history been driven. I do not mean to suggest that the conditions of employment are less desirable than under a system of slavery. What I mean is merely that the inducement to a constantly increased output and a constant acceleration of pace is greater than has heretofore been devised. By a nice adjustment of piece wages and time wages, so that where the "boss" or "pusher" controls, time wages prevail, and where the individual worker controls, piece wages prevail; by the resistless operation of organized control at one point and the effort to recover earnings reduced by skilful cuts of piece wages at another; by the danger of accident, and the lure of pay which seems high by old country standards, the pace is kept, is accelerated, and again maintained.

That was one result and there was no other like it.

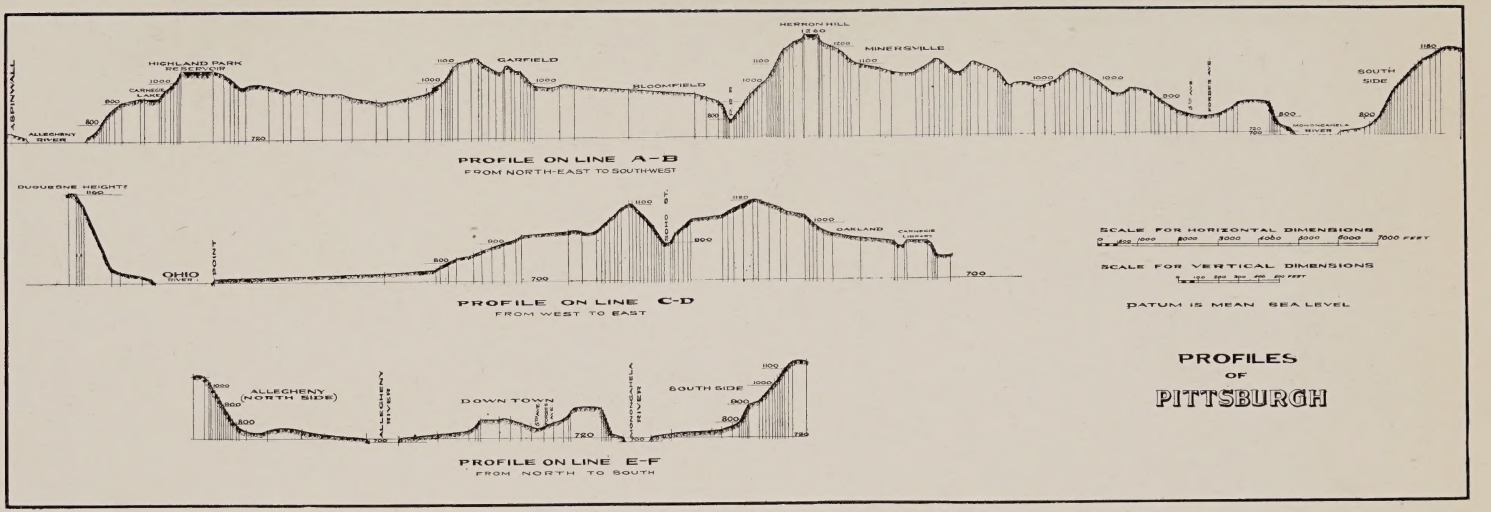
The adverse social conditions brought out by the reports were such as not infrequently accompany progress. They are incidents of the production of wealth on a vast scale. They are, however, remediable whenever a community thinks it worth while to remedy them. If hardships and misery such as we found in Pittsburgh were due to poverty of resources, to the unproductivity of toil, then the process of overcoming them might indeed be tedious and discouraging. Since they are due to haste in acquiring wealth, to inequity in distribution, to the inadequacy

* See Fitch, John A.: The Steel Workers, pp. 166 ff. (The Pittsburgh Survey.) In 1910, a "one day of rest in seven" schedule was instituted by the American Iron and Steel Institute. The twelve-hour day persists in the continuous processes today as in 1908.

of the mechanism of municipal government, they can be overcome rapidly if a community so desires.

There were many indications that at the time of the Pittsburgh Survey the community was awakening to these adverse conditions, and that it was even then ready to deal with some of them. In the five years that have intervened it has dealt with others. More important, an increasing number of citizens, city officials, officers of corporations, business men, and social workers, are entirely ready to enter with others and with one another on the dispassionate search for causes and remedies, recognizing the body of adverse conditions that remain, recognizing that distinction lies not in ostrich-like refusal to see them, but in statesman-like willingness to gauge them and to understand them, and so far as it is possible to remove them.

Pittsburgh is unique only in the extent to which tendencies which are observable everywhere have here actually, because of the high industrial development and the great industrial activity, had the opportunity to give tangible proofs of their real character and their inevitable goal.



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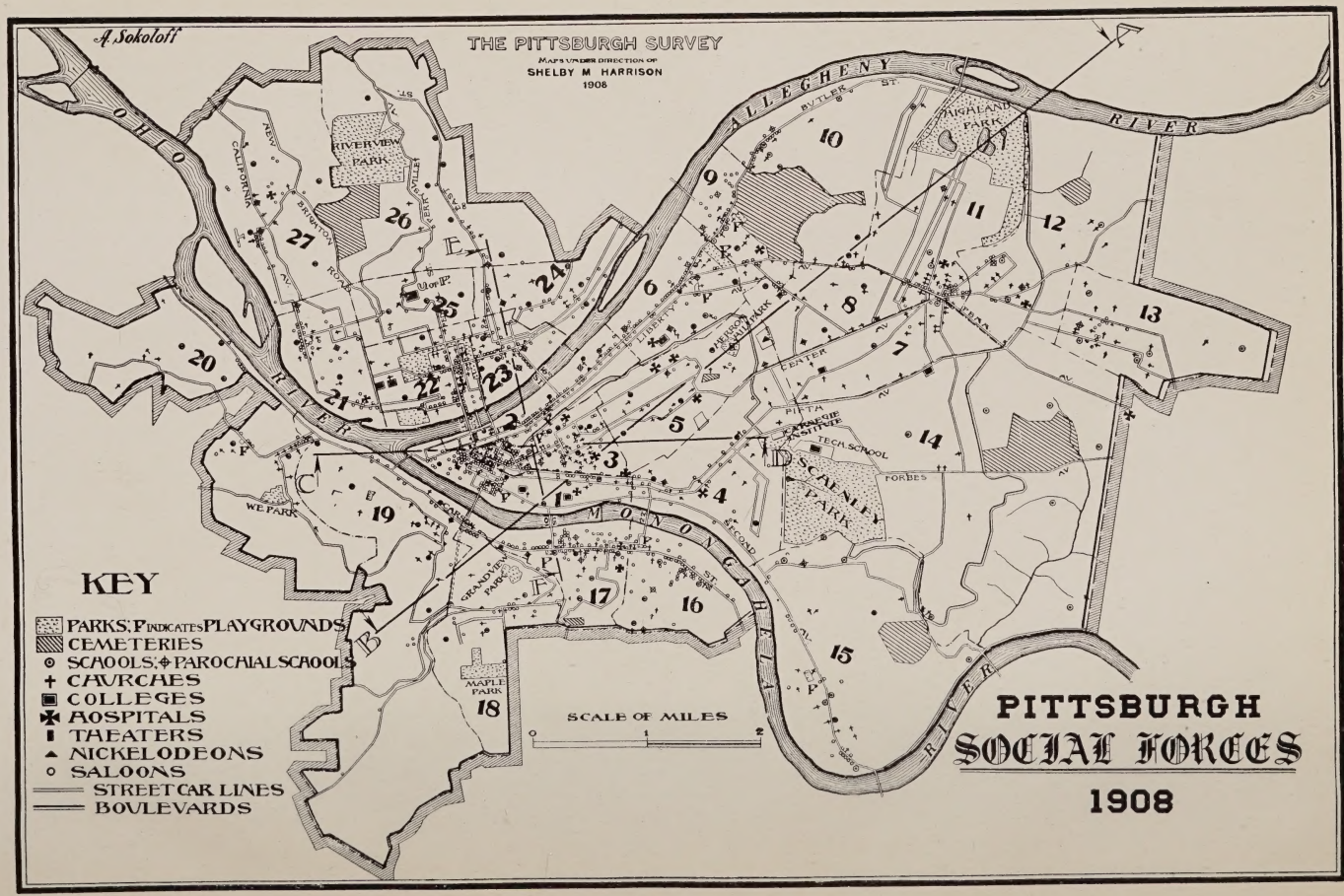


Wards: New Numbering

PITTSBURGH: AN INTERPRETATION OF ITS GROWTH

ROBERT A. WOODS

I

THE "TOWN BEYOND THE MOUNTAINS"

PITTSBURGH has always been unique among American cities. Known as the dingy capital of a "black country" during all but the latest period of its growth, it has attracted few visitors save those brought by business motives. The nucleus of its population differs from that of any other of our large centers. Its situation at the gateway of the Middle West was sure, as the pivot of the country's population and activity shifted, to bring Pittsburgh into significance; but the Allegheny Mountains were for a long time barriers against easy movement in this direction. It is the varied mineral resources of western Pennsylvania and the pertinacity of the chief element among its inhabitants in developing them, which have created a new metropolitan district, having a population of a million, to be added to the seven or eight urban centers which now dominate different sections of the United States.

Situated where the Allegheny and the Monongahela rivers join to form the Ohio, the settlement began as a little hamlet about the fortifications used first by the French and later by the English. In time it developed from a trading post to a market town, and it would have been limited much longer to the career of such a place, if, notwithstanding the excellent soil of the surrounding region, the farmers had not found it difficult to compete in the matter of staple crops with the slave-tilled plantations of the South. As a sort of forced alternative, small iron-working plants began to spring up along the rivers. The ore was brought down from the Alleghe-

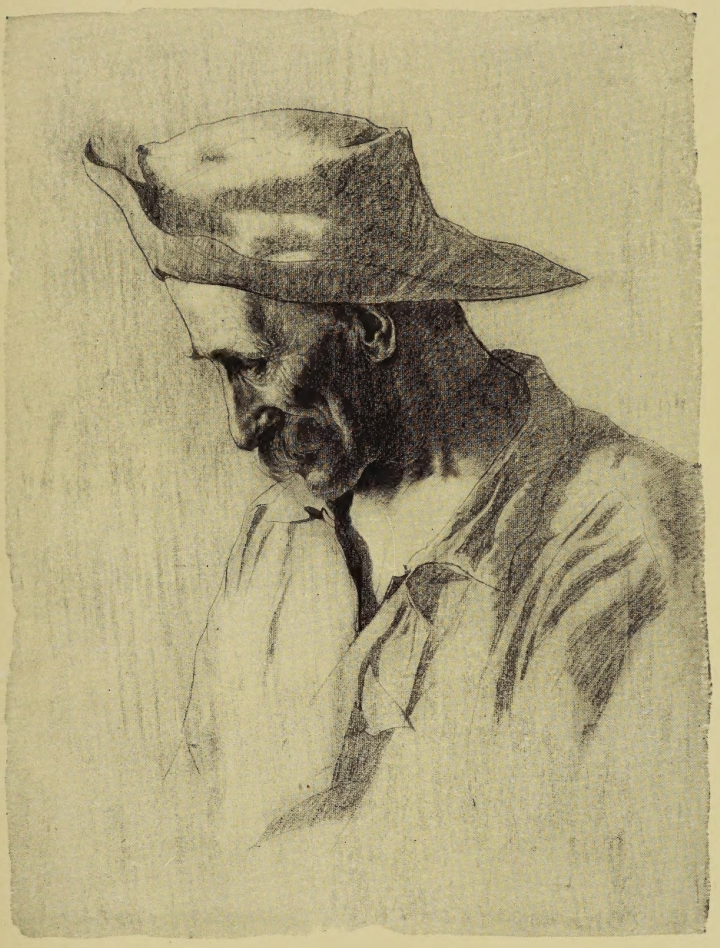
nies. Bituminous coal—the distinguishing asset of the coming industrial center—had already been discovered by the French in the river valleys.

The "town beyond the mountains" a second time found itself embarrassed in marketing its commodities,—not now by competition from more favored centers of production, as far as America was concerned, but by the heights over which its ponderous new output must be carried. This obstacle was overcome by a system of canals, with inclined cable portage lines up the mountain slopes. Meanwhile the great trade with the West for the supply of its incipient civilization was being established through the river traffic as well as by newly dug canals.

Some of the first citizens of the town after the revolutionary days were naturally men who had been prominently engaged in the war. Two of them were Irishmen who had leaped to the opportunity to fight England. At the close of hostilities they had the foresight to discern that large developments were to come at the juncture of the rivers. The descendants of these men—some of whom by a curious irony are English and have never seen this country—are at the present moment the largest holders of Pittsburgh real estate.* The great bulk of early immigrants into the town were Scotch-Irish, who began to come in large numbers early in the nineteenth century, almost two generations before the inrush of the southern Irish.

Until recent developments, when skyscrapers began to appear, the older part of the city in its aspect was distinctly suggestive of a British town of the same size and character. Two of its local sections were called Birmingham and Manchester, names whose significance is forgotten among the American-born generations. The manners and customs of the people showed about equally traces of pioneer days in the Ohio valley and traditions of the old country. Unlike the large cities that have grown up along the Great Lakes, Pittsburgh owes nothing to successive waves of migration from New England. Only in very recent years, with the varied developments of technical and educational interests, have enough New Englanders lived in the city to develop the organized front which they maintain in all other northern cities.

* See p. 17.



Drawn by Joseph Stella

BRITISH BORN

It is natural, therefore, that though Pittsburgh was strongly loyal for the Union during the Civil War, the spirit of the city should in many respects suggest the South rather than the North. In recent years indeed there has been a sufficient number of resident Southerners to justify the formation of a Southern Society which keeps up amicable competition with a social organization of eastern people.

Around the nucleus of Scotch-Irish gathered, as time went on, large numbers of southern Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Germans, and German Jews. But these different types are still to a noticeable degree marked off by themselves as against the dominant Scotch-Irish. Only as individuals among them gain positions of influence by special achievement are they considered part of the bone and sinew of the city. The Scotch-Irish, with their contrasted traits of sturdiness and ardor, have two great separate interests in life—industry and religion. The other nationalities have either had the same traits in good measure, or by process of selection certain individuals have caught the spirit of the early settlers and have come to the front while their fellows have fallen to the rear. Yet those who fell back have in most cases found a reasonable opportunity in the great material progress of the town.

The advance of the southern Irish and Germans in Pittsburgh within the past generation is particularly noticeable. In all lines of endeavor they have representatives who are among the leading citizens. The very beautiful and impressive cathedral, with its large congregation of well-to-do people, suggests that in Pittsburgh greater advance has been made by the Roman Catholic diocese than in other American cities, with two or three exceptions. Bearing in mind that here the old Irish cleavage has been repeated in the two strong religious elements in the community life, it was worth noting as a sign of hope when the Orangemen were invited to attend a Hibernian picnic and did so without untoward results. Musical interests in Pittsburgh are greatly strengthened by the Germans, who maintain enthusiastically a large number of musical societies.

Pittsburgh is all the more characteristically American for having been built up from first to last by immigrant stock, not merely by unsettled natives. It remains to this day a sort of

natural selection of enterprising spirits from out of every European nation and tribe, Americanized not by any tradition or other educational process than that of having had the typical American experiences in what still remains the heart of the country.

Pittsburgh has never been a place from which to emigrate. It has held its own, and constantly invites each nationality to bring more of its kind. The only deserters were those who found it in them to care for a reasonable measure of cultivated life, difficult to secure in a town where, until 1895, there was not a library worthy of the name, and where a whole winter would sometimes pass without a single lecture on a significant theme intelligently treated. It was to be expected that in the formative period of the city some should seek more congenial associations in the seacoast cities.

In religion until comparatively recent days it could be said that there was no more Calvinistic atmosphere about Edinburgh, Glasgow, or Belfast. The early Pittsburghers had almost as strong a tradition of what it meant to fight for one's faith as the Puritans themselves, and this sense has not yet had time altogether to fade. The orthodox spirit of the early settlers has all along palpably affected the religion of the other racial types. So it is hardly surprising to find that certain regulations of the Catholic Church seem to be more insistently promulgated and more rigorously observed in Pittsburgh than in other places.

Double Standard of Civic Morality

There is no city in the country, and probably none in the world, where strict Sabbath and liquor legislation is more strenuously enforced. Unusually genial people to those who do well, the citizens of Pittsburgh are summary and even relentless with those who would lower the outward moral decorum of the city. But as is likely to happen where a rigid ethical creed prevails, there is here a very anomalous double standard. The amount of Sunday work in the steel mills has been appalling.* There is an assumed sanctity in the operations of business by which, in specific ways, it nullifies the precepts of religion, as when the overstrain of seven

* See Fitch, op. cit., pp. 175, 325.

days' work a week eventuated, in great sections of the population, in a gradual destruction of the religious sense.

Local option sentiment is easily bewildered by political cross-currents. Though the Brooks law, which is applied by the county judges, maintains a severe standard as to the conduct of the saloon business, Pennsylvania yet remains, in the midst of an unexampled national temperance movement, among the small and ignoble company of states marked black on the reformers' map. Perhaps in a measure this state of affairs exists because the Irish and the Germans constitute traditionally the chief support of liquor interests in Pittsburgh. The Irish, it is true, are developing a considerable and ever-growing practice against alcoholic drinks. Not so the Germans, who use not only their musical but even their religious organizations in a systematic campaign against local option. The more recent immigrants have not yet changed their sentiment with regard to this matter. In isolated instances outside of the city certain mining communities are under what is practically a no-license régime, for there is in this part of the country as elsewhere a marked degree of opposition to the saloon on the part of large employers. Under their charters also several of the suburban boroughs have kept free of saloons.

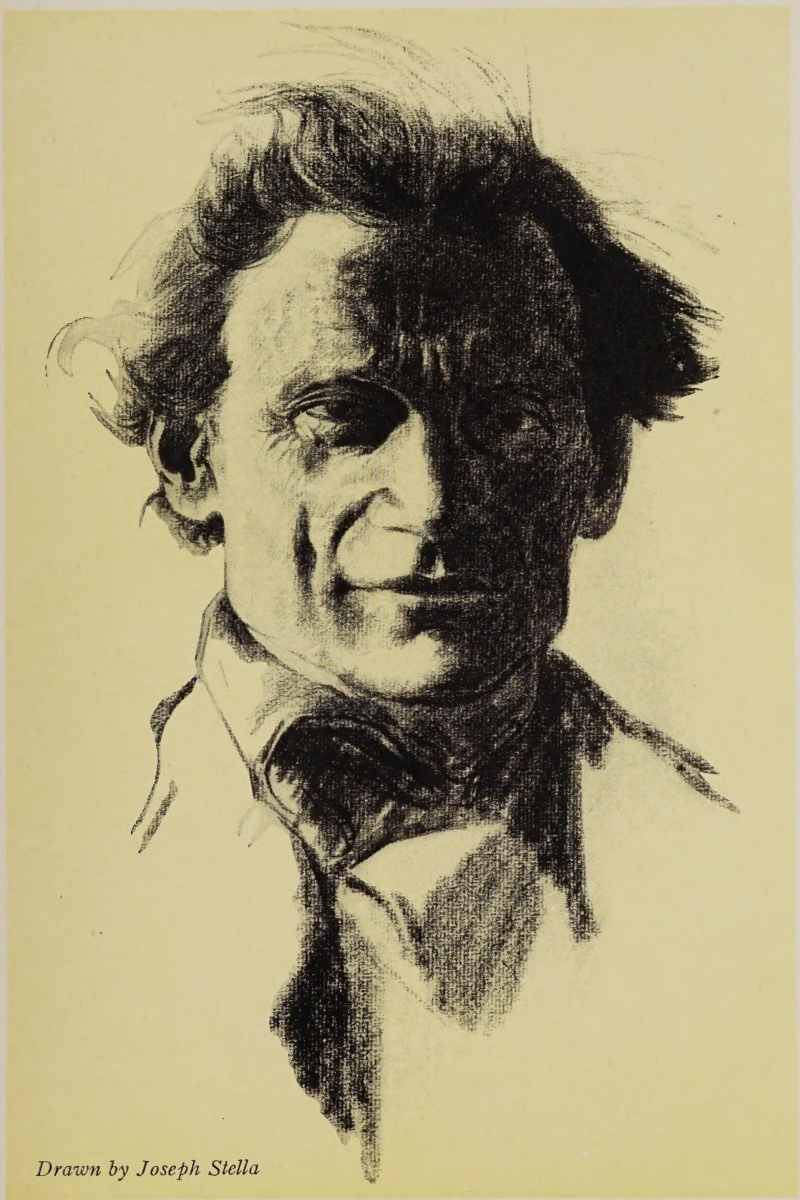
Few cities have had a greater degree of political machine control, and the prime sources of this corruption have been nowhere else than among the Scotch-Irish. Ever since the days of Simon Cameron a clan-like political organization has dominated the state of Pennsylvania; and the city of Pittsburgh has been only a less important headquarters for its operations than Philadelphia. The condition of politics in Pennsylvania has led many to think that the people of the state were characterized by a generally lax moral sense. On the contrary, and in Pittsburgh particularly, this situation exists because of a too intense and therefore too restricted ethical motive. The passage and enforcement of certain types of legislation having an immediate and obvious ethical bearing, satisfies this restricted ethical demand, and sidetracks tendencies which might check the indirect causes of great underlying demoralization. A long list of charities each session receives substantial appropriations from the legislature. The 20,000 earnest and influential people in Pennsylvania who serve on boards of management of philanthropic institutions receiving state subsidies, are

by the same token so much less inclined to be alert and watchful against such matters as the theft of millions from the state treasury.

The difficulty with Pennsylvania, and emphatically with Pittsburgh, has not been degeneracy; it is simply public moral adolescence and the confusion that inevitably accompanies it. The materialism of Pittsburgh is that of the overwrought, not of the over indulgent. The occasional intimation that Pittsburgh is a sink of iniquity is a venture far wide of the mark. No one can study the life of the city without feeling a mighty under-current of moral capacity which has not yet in any sufficient degree reached the surface. Its religion cultivates definite restraints and reassurances, rather than aspiration and moral enterprise. This is, however, always the case when a community's moral powers are absorbed in the subduing of nature and the achieving of a great material destiny. The spirit of adventure in Pittsburgh has been thus far economic. The moral movement of this people in any case is slow; but it is unyielding always, and once fully aroused can be irresistible.

The situation can hardly seem abnormal when one realizes the unsurpassed material resources of the Pittsburgh District and the pressure which has been laid upon a single community by the whole world for the products out of which some of the foundations of world enlightenment are laid. It is of particular importance in the case of Pittsburgh that the social student should take the full measure of the function of the city as the almost limitless and tireless creator of the solid means of civilized existence, for this and other nations. The simple fact that it is the first city in the country in the tonnage of its product, the fourth city of the country in banking capital, largely on account of its great wage payments, and the third among the larger cities in assessed value *per capita*, will suggest both the service which it renders and the power which it has achieved. It is significant that in this district of the Ohio head waters the two greatest individual fortunes in history have been amassed and the two most gigantic concentrations of economic power built up.

Without in the least abating the test by moral and legal standards of the policy of industrial leadership in the great activities of western Pennsylvania, it can hardly be doubted that



Drawn by Joseph Stella

ITALIAN LEADER

later generations will include the leaders in such enterprise among the master builders of modern civilization. The place of Pittsburgh in the national life of America is that of a city which in an altogether unparalleled way is made up of producers, of those whose purposes are focused in bringing to pass the creation of durable and indispensable utilities. Contrasted with Pittsburgh, every other city in the country is rather a market-place, made more refined but in some sense less noble by the dominance of traders and consumers.

Anomalous Standards of Protection

It is one of the curious anomalies of American legislation that it should have so zealously guarded against foreign competition in price standards, while withholding all protection against competitors bringing with them a low wage standard. Pittsburgh, in its larger estate, may be said to be a monument to this anomaly. Severe restrictive protection against foreign steel, and unlimited immigration, have enabled Pittsburgh, well enough otherwise provided for, to throw the reins upon the neck of her prosperity. And it must be borne in mind that the protective system, for years tacitly acknowledged by some Pennsylvania manufacturers to be unnecessary, has yet been clung to as an exclusive and powerful tribal fetich to which every other question relating to the nation's welfare must be subordinate. The fresh constructive moral aspects of politics and patriotism have penetrated Pennsylvania probably less than any other state of equal importance in the country.

So stimulated and continuous has been the tide of immigration and so insistent the demand of the new immigrants for employment on any terms, that it has been comparatively easy for industrial captains to control industrial administration in Pittsburgh, to the exclusion of all substantial efforts by the workmen to organize in their own behalf. Beginning with the British operatives and coming down through successive types to the present southeastern Europeans, each type up to the present has gradually raised its demands, made some headway, organized to reach still higher ground, lost by attack from both front and rear, and disappeared up and down the social scale throughout the general community. This very costly process has been thought

necessary to industrial prosperity. There is, of course, no doubt that the holding down of the wage standard, like the artificial maintenance of the price standard, has conduced largely to the making of some of the great personal fortunes; but it is certain that the future historian will find this checking of the normal and typically American aspirations of successive waves of newcomers to have been distinctly detrimental to the economic quite as well as to the social and political well-being of the Pittsburgh community. This unthrift in the matter of the prime essential productive force and economic value is again partly accounted for by the very pressure of opportunity afforded by unlimited resources and the insatiable demand of the world market. There has not even been sufficient time for consideration of many economies in process and administration whose value to manufactures is unquestioned.

It is to the point here to remember that the two great fortunes just mentioned began to be great as individual fortunes through special privileges gained in railroad rates. The convergence of the Great Lake region on the one side and the Ohio River valley on the other to a neck less than a hundred miles wide, brought all the chief means of transportation between the West and the Atlantic seaboard through this particular territory. These exceptional facilities gave a culminating stimulus to industrial progress and an unsurpassed advantage to those who developed and controlled them. It is a sign of a somewhat retributive awakening that Pittsburgh within the last decade has pointed to another branch of monopolized transportation, its street transit system, as reaching the limit of freely given, permanent franchises, few transfers, and general irresponsibility.

The intense localization of resources and transportation facilities led almost inevitably to the phenomenal concentration of industrial capital, followed by highly centralized industrial administration. This process has in a sense been its own undoing as far as Pittsburgh is concerned, because the financial and even the administrative center of the great combinations has inevitably gravitated to New York, and the old type of self-reliant leader of industry is fast disappearing. Yet the lesson of the large spirit of associated production is constantly being inwrought into the consciousness of the community. As we shall see, the statesmanlike initiative, which until recent days was consumed in the strategy

of business, is beginning to express itself in many promising forms of public-spirited activity.

None the less, the fact remains that the industrial authorities are remote and, in controlling many plants, take the fiscal rather than the close-range administrative view of industry. To this absentee capitalism must be largely traced that stern reprobation of any equity on the part of the workman in his work, which has on occasion made, and will again make, Pittsburgh the country's chief point of social unrest and danger.

Recognizing clearly the serious limitations of trade unionism as part of the organization of a tumultuous industry like that of Pittsburgh, it must still be said that there is substantial evidence that the community cheats itself when it keeps up a glutted labor market and a lower than standard wage. However this may be, Pittsburgh employers, more than those of any other city in the country, have a point of view like that of the English employers of the early days of the factory system,—holding employes guilty of a sort of impiety, and acting with sudden and sure execution if they undertake to enforce their claims in such way as to embarrass the momentum of great business administration. A sound standard of living for the workman and his right by organized competition to win it, Pittsburgh must eventually recognize as fundamental to the country's economic and political welfare. Should she persist in excluding trade unionism, European experience shows that her hordes of immigrants will quickly learn to carry their alien types of unrest to the ballot box.* Recent strikes† have shown that these newest workmen are already reaching the point where they will in their turn strongly and sternly place the labor union alternative before the great employers.

Physical Factors Influencing Development

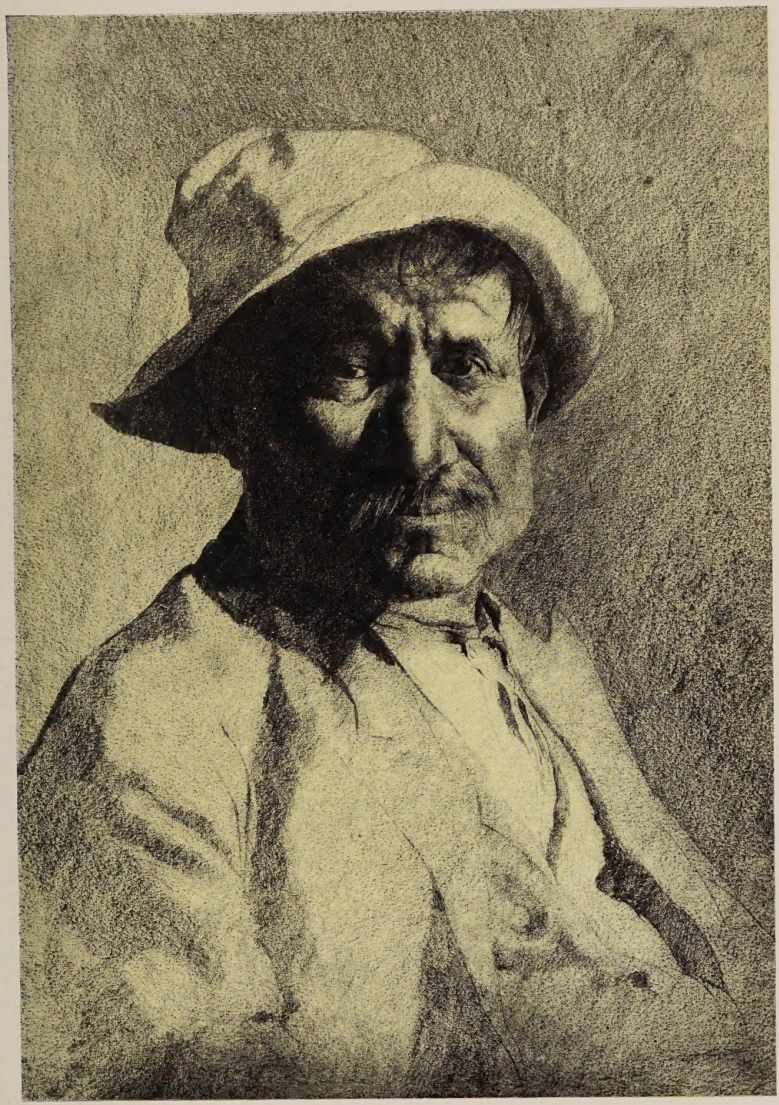
Physical environment has had its share along with racial stock and economic factors in shaping the development of public sentiment in this community. The growth of Pittsburgh as a center of population under the pressure of business opportunity

* The Socialist vote in Allegheny County at the last four presidential elections was as follows: 1900, 424; 1904, 3,438; 1908, 7,311; 1912, 19,137.

† Kellogg, Paul U.: The McKee's Rocks Strike. *The Survey*, XXII: 656–665 (August 7, 1909). Also Harrison, Shelby M., and Kellogg, Paul U.: The Westmoreland Strike. *The Survey*, XXV: 345–366 (December 3, 1910).

would have been very greatly hampered if electric transit had not prepared the way. The ground plan runs up and down almost impossible foldings of hill and valley. The electric cars make possible the utilizing of many of the slopes and hilltops for homes. This has weakened the inevitable centripetal force of urban growth, and has led to the building up of suburbs very accessible to the central business section, and comparing for attractiveness and comfort with those of any other city in the country. The Squirrel Hill territory is probably the finest stretch of closely accessible suburban territory possessed by any great city. Held in reserve until the electric car and the automobile appeared, it now provides for ample estates within from three to four miles of the court house. The South Hills and Allegheny Heights have made easily available attractive locations for salaried people. A street car tunnel, three-quarters of a mile long under Mt. Washington, a few years ago made easily accessible a great residence area to the south, beyond the smoke pall. It is the forerunner of a number of traffic tunnels for general use, which might pierce the precipitous heights north of the Allegheny River, south of the Monongahela, and east of the downtown section. The population of the city above the working class level has thus become almost completely suburbanized. Such a transfer of well-to-do population has made possible other important shiftings both of poorer population and of business, by which the business center has gained in area and in the character and adaptability of its structures. The time is soon coming when all the large industries will be eliminated from the city, and Pittsburgh proper will become simply the commercial and cultural headquarters of its district. For Pittsburgh has grown into an industrial metropolis with outlying manufacturing towns reaching along the rivers, and following the course of all the railroads, for a distance of thirty or forty miles.

Meanwhile all these methods of expansion and relief have not been sufficient to give adequate room in the "flats" either for industry, trade, or housing. This area, which is closely hemmed in by the rivers and hills, now includes the great central commercial activities, the railroad terminals, several large industrial plants and numerous smaller ones, together with the homes of some thousands of unskilled work-people who find employment within it.



Drawn by Joseph Stella

THE STRENGTH OF THE NEW STOCK

The congestion within these tight limits brought out, in a peculiarly acute way, the breakdown of many branches of the social administration of the city, from the point of view of the welfare of its population as a whole. Here not only the unfitness of hundreds of houses under existing conditions for human habitation, but the actual and serious shortage of roofs under which to shelter the least well-to-do of the industrial population, is most strikingly seen. Here typhoid fever, for which Pittsburgh held for many years a tragic pre-eminence, had its highest rate. Here the congestion of machinery and work space within industrial plants which can not get land to expand upon, is particularly conducive to trade diseases and trade accidents.

In this situation appears one of the strange contrasts of Pittsburgh life. The problem of the river districts is further complicated by the fact that great sections of them are held under a landlord system like that of the old world. Thirty-three million dollars' worth of real estate situated almost wholly in these districts is held by five estates, some of the holders living abroad permanently, others traveling much of the time. In addition to supporting the cost of rent upon swelling unearned increment, commercial enterprise is handicapped by difficulty in securing an independent title to real estate. Much of the most objectionable tenement property has been held by two of these estates.* Absentee landlordism thus oddly parallels absentee capitalism.

Other American cities have shown how, when their people began to be released from the treadmill of the purely industrial stage of their growth, it is possible to take advantage of the experience of older communities and to move by long strides toward a humanized type of urban life. The backwardness in the development of culture and public spirit characteristic of Pittsburgh for many years must be traced in part to the negative attitude of a serious-minded people toward the amenities of life, and to their distrust of the process of government. There has been no suffi-

* The sixth and twenty-third wards [new numbering] comprise most of the area available for the homes of workingmen within walking distance of the mills. In 1910, in the sixth ward these two families held 30 per cent of the land value and in the twenty-third, one family held 31 per cent. To the English heirs of this last family, gross remittances from November, 1903, to October, 1910, totaled $3,183,108. See Harrison, Shelby M.: The Disproportion of Taxation in Pittsburgh. P. 210 of this volume.

cient tradition in the city of more balanced and varied human interests. The population, instead of becoming an harmonious social unit, has been increasingly sectionalized by the overwhelming influx of every type of immigrant. There has not been leisure for the consideration and discussion of public questions. The very ground plan of the place, which scatters all of its responsible citizens at night, tends to deprive the city of their disinterested cooperation out of office hours toward raising its tone and standards.

In the absence of this community spirit, the individual acts of two persons stand out in notable relief. Before the close of the century, from the foremost absentee landlord and the foremost absentee capitalist came as gifts the two epoch-making improvements toward the finer public life of the city. Schenley Park and the Carnegie institutions located at its entrance form a civic center whose possibilities of civic influence are very great.

It may be noted that the coming in of these improvements was coincident with the work of a city engineer who, indifferent to the political principles under which the city was administered, and acting as a kind of despot within his domain, carried through many great improvements in the layout of the new districts of the city; and, also, with the first step in the direction of a hospital, founded with money left for the purpose by the man who for many years was the political master of the city.

The good effect upon the city of benefits wrought out in this undemocratic fashion will, of course, be subject to heavy abatements; but it would be a strange doctrinaire who could not see that these specific steps represent substantial net gains in the life of the community. There is indeed a distinct undertone of feeling that such benefactions represent simply a return to the city of what the city itself has produced. One can find comparatively few indications that the park, the library, and the rest have placed the city under the depressing bonds of patronage. The existence and service of these institutions, in any case, give a new and strong focus to the rising city sense, and evidence goes to show that, instead of weakening the spirit of collective initiative on the part of the citizens themselves, they have conduced to give shape and force to it.

The date of these gifts—1898—may be taken as marking in

Pittsburgh a kaleidoscopic shifting. The city emerged into the day of large things,—into the great concentration of capital, and the incidental liquidation which gave many families overpowering fortunes of cash in hand; the assembling of vast heterogeneous multitudes of laborers to keep up with the demands of a period of unparalleled prosperity; the ampler civic sense signalized by the Carnegie institutions with their unusual cultural opportunities, and embodied after a time in municipal reform and progress, and in excellent forms of social service. The movement for a Greater Pittsburgh, partly consummated by 1908 in the union of Pittsburgh and Allegheny with a few adjacent towns, had its origins no doubt in the ingrained craving toward power and prestige; but none the less it gathered into a current aggressive impulses which had never before run in public channels. The developments of the intervening ten years—the decade which preceded the Pittsburgh Survey—revealed a modern city in the making and may be considered more in detail. On the one hand, irresponsible individuals went forth with boundless resources to represent the city to the world at her worst; on the other, Pittsburgh was gradually and quietly taking to herself the world's lessons in the making of a modern city and in the building up of citizenship. The former phenomenon, in which to many this city is allegorized, was but the froth and the scum; the latter had the beginnings of a tidal energy behind it.

II

GREATER PITTSBURGH

The capacity for being seen with the eye in the large, which New York through her skyscrapers has purchased at so great a price, is the birthright of Pittsburgh. Where from so many different points one sees the involved panorama of the rivers, the various long ascents and steep bluffs, the visible signs everywhere of movement, of immense forces at work,—the pillars of smoke by day, and at night the pillars of fire against the background of hillsides strewn with jets of light,—one comes to have the convincing sense of a city which in its *ensemble* is quite as real a thing as are the separate forces which go to make it up.

The converging rivers, providing broad, open spaces up and down and across which much of this drama of modern world industry may be viewed, have at last come to mean not separation but identity of the population on either side of them. If the banks on either side were improved, the river might easily become sentimentally as well as economically one of the most important common possessions of the old and the new sections of Greater Pittsburgh.

The tendency of cities to reach out and include their present suburbs, and even the territory where their future suburbs are to be—a tendency which a few years ago was mocked at—is in these days seen to be normal and wise. The proper planning of the city's layout, the proper adjustment of civic stress upon the different types of people in a great urban community, demand the inclusion of the suburbs. The census of 1910 shows, within a ten-mile radius, a metropolitan population for Pittsburgh of 1,042,855. Pittsburgh's ten-mile sphere thus is fifth in rank among American cities, being exceeded only by those of New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Boston. Yet of this population only 533,905, scarcely more than half, is within the city limits. Greater Pittsburgh is less satisfactory than Greater New York and Greater Chicago, only because it is less inclusive than they. Some important suburbs of old Pittsburgh are not included in the new limits, and the suburbs of Allegheny are nearly all outside. The latter omission is particularly unfortunate as it is doubtful whether Allegheny by itself has raised the average civic and moral standard of the greater city. The toll bridges* and the persistent obstacles against making them free, long seemed to typify the difficulty of intercommunication. The two towns, however, so clearly belong together that this feeling of clan, much-fanned as it was by the Allegheny politicians, has not long survived annexation. From nearly every commercial point of view that is worth considering Allegheny is a constituent part of Pittsburgh. In a few exceptional instances, as in the case of one large department store, Pittsburgh recognizes a measure of dependence upon Allegheny. It is interesting that a number of the old families connected with

* The last of the toll bridges was freed in 1913.

The Industry Printing Co.

NIGHT SCENE IN DOWNTOWN PITTSBURGH

The Business District (1908): Smithfield Street from Fourth Avenue

Pittsburgh industries who still insist upon having town houses, reside along the Allegheny parks or commons.

A strong sense of corporate individuality comes to any community challenged by great tasks. One of the influences leading to the creation of this new metropolitan unit has been the widening of the territory administered industrially from Pittsburgh. Changes in the base of supplies for raw materials have led necessarily to new developments in transportation facilities. The best of the oil wells are now south rather than north of Pittsburgh, and the center of the coal regions is fast passing from the southeast to southwest and on into West Virginia. The necessity for easy transfer of iron ore from the Superior region is bringing up insistently the project of a canal to Lake Erie, so as to match some of Cleveland's special advantages. The nine-foot channel for the whole length of the Ohio will enable Pittsburgh's long arm to reach out and touch the Gulf.

The sheer forces of physical setting and commercial need have thus tended to give self-consciousness and force to the movements for urban coherence. That the expansion of Pittsburgh was preceded and to some extent directed by a reform administration, has tended greatly to re-enforce the belief that the city is moving organically toward the better day in her public affairs. This was the first successful movement for municipal reform in a generation. It got its immediate stimulus from the impudent interference of the state Republican machine in unseating a mayor who had been elected by an opposing local faction, and setting up a "recorder" in his place. Carried through under forms of state legislation, the ripper bill stung Pittsburgh people into a new assertion of their municipal self-respect and led to their electing in 1906 a Democrat in this steel ribbed Republican stronghold. George W. Guthrie had been for many years actively interested in the cause of municipal reform, and his family, like the Quincys of Boston, has been represented for three generations in the office of mayor.

Awakening of Civic Responsibility

During his three years as chief magistrate Mayor Guthrie made thorough application of the principles of civil service reform and stood out for business methods in awarding all contracts, in-

cluding the banking of the city's funds. In a community where only a few years before perpetual franchises were given away to street railways covering every section of the city, he compelled the Pennsylvania Railroad to cease moving its trains through the middle of what is potentially the best downtown thoroughfare in Pittsburgh. The street railway company was required, for the first time, to clean and repair the streets within the tracks and to pay bridge tolls. Loose and costly business methods in the city departments were radically checked, and accounts with long arrearages involving heavy interest losses to the city were brought up to date. The annual cost of electric lighting to the city was, for example, reduced from $96 to $72 a lamp.

Accompanying the more economical management of departments went intelligent and effective efforts to improve the water supply, to abate the smoke nuisance, to restrain and punish exploiters of women, and to combat typhoid fever and tuberculosis by wholesale inroads upon almost unbelievable sanitary evils.

Not all American reform administrations can report a decline of two mills in the rate of taxation. Had Pittsburgh not been compelled to shoulder a special burden through including Allegheny's large municipal costs accompanied with low property valuation Mayor Guthrie would have held the rate at this low point. This retrenchment in the face of the opposition and grafting of a hostile Council, and after a long period of waste and chicanery, was the distinction of his administration. He undertook no great new civic enterprises, but his administration was constructive in the primary sense that he cleared the ground and overhauled the municipal implements with which the city must build. The horizons of mayor and citizens alike grew with his years in office; and what was in a sense his valedictory address enunciated a large and thrilling conception of municipal life and of the powers of self-government which a community should possess to do its will.

The points of view which had been dominant in Pittsburgh,—that public administration is only a minor phase of business; that the lawyer exists only to secure such reshaping of government action as his employer demands, and that the great lawyers are those who have great things of this sort outlined to them by great clients; that occasional spasms of reform come about chiefly when public service corporations in possession wish to block

the path of corporations seeking to gain an entrance,—these points of view Mayor Guthrie decisively negatived. A sounder basis of civic optimism was by him officially established.

Factional fights there had been before in the Republican ranks, and in a sense they had shown civic reformers that the power of the ring was not impregnable, but the Guthrie administration was the first real breaking through of the crusts by a movement which stood first of all for the city. In its way almost as suggestive as this reassertion of the power of good citizenship after long duress, an interesting and suggestive fact in Pittsburgh politics has been the unique public service given since the early 60's by Eustace S. Morrow. Born in Pittsburgh in 1838, he has for fifty years consistently and continuously applied the best standard of the old moral order to his work as a city official. That better things in the government of the city were always possible could never be denied while he calmly persevered in making public office a public trust. Assistant in the wharfmaster's office; clerk of city Councils; city clerk; city controller, by election; later, when he had refused again to be a candidate, assistant city controller by appointment; finally in 1908 when his chief died, though urging the nomination of a friend for the position, so strongly pressed to become a candidate that he did so and was again elected controller: such a lifetime of honorable service in important positions is perhaps not paralleled in any other city in the country. It shows that underneath the apparently chronic corruption of the past there has been all along a measure of the saving salt of public decency in Pittsburgh municipal affairs.

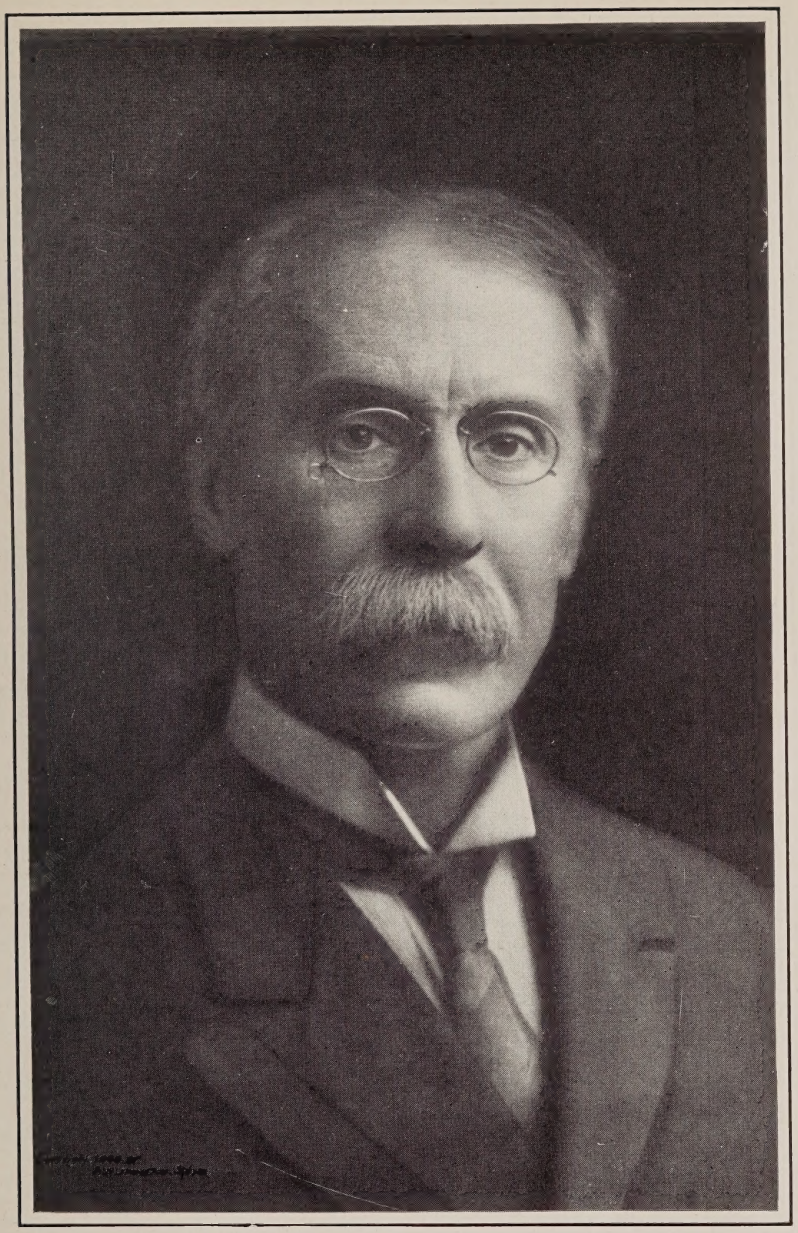
More concerted testimony has been supplied by the Voters' League which, under the determined leadership of A. Leo Weil, has employed such methods for keeping proper standards before the voters as have been successful in Chicago, Boston, and other cities. In 1908, after a year or more of clever and determined pursuit, several members of Councils and five bank officials were arrested on a charge of bribery. Over 100 men were involved in the wholesale exposures of 1910. Four bankers and a score of councilmen were convicted and sentenced to jail or penitentiary.

To the minds of the officers of the league this step was but the beginning. It is not claimed that at the time it meant any-

thing more than the highly public-spirited activity of a few citizens, and it may be, as was currently reported, that such activity became possible because certain great financial interests decided to change their policy of dealing with city officials. However it became possible, it meant exposure and disgrace to a system which was rooted in the traditions of Pittsburgh. Just as a bitter sting to the self-respect of the city had served once to break this tradition in the election of Mayor Guthrie, so now this poisoned goad of disgrace roused and mobilized an instinct for carrying moral reforms to the limit which is very powerful in Pittsburgh when a situation forces the issue. The campaign before the state legislature of 1911, resulting in the displacement of the unwieldy and graft-smirched Councils by a compact city legislature of nine councilmen at large, has been a natural sequence—a further beginning.

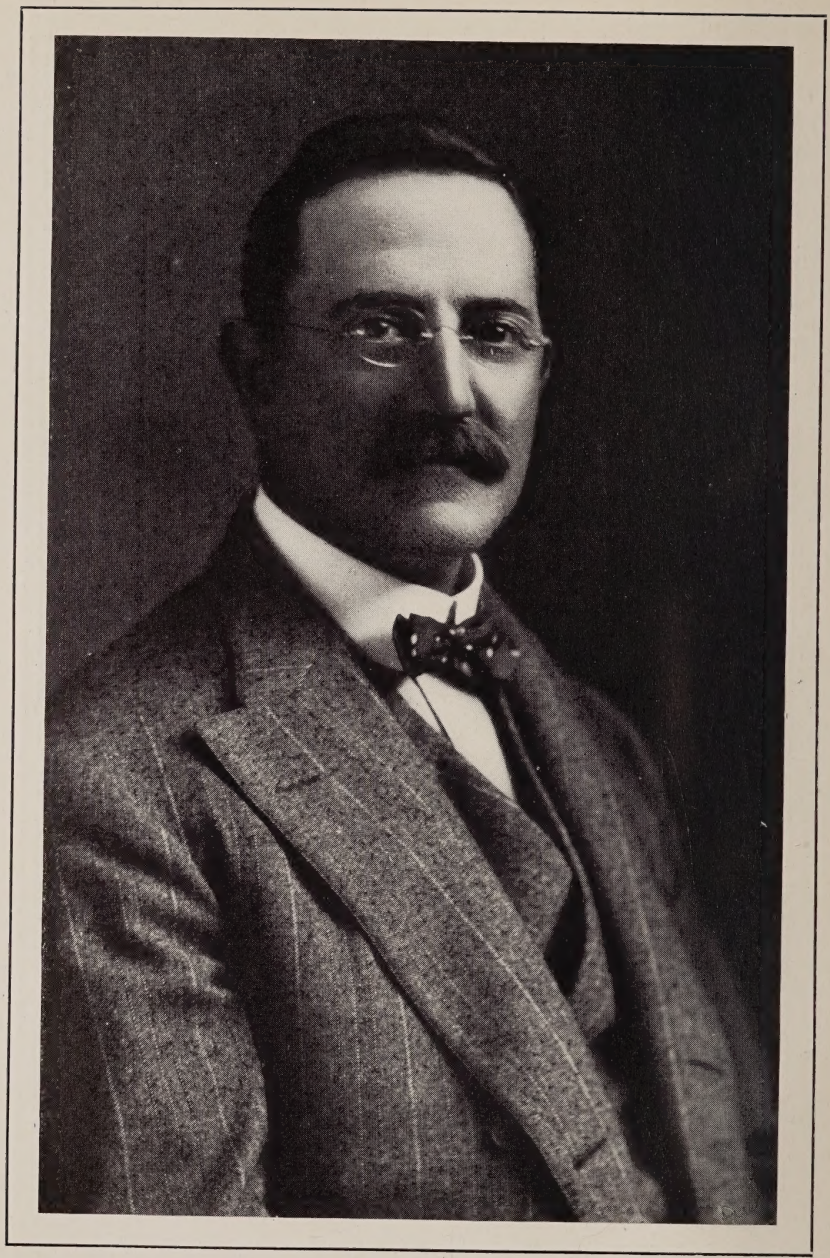
The reaction against the banks started by the discovery of their implication in the particular phases of political chicanery uncovered was re-enforced by the growing concern of the community over a series of bank defalcations within the preceding four years, amounting altogether to not less than $5,000,000, some if not all of which involved mysterious political complications.

Such an extreme outbreak of crime was closely related to the transition state through which the city was passing during this decade. Along with the intoxicating accumulation and expenditure of wealth, the old type of dominating, watchful, industrial and financial leader had disappeared,—the leader who was typified by Andrew Carnegie, B. F. Jones, whose firm continues to be the largest independent steel concern in Pittsburgh, the Parks, the Mooreheads, the Olivers, the Laughlins. The large industrial interests have now been in the main turned into bureaucracies whose plans in detail are decided in New York, and whose local officials must guide their public actions so as to serve the corporations' interests. The merchants and professional men of the city, who had always deferred to the manufacturers, have only recently begun to assert themselves. It was perhaps natural that civic co-operation should make a more effective appeal to merchants than to manufacturers, merchants' constituencies and scenes of action being very largely local. Mayor Guthrie's election was a



GEORGE W. GUTHRIE

Mayor of Pittsburgh 1906–09: now ambassador to Japan. The first and only reform mayor to whom Pittsburghers of the present generation have entrusted the responsibilities of municipal government.



A. Leo Weil

The determined leader of the Voters' League in its campaigns against inefficiency and corruption

result of the organization of this element.* His administration, in lopping off old evils and setting standards of business efficiency, was in the nature of the case in line with their negative instincts. But as we have seen, it put the question squarely whether the

* The Guthrie administration not only was the first, but has remained the only reform administration entrusted with the responsibilities of municipal government by the present generation of Pittsburghers. Under the Pittsburgh charter the mayor can not succeed himself. The reform régime had the experience of nearly all such movements in politics, which necessarily antagonize certain business interests and which in their early stages fail to reach the great mass of the people in positive ways so as to broaden the base of political reform. It gave way in the election of 1909 to the re-united Republican machine. The successful candidate was William A. Magee, a nephew of Chris Magee, who with Senator Flinn dominated Pittsburgh politics in an earlier decade. (See Steffens, Lincoln: The Shame of the Cities. New York, McClure, 1904.) Despite the fact that his appointments to the heads of the city departments were sheerly political, the campaign declarations, the close study of civic problems and methods, and the large public projects advocated by the new mayor, should be noted. At the outset of his administration, they were taken as showing a wish to turn the positive force of party self interest into the direction of substantial and up-to-date reconstruction of the public service. Later opinion veered for cause.

Unlike the reform administration, Mayor Magee was in position to secure action to his liking from the unwieldy councilmanic body which had its roots in the ward political organizations. The Mayor's office not only administered the city government but adroitly manipulated a growing political faction—with such success that the state Republican machine was ready to curb this threatening independence in the western end of the state, by falling in with the demand for a small Council, this growing out of the wholesale exposures of graft in the old bicameral body that has obstructed Mayor Guthrie at every turn. (See p. 23 of this article; also Burns, op. cit., pp. 49, 56.)

From then on, three phases of the Magee administration may be distinguished:

1. His large plans for municipal improvement and technique. (In these the business men on the new Council followed his lead.)

2. The oldtime methods he employed to build a political faction of his own, bringing an anti-vice campaign down upon his shoulders and leading to grave charges preferred by the Voters' League against his directors of public works, health, and safety. (With respect to which the new Council acted as a buffer.)

3. His break with oldtime sources of political and financial backing, notably through his progressive tax reform and traction policies. (Here the new Council hung back.)

In these policies are to be found clues as to how the state machine, with business interests and church people as allies, captured the mayoralty and a majority in Council in the fall election of 1913. The 100 business men who during the election vouched for Joseph Armstrong, former coroner and director of public works, as mayor, have been brought to book this spring by the revelation that his appointments included a score of men with criminal and unsavory reputations; among them a man with a penitentiary record appointed as secretary of the Civil Service Commission, and another, hitherto convicted of keeping a disorderly house, as magistrate. At the end of five months, the new administration has yet to demonstrate that it stands against the predatory interests which Mayor Guthrie blocked, stands for the municipal improvements Mayor Magee initiated, or has any lively sense of obligation toward the people of the city as a whole.—EDITOR.

people of Pittsburgh were ready for the further stage of sound reconstruction; for the unified, organic development of the city; for the application to the common welfare of those coherent, adventurous principles which have made possible the magnificent prosperity of the few.

The proper answer to this question must take into account the element of time. A strong momentum of public spirit and social service from out of the past, Pittsburgh, in becoming a great population center, did not possess. But to one who could test it in varied and intimate ways, the progress of this community within the period of ten years proved highly significant and promising.

For instance, the collective action of business men for the enhancement of the general interests of the city has had cumulative results. Such effort leads first indirectly, and then directly, to the improvement of the city as a place in which to live. Two considerable changes in the layout of the downtown part of the city have been brought about by special branches of trade. The wholesale grocers and the wholesale provision houses had been established for generations on Liberty and Penn Avenues west of the Union Station. They now took possession of a territory beginning a few blocks farther east and reaching for a quarter of a mile along Penn Avenue and through to the Allegheny River. A large number of the meanest tenement houses of the city were swept away in the process of clearing this land and facilities were provided for receiving and distributing fruits and vegetables, a distinct gain toward a hygienic urban commissariat. The wholesale grocers have cleaned up an equally large and what was an equally unsanitary tenement area on the South Side, and built vast subdivided warehouses under a single general management. Perhaps the most important aspect of these co-operative improvement plans is the suggestion they gave of the capacity of Pittsburgh citizens for making other broad modifications in the structure of the city,* such as the improvement of its river fronts, the proper planning of its thoroughfares and public centers, and above all, the sanitary and adequate housing of its industrial population.

* One of the newspapers of the city has shown enterprise of a novel sort by planting its printing establishment and head office in a district of small shops and tenement houses half a mile toward the East End, which the large-scale business of the city has not yet reached.

It is indeed by its bold pioneering in various directions that the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, notably in 1907–08 under the presidency of H. D. W. English, came to offer a new leadership to Pittsburgh. "Greater Pittsburgh" is largely the result of the persistent effort of the Chamber. The improvement of the Ohio River by the national government is a result of its initiative and also the establishment in Pittsburgh of the experiment station of the Federal Bureau of Mines, which has revolutionized mining engineering from the standpoint of safety. The flood commission, appointed by President English in 1908, has afforded a constructive working plan for years ahead and is illustrative of the statesmanlike undertakings which the Chamber has promoted.

Local boards of trade cover the chief outlying sections of the city and include in their membership not only representatives of business carried on locally but downtown business men who live in the District. These boards have been infected by similar spirit, and have become in essence district improvement societies whose activities are focused and forwarded by businesslike motives and methods. Among matters effectively handled by one or another of them are: the opening, paving, cleaning, and sprinkling of streets; the securing and locating of branch libraries; the securing and equipping of playgrounds; opposition to elevated roads; provision of fenders on electric cars; promotion of practical measures against tuberculosis; enforcement of smoke ordinances, and the reform of the tax system. The Allied Boards of Trade is the natural outcome of their common interests.

A new and promising element in Pittsburgh life is made up of the technical men and their families. Pittsburgh is a much sought and valuable training school for young technology graduates, most of whom after a few years pass to other parts of the country. But the number who become permanent residents is very considerable. As they overcome the strongly marked distinction which exists in Pittsburgh between established citizens and newcomers, these people are bringing an important re-enforcement to the intellectual interests of the city, and it can not be doubted that they give fresh momentum to its social and political upbuilding. Their influence is supported by the large measure of authority which in the minds of Pittsburgh people is always conceded to the engineer.

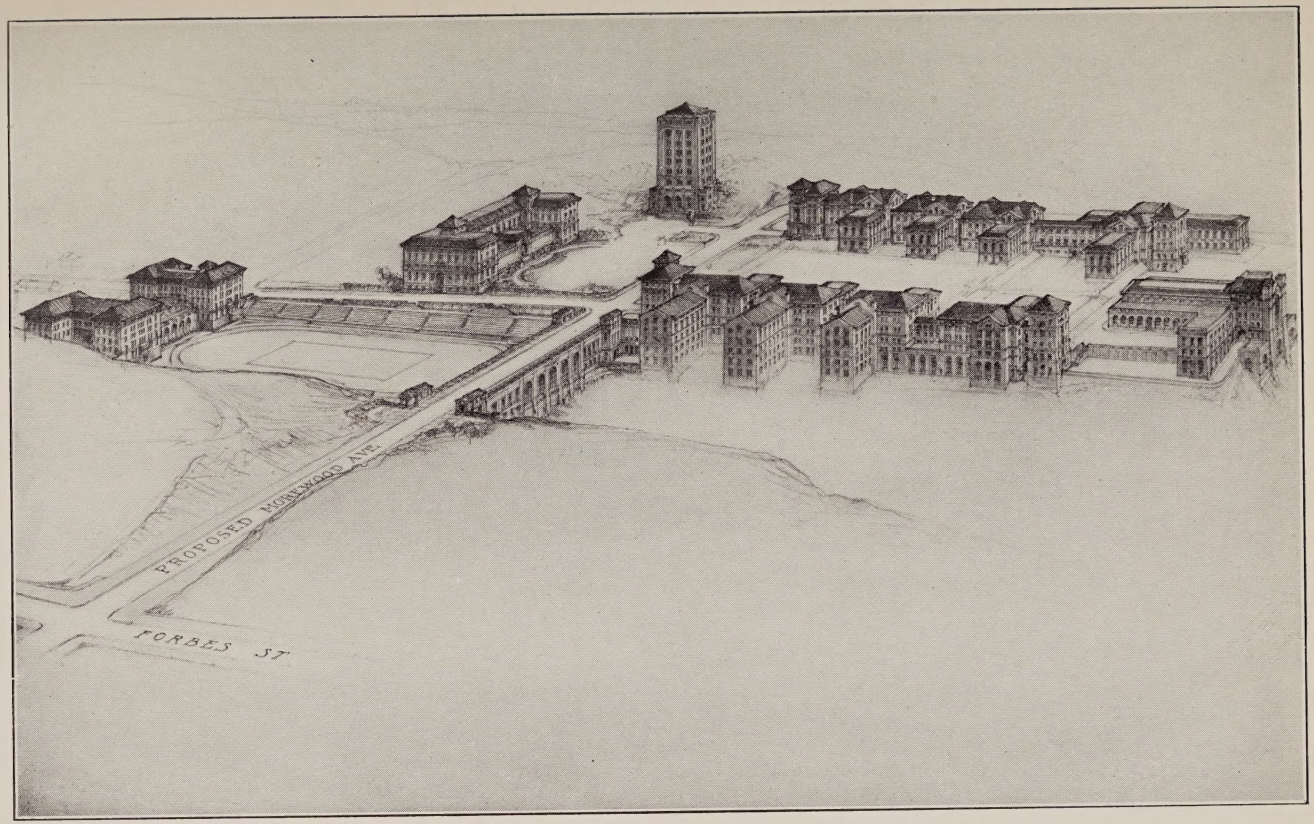
Cultural Institutions

Among the cultural institutions of the city, the Carnegie group stands out with emphatic distinction. Under the general title of the Carnegie Institute are included a museum of natural history, an art gallery, and a music hall. These, under one roof, together with the Central Carnegie Library, which is maintained by the city, cover an area of five acres. Nearby is the Carnegie Institute of Technology with grounds covering 36 acres. The total sum which Mr. Carnegie has given to these different objects is upwards of $20,000,000. The service rendered by the library is greatly increased by aggressive and ingenious missionary work through branches and distributing stations throughout the city. Through a "telephone reference," any person may have a subject looked up for him and a report quickly made. In these ways it embodies the new conceptions of the city-wide service of a municipality to all the people. In this development and in its school for children's librarians there are more than sentimental reasons for the cherished feeling in Pittsburgh that this is the bright particular exemplar of all the Carnegie libraries.

The art gallery, some parts of which are of exceeding beauty, includes permanent exhibits of painting, sculpture, and architecture. Its chief service to art thus far has consisted in a regular annual international exhibition of paintings. As is the case with the library, plans are carried out to interest school children in its treasures. A set of photographs of the entire permanent collection is placed in one school after another for periods of two weeks.

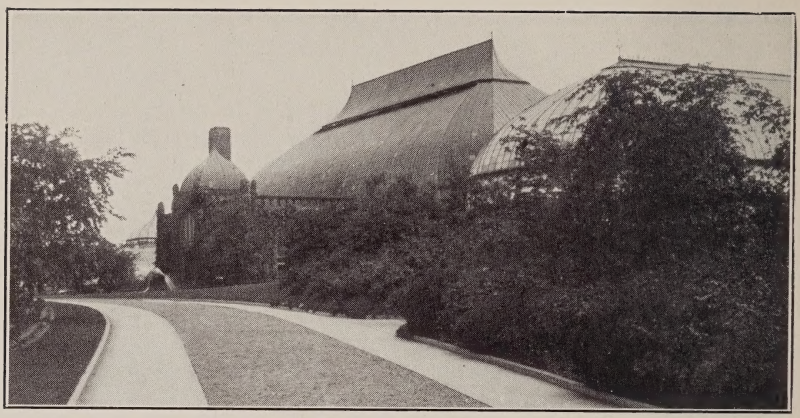
The museum stands among the four chief institutions of its kind in this country. It is under expert and enterprising management. A considerable part of its collections have been gathered by its own expeditions. It also appeals directly to the public schools by sending out circulating collections, conducting prize essay contests, and by carrying on a young naturalists' club.

The music hall represents among this noble group of cultural agencies the one which simply continues the results of a significant phase of the city's inherent growth; for since 1879 Pittsburgh has had some sort of musical festival every year, and for twelve years the Pittsburgh Orchestra was a recognized factor in the social life of the city. The weekly free organ recitals are a commendable transfer to America of a well recognized form of municipal service



From the architect's drawing

CARNEGIE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY



Phipps Conservatory, Schenley Park

Carnegie Institute: Library to the Right

in English cities.

The Carnegie Institute of Technology, as the Carnegie Technical Schools, began under the motive of providing vocational training for young men and women not expecting to enter professional callings. Considering that the greatest weakness of the whole American scheme of education is precisely at this point, the progress of the Carnegie schools has been watched with keen attention from both the educational and economic points of view.*

More recently, while not abandoning the training of recruits for the non-professional grades of industry, the strong tendency of the Institute has been to turn the responsibility for such educational service over to the public schools, and to develop the Institute so that it shall take its place among the most advanced agencies for technical instruction.† The staff of instructors show a rare spirit of initiative, and of quick and varied flexibility of mind. Of the administration of the Institute, it can be said to be worthy of its surpassing opportunity.

The University of Pittsburgh is new in name but has in reality existed for more than a century. The institution has, however, not always found Pittsburgh conditions conducive to academic development. Its engineering department has been by far its most important feature; and an industrial research department which engages in scientific investigation for manufacturing interests, and more recently has put a corps at work on the smoke problem, is a distinctive development. A strong effort is now being made to build it up along university lines. A new site has been purchased and the first buildings of an exceptionally interesting plan erected. When completed, these structures will describe a circle up and down a hillside looking out over Schenley

* Among the striking points in policy which were developed in the first stages of the growth of the Institute were: a tendency to tear down and rebuild the moment a given room or section of a building is found to be ill-adapted to its purposes; the provision of many different kinds of machinery and apparatus designed to do a single thing, in order that the student in his student days may become familiar with them all; the organization of students in the work shops in groups or gangs of four, each taking his turn as foreman, so as to overcome in a measure at least the reproach upon technical schools that they can not train executive ability.

† The Institute consists of four separate schools with a registration in 1913 of 3033. With exception of the school of applied industries (the name now given to the school for apprentices and journeymen), they carry on work of a professional character only: the school of applied science offering courses in chemical, civil, commercial, electrical, mechanical, metallurgical mining, and sanitary engineering; the school of applied design in architecture, painting, decoration, illustration, music, and dramatic art; and the Margaret Morrison Carnegie school for women.

Park, with an administration building modeled after the Parthenon as a crowning effect.

Six completed buildings stand on the new campus together with a new observatory on Observatory Hill, North Side. Two astronomers, Langley and Brashear, have given its faculty international distinction. The schools of the University group now number 10: including the college, the Mellon Institute for Industrial Research, and the schools of engineering, education, mines, medicine, pharmacy, dentistry, and law. It had a faculty of 225, and 1,948 students in February, 1912, the time of its 125th anniversary. In the summer school and the Saturday classes many of the public school teachers of the city are enrolled, and it has started a unique department of play in connection with the Pittsburgh Playground Association.

The presence of all these educational institutions at the entrance of Schenley Park with its 420 acres, situated within twenty minutes' ride by electric cars of the heart of the city and on the way to the chief residential sections of Greater Pittsburgh, creates a civic center with a unified attractiveness and resourcefulness that is already definitely re-enforcing to the public imagination.

To the discerning eye, however, all this cluster of enlightened agencies points by contrast to the economic as well as moral conditions that prevail among the people in all the less favored sections of the city and in all the satellite industrial towns. The conception of a direct bond of interest between employer and workman, particularly if the workman be a leader in his craft, begins to be faintly visible. But the potent though inarticulate mass of Hungarians and Slavs has yet to be reached by a more generous and democratic sense of responsibility on the part of employers and the more prosperous classes generally. The work of the next decade should bring these masses on a really large scale into the circle of American citizenship and up to the essential standards of American home life.

The Opportunity of the Schools

The touchstone of progress and success in this great enterprise lies first of all with the public schools, which in Pittsburgh, with striking exceptions, were behind accepted standards at the time of the Pittsburgh Survey. Their chief defects had

come out of a faulty system of administration. With every ward school board levying taxes, erecting buildings, and appointing teachers, the system was long an illustration both of the decentralization of the city and of the objectionable political methods which have characterized it. That a member of this ward board had been offered money by a contractor; that citizens of that ward were threatening civil and criminal suits against those whom they had entrusted with the education of their children, were commonplaces of the news columns. In many wards in which the working classes live, there was little or no provision for manual training, and throughout the city the points of greatest need were the most poorly supplied. Signs of progress, none the less, showed up at different points throughout the school system, and gathered head in the movement for a general reform which came to a successful culmination in 1911.* The lack in many cases of school playgrounds, the failure in most cases to use school buildings for purposes of public recreation and adult education, the scarcity of parents' meetings, all had come from an undeveloped sense of the bitter need of opportunities which the school alone can furnish in a great city.

There is hardly a community in the country where the pressure upon young people to go to work is so insistent as in Pittsburgh. Even among the well-to-do classes school attendance beyond the required age is too likely to be considered an impractical venture. It was, therefore, natural perhaps that under the old régime school authorities could give no statement as to the number of children leaving school at the end of the compulsory period, or as to the helpful or hurtful nature of the occupations which they entered. The increasing introduction of manual and vocational training into the elementary and high schools is likely to bring an especially salutary change and to win the sentiment of the community to the whole scheme of education through the definitely and cumulatively valuable results of these new pursuits.

A notable increase has occurred in recent years in the number of children of German and Irish antecedents who continue their

* A great work of reconstruction was entrusted in 1911 to the hands of a new central board, small in numbers and strong in authority. For the general presentation of school conditions in Pittsburgh see North, Lila Ver Planck: Pittsburgh Schools. P. 217 of this volume; also Kennard, Beulah: The New Pittsburgh School System. Appendix C, p. 469.

education beyond the grammar school. One of the grammar schools which shows the best results in this and in other directions is predominantly German. Some, but by no means all, of the parochial schools attain excellent standards in equipment and scholarship. In one Irish parish, which twenty years ago was made up almost wholly of the humbler grades of wage-earners, there are very few children who need to go to work at the end of the grammar school course, and nearly all go on to the city high school. This step is not as yet often taken by the children of the Slav, but their progress in the elementary schools indicates that they may soon be proportionately represented in the high school courses. In the face of such opportunities, Pittsburgh's failure throughout this period to develop adequate high school accommodations and the accompanying low registration in these grades, was an utter social loss.* Yet the high school in Pittsburgh is and always has been an important educational influence. In popular sentiment, it occupies a place somewhat analogous to that of the College of the City of New York. In order to make its service as general as possible, despite the inadequacy of class rooms due to a long contest over building contracts and sites, the director was accustomed to send to the parents of all children graduating from the grammar school an interesting printed statement of the concrete objects and value of the high school. Under the new system of district high schools the attendance increased nearly 40 per cent the first year. An evening high school with a definitely vocational trend has recently made an encouraging beginning.

The Pennsylvania method of combining public subsidy with private initiative was long followed with the kindergartens. In this we have another consequence of the political and civic situation which has been set forth at length. A private association supervised all the kindergartens in the public schools as well as of some carried on by private institutions. It was felt that this method of control secured freedom from petty political molestation, brought better standards of teaching, and assured such

* In connection with this it may be interesting to note that the number of students in January, 1912, in the first year high school classes was 1,558; in the second year classes, 958; in the third year, 404, and in the fourth or last year only 349. These figures were used as the foundation for the movement to establish complete district high schools to bring the high school closer to the people.

collateral work as visiting in the children's homes and conducting mothers' meetings. It is needless to say, however, that in the long run such a division of responsibility proved injurious in point of effective service and a proper sense of responsibility to public administrative officers; and in 1912 the kindergarten work became part of the new scheme of public education.

Agencies for Public Betterment

This sort of apprehension on a theoretical score is all that qualifies in the least one's estimate of the admirable work of the Pittsburgh Playground Association which at the end of eighteen years—besides its offshoot in Allegheny—includes the administration of no less than 17 recreation parks owned by the municipality, of from one to twenty-three acres in extent. In appropriations for equipment and staff, Pittsburgh has yet to make good its investment. At every point in all the work, discriminating effort is made to achieve positive educational results as well as to bring healthful enjoyment to the largest possible number of persons. In this respect, as well as in the definite program to provide every now neglected section of the city with an ample playground, through the activity of this voluntary organization Pittsburgh stands today in the forefront in this most vital phase of educational and civic advance.*

Here as in Chicago and in other typical American cities where men are deeply absorbed in business, women have borne a particularly important share in public betterment work. The Civic Club of Allegheny County which is chiefly in the hands of women, and several women's organizations, particularly the Twentieth Century Club and the Council of Jewish Women, have accomplished much in this direction. The active leader in the manifold service of the Civic Club, from its establishment in 1895 until her death in 1907, was Miss Kate McKnight, whose contribution of work and influence to the better life of the city fairly entitles her to a place among the group of American women distinguished for positive patriotic achievements in the generation now passing. The club has the direct management of two largely patronized people's bath houses; but its main service consists not in work of administration

* See Kennard, Beulah: Playgrounds of Pittsburgh. P. 306 this volume.

but rather in initiating enterprises to meet new problems as they arise, and then setting them loose to develop permanent organizations on their own account.

The policy of the Civic Club has been broad and promising. Each year's work has shown study of local conditions, the results of inquiry as to progressive methods elsewhere, vigorous initiative, and capacity for drawing into service citizens who are accustomed in large ways to get results. The Civic Club started the playground movement, a municipal hospital for contagious diseases, manual training and medical inspection in the public schools, a legal aid society, an open-air tuberculosis school, and a child-labor association, besides having an active share in the creation of the juvenile court and the Associated Charities. Important gains have been secured by it through public campaigns for pure water and for better tenement house laws. The record of the Civic Club gives it a pivotal position in the systematic development of the social resources of the city. It will stand, indeed, as one of the original examples of a type of movement in the name of the community as a whole upon the whole community's human problems.

In the distinctive field of charity Pittsburgh has long shown a substantial degree of activity and devotion. Very much is needed, however, in the way both of more enlightened specific and local execution and of broader co-operation for the sake of economical and comprehensive work. It is surely a strange fact that Pittsburgh should have been one of the last of 172 American cities to adopt the obviously businesslike principles of charity organization. For ten years efforts to establish such a co-ordinating agency were unsuccessful. The Associated Charities, when formed in 1908,* introduced into a city by no means lacking in generous impulse toward the needy the first proper system for the registration of cases, the first plan for the penetrating and comprehensive investigation of the causes and conditions of distress and of the resources of the city for reaching them, the first program for

* The pioneer work in launching the Associated Charities as a force in the community life was performed by Charles F. Weller (1908–12), former general secretary of the Associated Charities of Washington. A notable undertaking under Mr. Weller's leadership was a city-wide health conference in 1913. In 1912, the first secretary of the Associated Charities was succeeded by J. Byron Deacon.

the dissociation of preventive and constructive work above the poverty line from the more or less modified relief giving which is required by those who are falling below it.

The development of the great filtration project* has naturally stimulated other movements for the improvement of public health. In this direction the municipal health department has been broadly if not consistently helpful and in the fight against tuberculosis has enlisted both public and private agencies. A special commission of experts was appointed by Mayor Guthrie and aided financially by the Russell Sage Foundation, for tracing causes of typhoid fever to sources other than the water supply. In general, however, it must be said that the self-forgetful abandon with which many medical men in other American cities are bringing their priceless knowledge to bear upon public insanitary conditions and unhygienic ways of life,—a type of effort which both in motive and result may almost be taken as the test of a city's progress in civilization,—has hardly as yet reached Pittsburgh. The exceptions—notable ones—are of the sort that prove the rule.

The co-ordination of charitable effort, both in its different kinds and in its different localities, is a step which it was pointed out in the original presentation of this report should in the decade ahead be followed by a federation of agencies† for social upbuilding in which the settlement houses might naturally take the lead. The playgrounds, which are fast becoming the headquarters of a kind of neighborhood guild, furnish a substantial part of the material for this comprehensive social program.

Such organized local citizenship as seen especially in the boards of trade, is of a type to afford valuable re-enforcement to the distinctly philanthropic motive. Such federation of agencies in our cities insures to each local agency information about the results of experience of every other; together they bring the momentum of concrete local knowledge to bear upon the public school system and other parts of the public administration; they draw into the work of constructive local betterment many resourceful new individuals and new agencies, thus spreading throughout the city the

* See Wing, Frank E.: Thirty-five Years of Typhoid. P. 63 of this volume.

† See Burns, Allen T.: Coalition of Pittsburgh's Civic Forces. P. 44 of this volume.

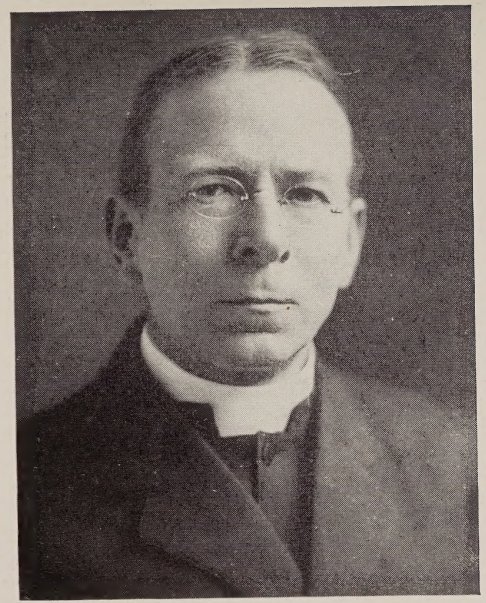
new point of view in citizenship; they bring forward from the congested sections those rear detachments of citizens without which municipal reform must continue to be shallow and casual. In the development and extension of local social organization lies much of the promise of widespread growth of public spirit in Pittsburgh.

The people have a distinct capacity for the invaluable village type of loyalty. This can in due time with experience be made into the most enduring type of city loyalty,—that based on neighborly co-operation gradually extended and writ large but carrying with it always that sense of reality, that nearness to the soil, in which it began.

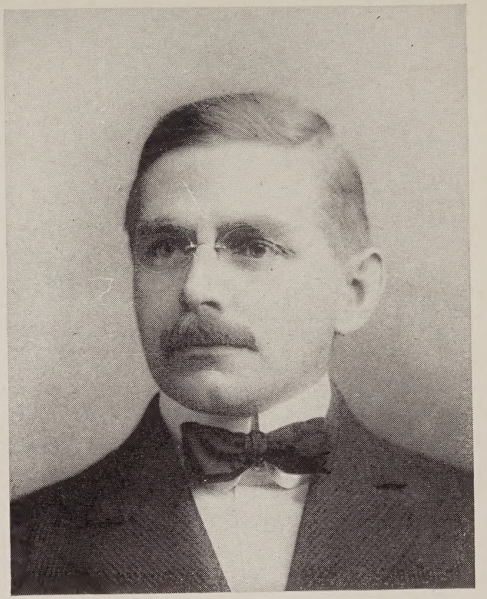
Kingsley House was founded in 1894 by the Reverend George Hodges, now dean of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, but for twelve years a strong influence for realistic Christianity in Pittsburgh. The settlement has grown to be an important center for progressive social service, and from its commanding position on a hill overlooking the business section of the city it exercises an influence for social morality far beyond its immediate constituency. This development and assertion had the impress of the personality of William H. Matthews, for eight years head worker and friend to "The Hill" (1902–10).* Its regularly organized work is gathered up into two large composite clubs, one having a membership of 600 boys and young men, the other about as many girls and young women. An average of half the total membership visit the house daily for gymnastic training, games, industrial classes, discussions, music, and so forth. The tenement problem and the whole hygienic aspect of life among working people receive penetrating and persistent attention, and the importance of the service of the house in this direction is recognized throughout the city. Closely involved with such a campaign is the large country holiday work of this settlement, whereby some 4,000 persons are each summer provided for at a specially built and finely equipped vacation house.†

* Charles C. Cooper, his successor, is putting independent civic leadership again into the life of the Hill. Mr. Matthews' final piece of work for the district was as secretary of the stockholders' committee of the United States Steel Corporation which brought in a remarkable report on labor conditions in the spring of 1912.

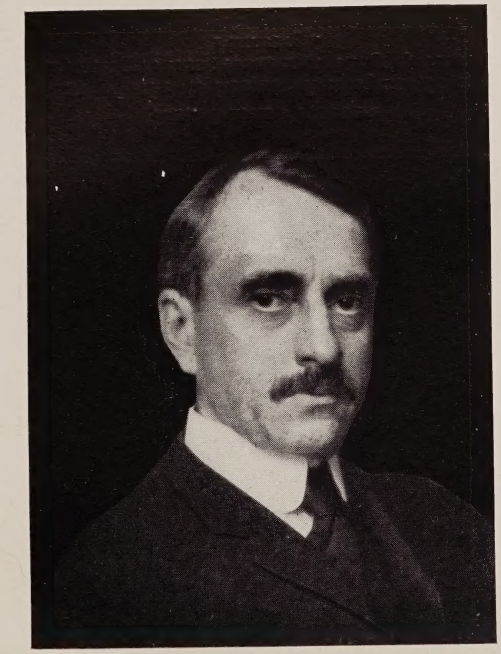
† Lillian Home, the gift of Charles L. Taylor; complemented by the recent erection of Lillian Rest (an admirably equipped home for convalescents).



Rev. George Hodges
Dean of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.; founder of Kingsley House, Pittsburgh.

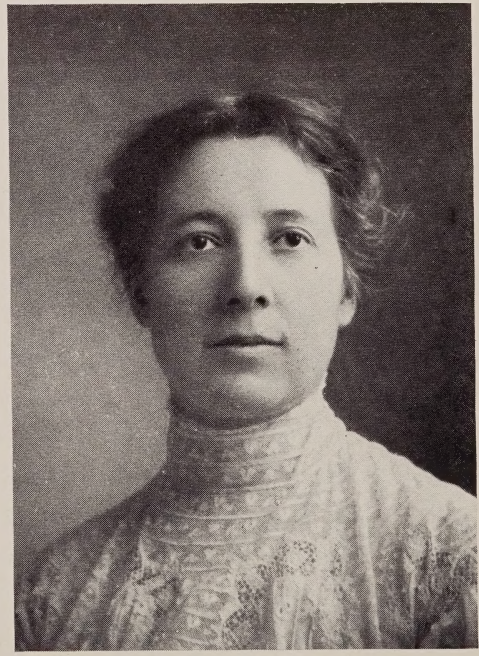


William H. Matthews
Head worker, Kingsley House, Pittsburgh, 1902–10; a forceful leader in movements for improving the conditions of life and labor.



JOSEPH BUFFINGTON

Judge, U. S. Circuit Court. Judge Buffington, with Mayor Guthrie and Mr. English, stood as references of the Pittsburgh Survey throughout the investigation.



ADDIE S. WEIHL

Head worker (1906–10) Columbian (now Irene Kaufman) Settlement, Pittsburgh. Columbian Settlement, Kingsley House, and Woods Run gave both shelter and inspiration to the Staff of the Pittsburgh Survey.

The Columbian School and Settlement, farther up in the Hill District, was established in 1895 by public-spirited Jewish citizens. The usual variety of clubs and classes is provided, and their opportunities are received with even more than the usual eagerness by the children of recent Russian immigrants. Much attention is given to education in hygiene by means of a gymnasium, baths, and instructive district nursing, as well as through securing the enforcement of sanitary laws. Under the headworkership of Miss Addie S. Weihl (1906–10) the settlement gave special attention to the very useful function of serving as pacemaker to the public schools, in the matter of evening industrial schools, recreative centers, and vacation schools.*

The Soho Baths Settlement adjoins a bath house just erected by the Civic Club, and designs to supplement its service through personal influence in the homes of the neighborhood. The Woods Run House in the mill district of Allegheny has taken a new start since separating its relief work from its work of neighborhood organization. Covode House, also in Allegheny, is the neighborhood service maintained by a public-spirited manufacturer, H. J. Heinz, in the district where his plants are located.†

The newspapers of Pittsburgh are in a peculiar sense an expressive mirror of its divided self. They are as a whole reasonably fit for the family table, if one hurry by certain advertisements. The papers which tend toward "yellowness" while not altogether free of serious offense in point of sensationalism or demagoguery have shown independence and fire in espousing needed reforms. One paper at least attains standards of intelligence and dignity which are not always reached in cities which make greater pretensions in these directions. Non-controversial projects affecting the large forward movement of the city are often powerfully and skilfully promoted, while the note of humanity in connection with such matters as child labor and the protection of health comes out with rather unusual clearness and fairness. But a discerning cross-

* In 1910, a new and imposing civic plant was erected to take the place of the old neighborly house, and the name changed, in recognition of the donors, to the Irene Kaufman Settlement. In 1914, Miss Julia Schoenfeld, an earlier head resident, returned to take charge.

† Now (1914) being rebuilt as a welfare building and neighborhood center on a large scale.

section of Pittsburgh journalism shows that it is root and branch a commercial enterprise. Any progressive project involving actual restrictions upon the particular great industrial or political powers of Pittsburgh is not unlikely to find every editorial door closed in its face. Sane, constructive criticism of the manners and morals of a period of profound transition has been, partly through influence, partly as a matter of judgment, excluded. Newspaper men are permitted and even encouraged by their chiefs to hold political offices while continuing to serve their papers. It is said that meager salaries in many cases make an avocation almost a necessity. A low estimate of the services of the journalist seems to go with the complete control exercised by the counting room over the staff. This condition of things finds a curious though logical nemesis in the fact that it has been largely through representations from these repressed newspaper men that the papers of New York and other cities have for years drawn their extreme caricatures of Pittsburgh persons and events.

The Churches

The churches of Pittsburgh constitute an exceptionally important possibility in the direction of social reconstruction. This, notwithstanding their commitment through long habit and conviction to rigid formulæ as to personal sin and salvation. Our canvass of the Protestant churches showed that a large proportion of them at least recognized the need of new forms of helpfulness and were making some effort to meet it. A large number of pastors were already organizing their congregations for a somewhat broader social service. The Catholic churches were under the care of a bishop who is doing his utmost to make the existing system of the church provide for its vast inarticulate constituency and who are in sympathy with the general public movements for the better life of the community. Many of the immigrant priests are sincere and sagacious men. The more progressive Jewish congregations do more than their full share in sustaining and advancing the public moral standards of the city and in promoting sound philanthropy.

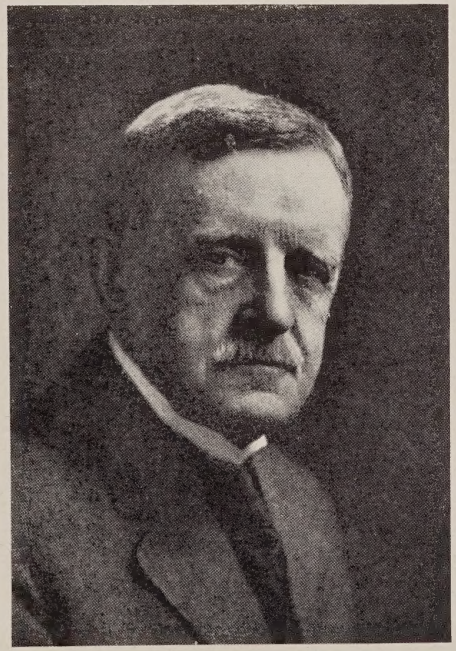
Yet among all the costly ecclesiastical structures,—the community was said to have $17,000,000 invested in church build-

Miss Kate Cassatt McKnight

Mrs. Franklin P. Iams

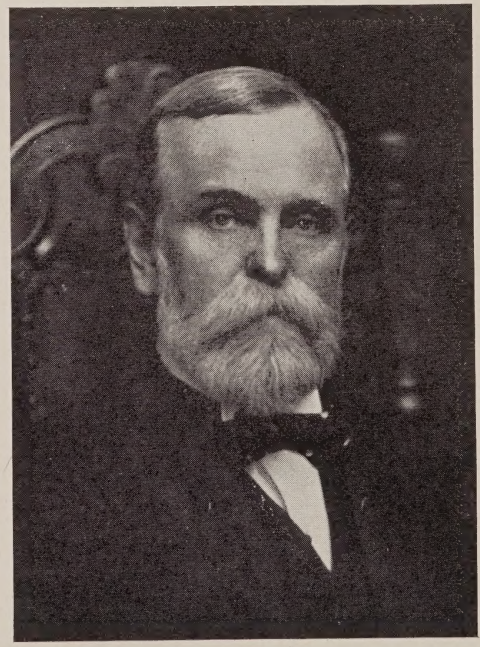
TWO WOMEN LEADERS OF THE CIVIC CLUB OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY

At the memorial meeting following Miss McKnight's death in 1907, speakers for the Juvenile Court Association, the Business Woman's Club of Allegheny, the Consumer's League, the Child Labor Association, the Playground Association, and the Twentieth Century Club, stated that Miss McKnight had either organized or helped to organize these associations. Her colleague, Mrs. Iams, continues to give impulse to social projects making for the betterment of Pittsburgh.



EUSTACE S. MORROW

"For fifty years he has consistently applied the best standards of the old moral order to his work as city official."



OLIVER MCCLINTOCK

Pittsburgh's most persistent champion of public rights—a founder of the Citizens' Party, Voters' League, and ex-president of the Civic Club.

ings,—we found not more than five or six, Protestant and Catholic, which had any adequate equipment for the promotion of human service or friendly association. The responsibility of the rich congregations for re-enforcing the poorer ones in their struggle against the adverse human conditions about them was scarcely recognized.

It was borne in upon the writer, again and again, during his re-acquaintance with Pittsburgh in 1907–08, that if the churches which with so few exceptions seemed to regard as a secular intrusion the introduction of broad civic interests into their counsels, and thereby often appeared shamefully indifferent in matters of public morality, could but be led to take part in a campaign for a better home and neighborhood life,* they would soon learn practically the close bearing of all human facts upon character and spirit. Those ministers who presided over the costly and surprisingly numerous stone edifices throughout the East End would thus be able to meet their most serious problem, that of bringing up young people with some practical sense of their responsibilities to the less favored. The downtown ministers, who were deep in gloom as to the future of their own parishes if not of the church in general, would begin to see how to reach and serve the indifferent newcomers and would be able to make an effective claim on the suburban churches for assistance.

The problem is the same as in other cities. In the most crowded sections the normal constituency of the Protestant churches has been swept away by the immigrant tide. In somewhat better conditioned neighborhoods, families have moved away and the homeless, neighborless lodger has taken their place. Fifteen churches moved away from the Hill District in as many years, leaving the two or three remaining Protestant pastors over-

* The country-wide Men and Religion Movement of Protestant churchmen, in January, 1912, overcame the resistance of some of the more reactionary churches, and awakened Pittsburgh Protestants to a sense of their social duty, as never before. The following spring, the movement was put to its first test when the newspapers of the city suppressed the charges made against three important city departments by the Voters' League, and the facts were spread broadcast through the churches the following Sunday. A permanent organization has resulted, the Christian Social Service Union, which by various surveys of the field of morals, recreation, and so forth, has laid foundations for the broad development needed.

In the work of the Morals Efficiency Commission in 1912–13, synagogue and church proved aggressive factors. See Coffee, Rudolph I.: The Morals Efficiency Commission, Wage-earning Pittsburgh, Appendix.

whelmed with the needs that surround them. The churches built up by the older immigrants find themselves stranded among the hosts of new immigrants. In one of the fairly prosperous suburbs one-third of the families move every year, some going up in the scale, many finding themselves paying too large a part of their income in rent. That is, the fundamental conditions which have created and directed many of the churches have disappeared; and only a broadly organized, well financed campaign can provide the fresh force, equipment, intelligence, which are indispensable to the revolutionized situation.

The suburban churches were found to be side-stepping the present crisis. They struck the observer as sincere but otherworldly. One minister who was genuinely interested in foreign missions felt it much on his conscience to make his people care less about the Orient and more about their own neighborhoods. A few preachers dealt with a present-day, near-home kingdom of God. Some presented the results of the Pittsburgh Survey to their people; more entered into solemn account of stock at the time of the bribery arrests, and a growing number have made appeal during the municipal campaigns for good city government.

The following of the churches is large, devout, loyal; but on the whole, the church in Pittsburgh has been a hospitable garrison to defend the faith, not a conquering army of righteousness.

Religion as being largely the ingenuity and adventure of diversified personal service in every kind of neighborly and civic fellowship; the truth which Dr. Parkhurst long ago voiced, that the congregation is not the minister's field but his force,—this is what has produced Pittsburgh's small but heroic group of present civic leaders. A widespread contagion of belief in this truth is what Pittsburgh needs more than it needs anything else. In this the city must find its chief resource for bringing about and continuing a better order.

The ultimate response of the churches to the sickening series of breaches of trust, of bribe giving and bribe taking, to the overwork that means debauchery, to the mill owners' Sabbath breaking that breaks the mill worker's body and soul,—must be a bold relaxing from tradition and a letting their dynamic powers go freely out into every form of social service that will furnish groundwork for human character and spirit. The outcome would

be a synthesis which would overcome the weakness and shame of sectarianism, and give a broad, strong front to the city's renascent moral life.

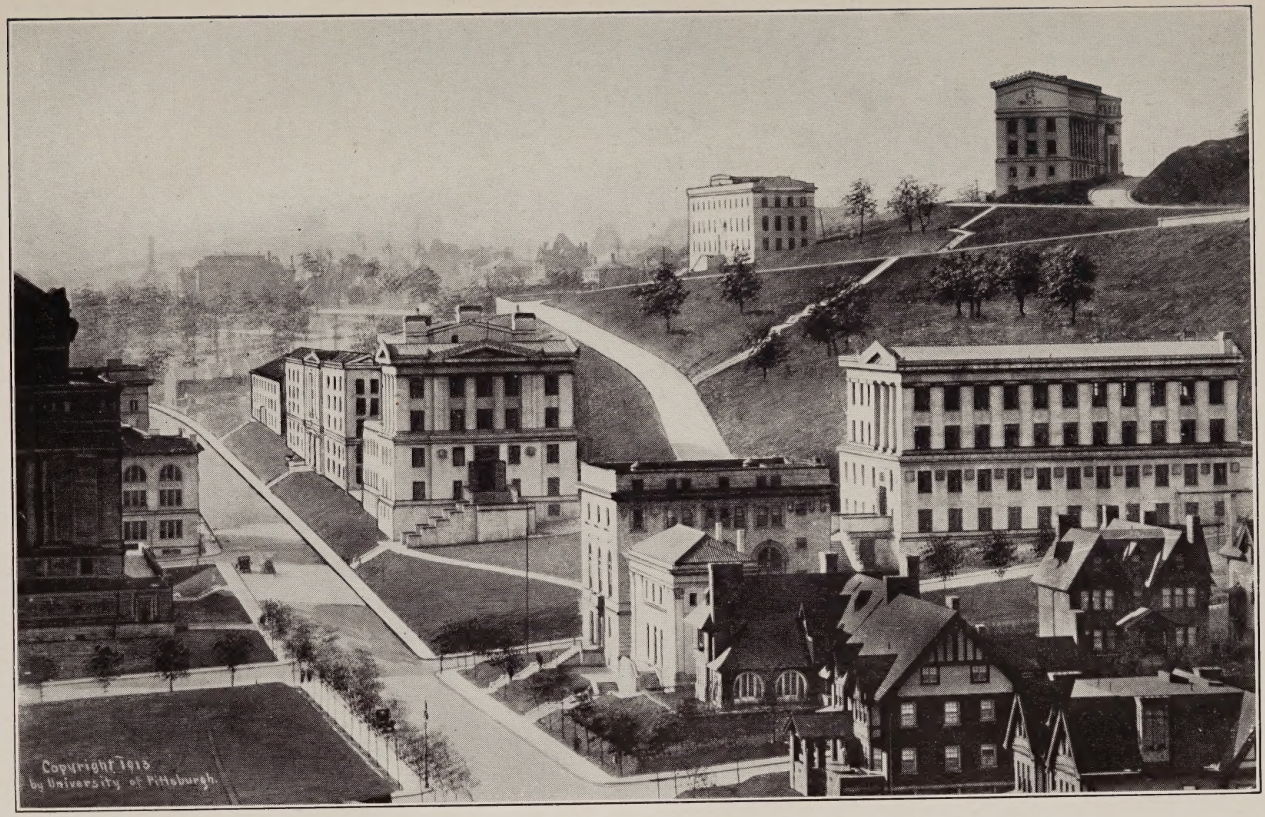
The Pittsburgh Opportunity

Along with the detailed, patient, comprehensive work that is needed to build up a moralized democracy, the industrial and commercial leaders of the community, including those who are the responsible representatives of absentee capitalists and landlords, must rise to a far more generous, not to say discerning, conception of their opportunity. Big men of a generation ago said, "After us the deluge." They cut the forests off the Alleghenies, and Pittsburgh suffers the curse literally in destructive floods once or twice every year. The way of life in the local communities about many of the great steel plants is inevitably preparing for the near future a worse form of deluge in a mass of unfit, undervitalized, unproductive citizens. It is but fair to say that the really big men of today in Pittsburgh are passing beyond the attitude of indifference to the human problem that confronts the captain of the industrial army. Indeed, recent experiences have brought about a distinctly constructive point of view particularly with regard to better housing and the prevention of industrial accidents. The lesson to be learned and aggressively applied during the present decade is that a great city's industrial supremacy, no less than its moral well-being, depends largely upon the proper provisioning and sheltering of the industrial rank and file, along with training in capacity for citizenship and for associated self-help.

There are elemental changes coming in the life of Pittsburgh. The new immigrants will within a short generation be rising into social and political power, and their standards will in large part fix the moral and even the economic prospects of the city. Already they are pressing up into the skilled ranks and showing capacity to organize for a better standard of living. The special resources of western Pennsylvania in raw material will necessarily grow less, and its need of a more developed labor force become insistent. In any case, immigration can not indefinitely recruit the labor ranks; Pittsburgh must learn to pay as it goes in terms of men as of money. The 90 per cent pure iron which Mr. Carnegie found in the waste of his competitor and secured by a long contract, is the analogue

of what Pittsburgh must begin to discover in the native capacity of the children of its crude toilers. The protective tariff which for the past two decades has been like an evil divinity intensifying the haste to be rich, and confusing and baffling all local public issues, is coming to the end of its sway. Already there are new American steel centers which will dispute for the market supremacy. Every one of these things will compel a moral reckoning, will constrain the city to the saving and enhancing of individual and collective human power.

It was of special significance that in 1907–08 Pittsburgh, for the first time in the history of any city in this country, secured the advantage of several carefully devised and closely related undertakings in the new science and art of social upbuilding. The welcome extended to the staff of the Pittsburgh Survey by leading citizens at the beginning, and their willingness from first to last to listen to its hard sayings, gave the Survey much of its essential driving power. The joint meeting in Pittsburgh of the National Municipal League and the American Civic Association in 1908 afforded occasion for presenting the Survey's findings against a background of wide experience and endeavor among American cities, and distinctly helped to strengthen and confirm the beginnings of the new public consciousness. The civic exhibit which went with this national gathering, displayed under perfect conditions in the Carnegie gallery, and setting forth as its chief feature the results of the Survey in the graphic, instantaneous, inescapable language of the workshop, established its lessons in the minds and imaginations of many thousands of those who in every rank go to make up the industrial forces of Pittsburgh. And as one of his last official acts Mayor Guthrie appointed a representative civic commission, with Mr. English as chairman, and with committees on public hygiene, housing problems, rapid transit, municipal efficiency, industrial casualties and overstrain, education, police courts, charitable institutions, neighborhood and district improvement agencies, and city planning. Whatever the vicissitudes of municipal advance, this resourceful fronting both of the city's needs and of its opportunity can hardly be construed otherwise than as the precipitant of a new epoch of masterful humanism in the evolution of America's distinctive industrial metropolis.



THE NEW HILLSIDE GROUP OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

The Pittsburgh Arch. Sesqui-Centennial Week

The Sesqui-Centennial Parade in 1908

The establishment, since this general estimate was first published, of a new type of city government with a single chamber of nine members, the creation of a small and powerful central school board, the vesting in the health department of authority to condemn and destroy insanitary dwellings, the appointment of city planning and art commissions, the wiping out of the old system of tax discrimination in favor of the land holdings—all through pressure of Pittsburgh citizens on the state legislature—are decided signs of promise. These and other constructive developments reviewed by Mr. Burns take us beyond the decade which is the subject of this review and which appropriately closes in 1908 with the 150th anniversary of the settlement at the forks of the Ohio.

The historic sense awakened by the celebration of the sesquicentennial of the town; the downright, ingenuous pride of the people in its unexampled achievements; the inquiring attitude of an ever increasing number of citizens; their inner assurance that the city will match its prosperity with civic well-being; a beginning on the part of the moral reserve force of the city, on the one hand, and its practical organizing power, on the other, to seek a new common outlet,—these elements provided momentum, amid many conflicting counter-currents, for an ample hope.

There have been stirring instances in the development of city life in this and other countries where a city deeply engaged in laying its material foundation and suddenly finding itself not up to its own standard in other vital respects, has, by throwing a due share of its accumulated energy and resource into the new channels, been able to overleap intermediate stages which had been toilsomely worked out elsewhere. Such a magical achievement for the refinements of life has been made once in Pittsburgh through the surpassing initiative of a single citizen. It remains to be repeated and outdone by the action of the main body of responsible citizens, carrying with them representatives of every trade and type of the people, in the united, elated march of a great civic and human welfare movement. Strange as it may sound, this is the sort of social phenomenon that American city life is next going to present, and it may be that Pittsburgh will lead the way.

COALITION OF PITTSBURGH'S CIVIC FORCES

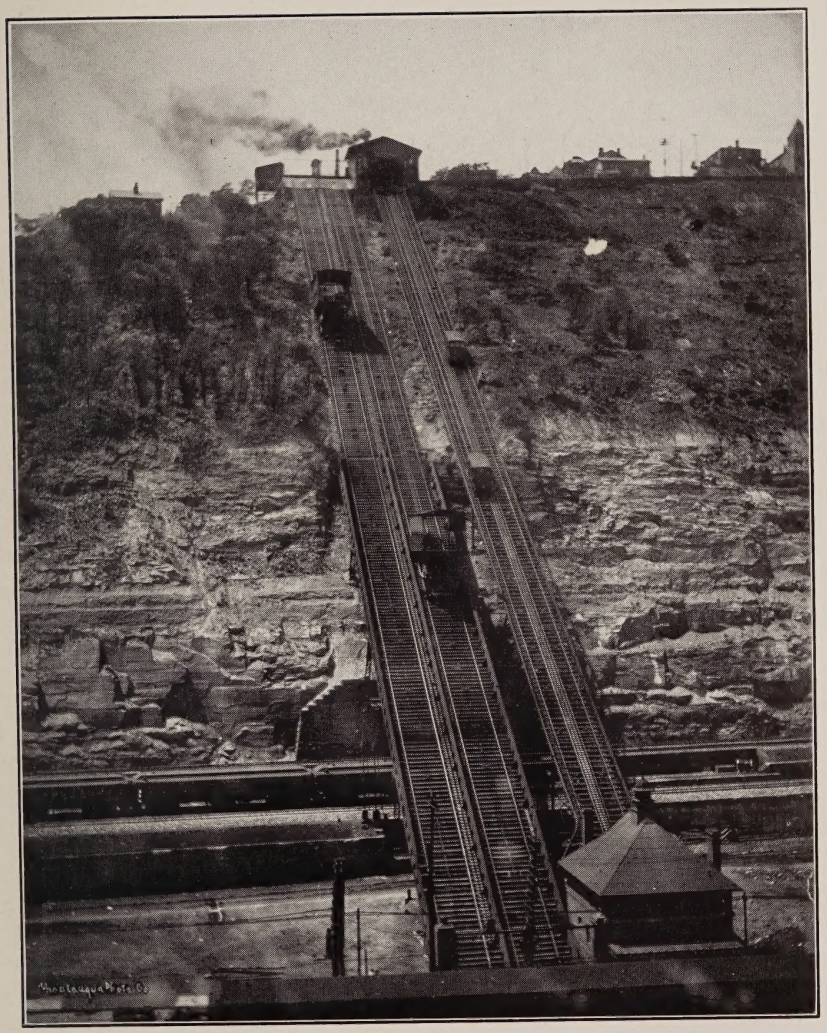
ALLEN T. BURNS

TIME, as Mr. Woods points out, is needed to answer the question put by the Guthrie administration at the close of the ten-year period 1898–1908; namely, whether with the creation of the "Greater City" Pittsburgh was ready for the stage of "unified organic development." The answer may well be left to the surveyor of 1918.

Writing midway of this second decade, we can even now recognize that the coalescing of civic forces has been the dominant process of these years. We can trace how the "moral reserve force of the city" and its "practical organizing power," whose origins Mr. Woods makes clear, have struggled for "new and common outlet," and we can better judge their strength by first recapitulating the conflicting counter-currents which have contested the way.

We must go back to the very rivers which cut Pittsburgh, like Gaul, into three parts. One of these parts the South Siders inhabit; the second, the old Pittsburghers; and the third, those who in their language are called Alleghenians, and in ours, North Siders. These three parts have been further divided, not into clans and tribes, but into neighborhoods, sections, localities, which have competed and vied with one another. How and when, like Gaul, they have suffered from the inroads of hostile Cæsars, or from the ambitions and selfish designs of some present day native Orgetorix, is less to our purpose than the fact that they have lacked united front in promoting the progress and common welfare of the city.

No city in America, if in the world, has had such physical obstacles to overcome in securing free communication and access between its different parts. Not only the rivers, but hills, gorges, cliffs, and precipices cut the land into separate districts. The residents of one section have had great difficulty even to reach any other except the business center.



One of the Inclines which scale the Pittsburgh Hills

Denuded Land
Land devoid of humus, on the mountains; largely responsible for floods on the Monongahela River

A Mile of Water on Penn Avenue
During the great flood of March, 1907

The natural barriers have been strengthened by such antiquated institutions as toll bridges on the main thoroughfares, a street car system with no through routes and almost no transfers. This has meant a ten-cent carfare between most sections of the town. Mutual acquaintance and understanding which must underlie all co-operation and are the prerequisites of municipal unity have thus been lacking.

This territorial separation has been reflected in the customs, civic organizations, and political institutions of the community. Annexation has been by compulsion, not consent. The names of the old boroughs have persisted and are still used almost as though they designated separate governmental entities. In order to understand municipal questions one must know the names Bloomfield, Lawrenceville, Oakland, East Liberty, Allegheny, Troy Hill, West End, Beltzhoover, and Allentown, as well as one knows the principal streets of the city.

Nor are these mere names. The old community celebrations have continued. Sections have their own picnics. Lawrenceville long celebrated its own Fourth of July because East Liberty did; the question of uniting for more effective observance being scarcely considered so long as local spirit has been kept alive. Residents of the old city of Allegheny still resent the loss of their identity under the term North Side. The energetic civic bodies organized under these local names have been interested primarily and mainly in the improvement of their own communities. Only recently a civic organization advocated that a city street in its district be given outright to a corporation, while admitting that such a policy would be bad for the city as a whole.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Pittsburgh early became a hotbed of petty politics. As in other cities, councilmen chosen by wards throve through catering to local needs while indifferent or negligent to the weightier interests of the city as a whole. Thus, whole sections of well-paved streets might mark the bailiwick of some aggressive ward councilman, who none the less had a hand in giving these same streets, along with the main thoroughfares of Pittsburgh, in perpetuity to the street car monopoly. Hence the saying: "Any ward can be bought for a new sidewalk or a pair of wooden stairs." Local benefit naturally became the test of discharge of official duty; the street paving schedule, the pork barrel of the city budget. If the Hill people "got theirs," their solid vote was secured.

But in addition to these evils, there were, as Mr. Woods points out, the independent ward school boards, 61 of which managed or mismanaged the children's heritage, each in its own devious, peculiar way.*

* See North, op. cit. P. 217 of this volume.

As result, there was not enough similarity and uniformity in the curriculum to permit admittance to high school upon certificate of graduation from the grammar grades.

Even justice has been so diverse an interest that each ward chooses its own local magistrate, before whom, none the less, may be brought a case from anywhere in the city. The only concern of an alderman is to please his "constits"; let him "soak" the fellow outside his district and his re-election was secure.

Blended with this sectionalism, has run the extreme individualism which all "orthodox" Pittsburghers ascribe to the Scotch-Irishism in the make-up of the city. Past failure in public spirit and in discharge of citizenship is explained, even palliated, by the plea that the people, being Scotch-Irish, could not have been expected to fuse, unite, and work for common ends. Whether or not this explanation be the true one—and the writer as Scotch-Irish resents and rejects it—there have, as a matter of fact, been many evidences of unusual "flocking-apartness."

A few illustrations may be given of this vanishing but still persisting trait. The attitude of the charities has been typical. Pittsburgh has claimed to be richer in the number of her good works than any other city of her size in the country. Each wealthy family is said to have had a philanthropy which it especially fostered and promoted, and, regardless of the advantages of co-operative effort learned so well in their business enterprises, these benefactors have persisted in wasteful duplication and rivalry in the virtue "that faileth not." Similarly forty children's institutions have pursued their diverse ways, with few attempts at mutual understanding or co-operation.* Some 30 hospitals and dispensaries still compete with one another for support both governmental and private, and even for patients, to the extent of under-cutting the rates of rivals. Fifteen agencies employ independent visiting nurses with no districting of the city or correlated work. Attempts to form a city-wide nursing organization have failed, because of the refusal of the present agencies to merge. In the past even the social settlements failed to join in mutual council and co-operation. Not only was Pittsburgh the last of all the large cities of the country to organize an associated charities, but many were the unsuccessful attempts to bring it about, and even now, five years after its foundation, not a few agencies refuse their co-operation and goodwill. Church federation for social service has suffered a similar taboo.

* See Lattimore, Florence L.: Pittsburgh as a Foster Mother. P. 337 of this volume.

Yet some citizens claim that this individualism has been the only political salvation of the city. For the corrupt machine of Pennsylvania has never run as smoothly here as it has in the City of Brotherly Love. Politicians in Pittsburgh have fought so hard among themselves that once in a while the public has come into its own through their disagreements. The Magee-Flinn falling out, the Flinn-Bigelow feud, the rival Browns, the Oliver-Flinn enmity—to name rivalries which are written large in local party history—have thrown off factions ready to side with independent bodies and thereby enhance the chances of the latter to succeed.

In her civic sectionalism, parochial instead of communal interests, neighborhood instead of municipal spirit, Pittsburgh thus puts in bold outline the organic problem of American cities generally. Like them, also, she has not distinguished between enlargement and growth, between an increase in territory and population and the development of united civic forces. In annexing new districts and in welcoming prospective immigrant laborers, she has not stopped to ask whether earlier additions to the body politic have been well digested and assimilated. Bigness and numbers have been accepted by Pittsburgh, as by other cities, as symbols of power, only to find that with cities, as with boys, over-growth often is accompanied by gorging beyond the capacity to assimilate.

We can put in figures some of the tasks of assimilation which Pittsburgh has faced, due to natural growth and immigration:

TABLE I.—INCREASES IN TOTAL POPULATION AND IN FOREIGN-BORN[a] POPULATION OF PITTSBURGH, INCLUDING INCREASES DUE TO ANNEXATION. 1860–1910

Year	*Total Population*	*Increases in Total Population*	*Foreign-born[a] Population*	*Increases in Foreign-born Population*
1860	49,221	..	18,063	..
1870	86,076	36,855	27,822	9,759
1880	156,389	70,313	44,605	16,783
1890	238,617	82,228	73,289	28,684
1900	321,616	82,999	84,878	11,589
1910	533,905	212,289	140,436	55,558

[a] Figures for 1860 and 1870 for "foreign" population; those for 1880, 1890, and 1900, for "foreign born" population; those for 1910 for "foreign born white" population.

How large a share of this tremendous growth has come about not by influx, but by the less strenuous though scarcely less perplexing process of widening the boundaries of municipal control and service, is seen in the following:

TABLE 2.—GROWTH OF PITTSBURGH BY ANNEXATION. 1816–1909

Date of Annexation	*Total Area in Acres*	*Annexed Area in Acres*	*Population Annexed (Estimated for Date of Annexation)*
March 18, 1816 (Incorporated)	320	320	6,000
March 1, 1837	430	110	2,750
December 15, 1846	1,130	700	5,000
June 30, 1868	14,788	13,658	21,300
April 2, 1872	17,472	2,684	37,400
December 1, 1894	17,762	290	3,000
March 1, 1898	17,952	190	3,000
January 2, 1915	18,155	203	3,800
January 8, 1906	18,645	490	3,500
January 7, 1907	18,718	73	1,800
November 21, 1907	19,339	621	6,000
December 6, 1907	24,504	5,165	140,000
January 6, 1908	26,255	1,751	3,500
January 4, 1909	26,465	210	1,150

THE NEW EPOCH

Out of unwieldiness, then, in size and numbers, against sectionalism in all its forms, above personal ambitions and pride, past rivalries and enmities, have come at length the stirrings of united self-assertion for the common weal of all.

Popular gatherings reveal the growth of community feeling and spirit. Mr. Woods well observes that the sesqui-centennial of 1908, which brought together in one huge procession the 14 principal nationalities in the city, marked not only the awakening of the town's historical sense but the promise of a "united elated march of a great civic and human welfare movement." The festival was arranged by the Chamber of Commerce, composed of men who thus refuted the charge that business cannot concern itself with human relationships. The participants in the fête vied with one another in displaying their worth and service to the

Natural Beauty vs. Industrial Odds

CIVIC IMPROVEMENT POSSIBILITIES OF PITTSBURGH

CHARLES MULFORD ROBINSON

[A page from Mr. Robinson's pioneer report for the Pittsburgh Survey, as brought out in February, 1909]

IN studying the civic improvement possibilities of Pittsburgh, one is impressed by a curious mingling of antagonistic conditions. A wonderful natural picturesqueness is contrasted with the utmost industrial defilement, smoke and grime and refuse pervading one of the finest city sites in the world. Similarly great wealth and great squalor are side by side. Nation-wide business is done on very narrow streets. A royal munificence in public benefaction goes with a niggardliness that as yet denies to many children a decent play space. Immense private houses, with the amplest grounds to be found perhaps in any great city, abut on meanly proportioned streets. One is impressed first by the hugeness of the city and then by its lack of coherence. It has been built up as an aggregation of integers, mighty, resourceful, pushing; but lacking as yet in unity. That power, which is the keynote of the city, is not civic. It is not communal power but a dynamic individualism.

But still steep hillsides close with magnificent self-assertion the vistas of business streets; still the mighty rivers, polluted with refuse though they be, flow in great streams to meet at the "Point"; still from heights there are views of surpassing interest; and in the rolling country that encompasses the city with ravine and wooded slope, there still remain gentle loveliness and restfulness in impressive contrast with the throbbing industry of the town. Thus, in spite of itself, picturesqueness such as even Edinburgh, the "queen city of Europe," might envy is thrust upon Pittsburgh, and there is a surrounding beauty that Florence might covet.

In the midst of this strange mingling of opposites, of great opportunities and fearful handicaps, of vast needs and vast resources, there appears the gradual stirring of a new ideal. A civic consciousness is awaking, and that social conscience which has heretofore operated in individuals merely is becoming popularly active. At this wonderfully interesting juncture, the serious study of civic improvement in Pittsburgh is to be made. What Pittsburgh wants, what she has done and dreamed, what she must do, as a community, for her improvement,—these are the questions for the citizens of Greater Pittsburgh if "greater" is to have all its true significance. . . . Surely, if ever a city needed the definite plan that an outside commission could make for it, it is Pittsburgh. In most cities the "improvement" problem is largely aesthetic. In Pittsburgh, it is also economic and social. Its correct solution is something more than a desideratum; it is a need.

community. "Romans dig your sewers" read one sign in the procession, held high over a wagonload of Italian laborers. Not one but caught a glimpse of the common interdependence of all. This spirit has been repeated with the annual play festivals which bring together the children of all sections and nationalities to interpret their various lives and customs in game and dance.

In April, 1910, occurred a demonstration, said to be the largest and most unique in the history of the city. It was a mass meeting to protest against the spread of vice and to endorse the graft prosecutions. Old residents had predicted that not more than a corporal's guard could be stirred to attend a downtown meeting. Three thousand citizens came. The gathering was spoken of generally as a town meeting, a revival of the day when all citizens took the time to assemble and discuss community interests. This meeting can be taken as a spiritual waymark of the new civic movement, the forces of which are molding territory and public service and the machinery of government into a new and essential unity.

The annexation of Allegheny in 1907 brought all the central urban district under one authority, so that its common problems of health, police, and transportation, could be handled as a unit. In his inaugural of 1909, Mayor Magee struck the note of "one community, one government," and advocated the incorporation of a territory twenty miles in length now inhabited by nearly a million people. Leading citizens of Pittsburgh are organized to effect this end through legislative action. True, the opposition of adjacent boroughs which criticize present city politics has yet to be overcome; but it is significant that the argument for annexation has shifted from the craving for mere size to the contention that municipal functions must be performed for the whole territory within what are termed the natural city boundaries if they are to be performed efficiently for each part.

CITY PLANS

The recognition of this community of interest is seen in the nature and scope of the municipal improvements now before the people and in the methods by which they are being studied. Here the Pittsburgh Civic Commission led the way. Its first important work was in line with Mr. Robinson's plea in his Pittsburgh Survey report* for comprehensive city planning by an outside commis-

* Robinson, Charles Mulford: Civic Improvement Possibilities of Pittsburgh. *Charities and the Commons*, XXI: 801–826 (February 6, 1909).

sion. Bion J. Arnold, John R. Freeman, and Frederick Law Olmsted, three of the foremost experts in the country, were retained to outline constructive investigations into "the needs and limitations of the Pittsburgh industrial district . . . in so far as its physical development can be effectively controlled by the action of the community." Their report* covered transportation, construction of thoroughfares and parks, the water supply, sewage disposal, smoke prevention, and building regulations. Each subject was treated from the point of view of the needs of the whole district. Detailed studies have followed this preliminary report, the most notable being Mr. Olmsted's report on a comprehensive system of thoroughfares to knit more closely every section of the civic industrial area at the headwaters of the Ohio.

Proposed System of Thoroughfares

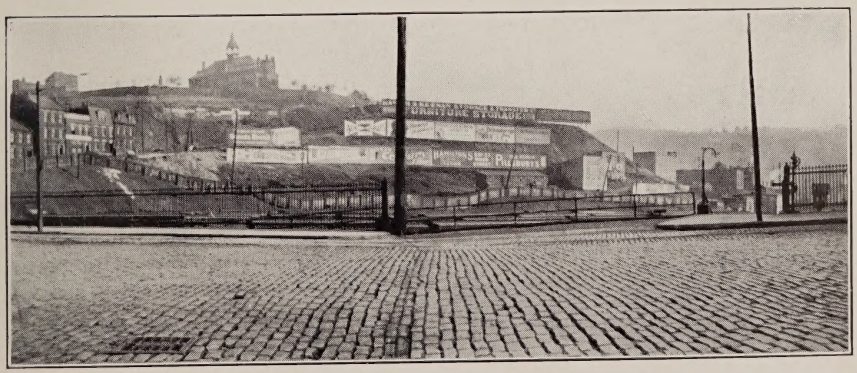
The key to Mr. Olmsted's entire plan has already been turned by Pittsburgh. He proposed a group location of all downtown public buildings, both county and city, and this scheme has been officially adopted by both authorities. From this center can easily radiate a complete and adequate system of main thoroughfares. Practical beginnings have been made by the city in cutting down the "hump" (as the hill is called which has cramped the business district since Revolutionary times), in opening new streets, and in widening alleys into streets. Those elements in Mr. Olmsted's plan for this center not as yet approved by the governmental authorities have now the practically unanimous support of the civic and trade organizations and the press of the city.

His recommendations for outlying thoroughfares are now before a city planning commission, the direct outgrowth of the planning movement begun by the Civic Commission. The most important of these recommendations is one to open up by means of a tunnel thousands of acres within a mile of downtown, now isolated by cliffs and ravines. This opening of the South Hills would relieve Pittsburgh's serious lack of building space, a primary cause of her congested housing. The plan for such a tunnel, the city's most needed physical improvement, has had to contend with rival plans advanced by county authorities and at the present time is the most discussed and demanded project before the city. The civic bodies with almost complete unanimity are now petitioning for the Olmsted outlet to the nearest and largest unimproved area for city growth.

* Reprinted in Appendix D, p. 480 of this volume.

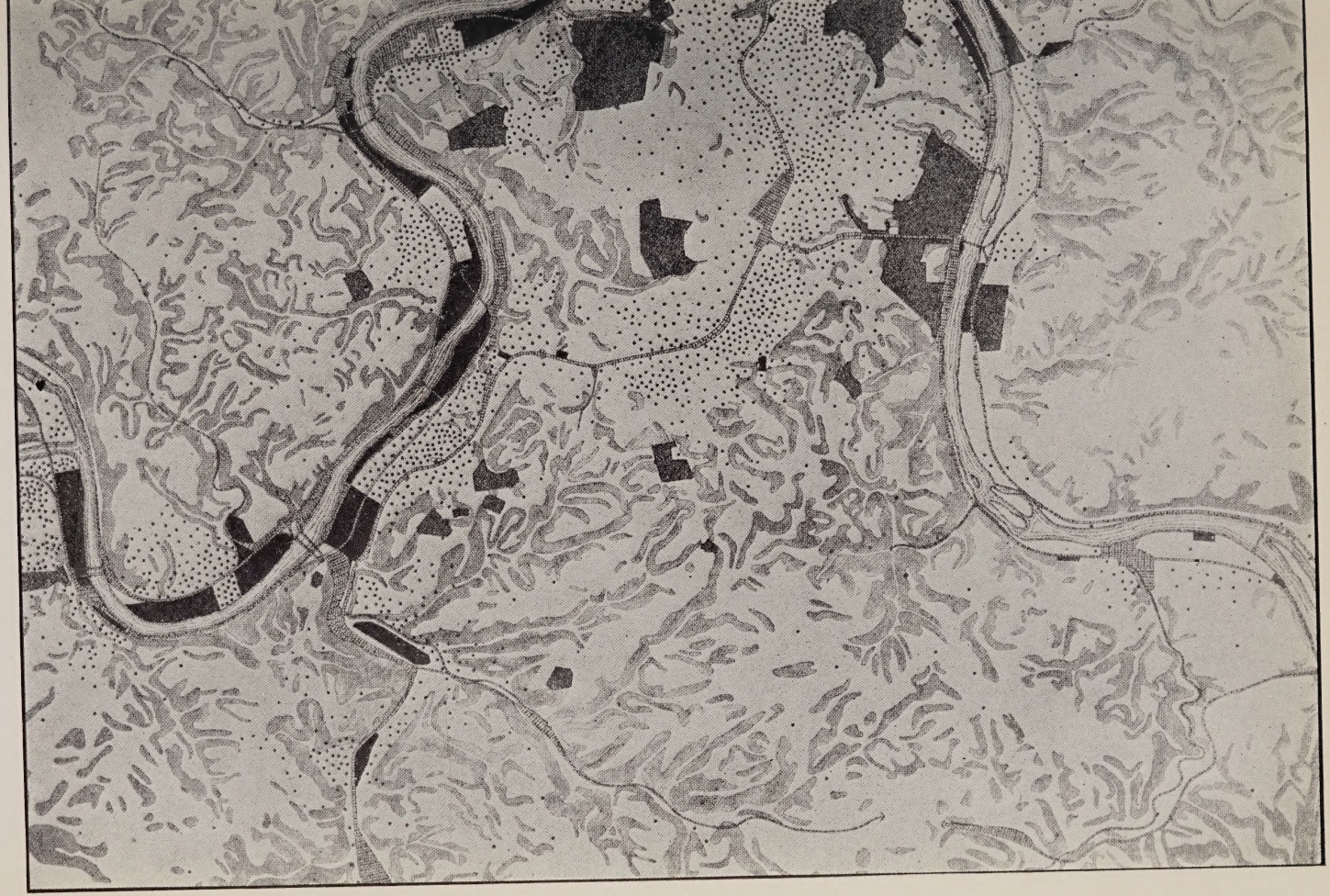
THOROUGHFARES AND CIVIC CENTER
Recommended in the Olmsted Report for the Pittsburgh Civic Commission

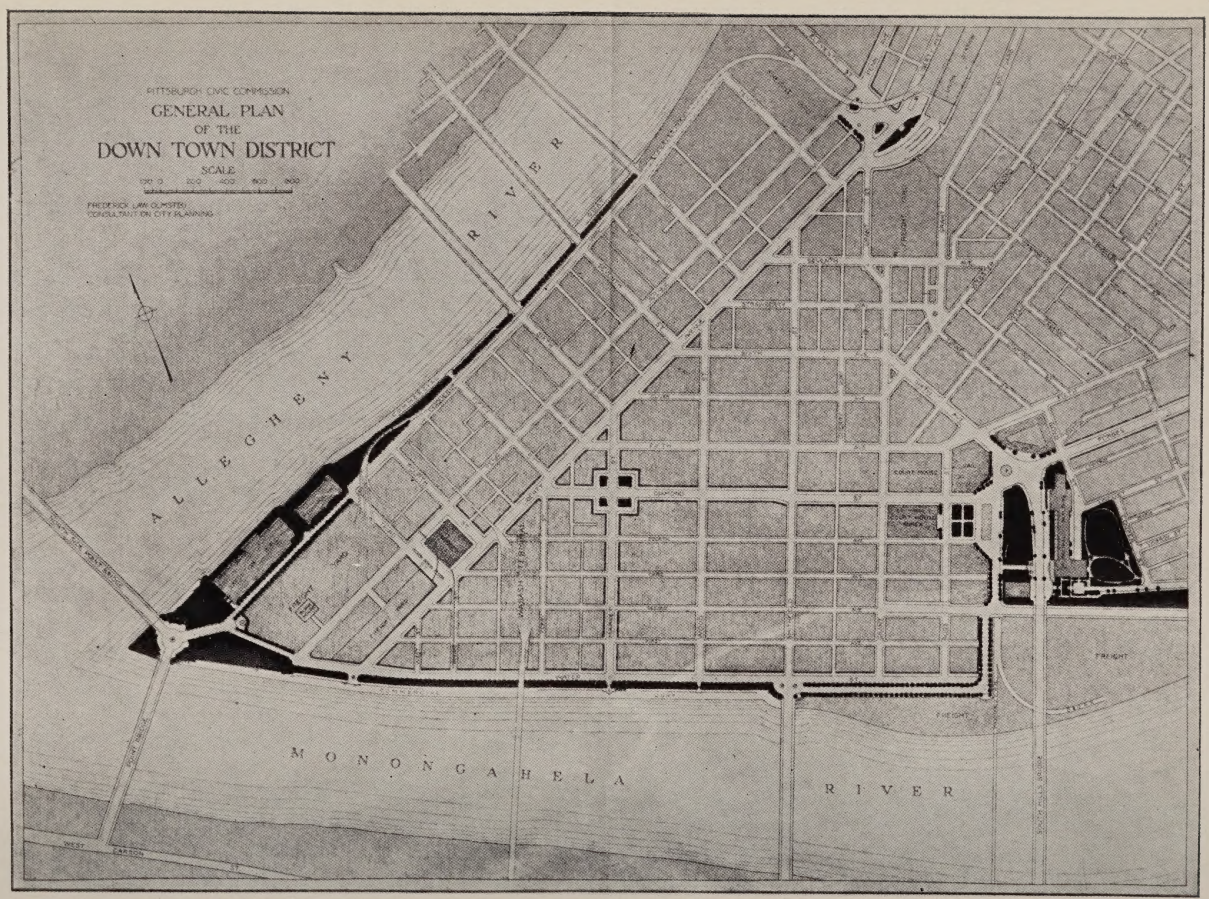
Public Building Suggestion for Site Shown Below



Present Condition of Site for Public Building and Plaza

PITTSBURGH CIVIC COMMISSION
GENERAL MAP
OF THE
PITTSBURGH DISTRICT
SHOWING
POPULATION —— A DOT = 200 PERSONS
RAILROAD PROPERTY THUS
MANUFACTURING PROPERTY THUS
SLOPES STEEPER THAN 25% THUS
PARKS, CEMETERIES, ETC. THUS
SCALE IN MILES
FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED
CONSULTANT ON CITY PLANNING





PLAN FOR IMPROVING DOWNTOWN DISTRICT

Streets lined in heavy black indicate proposed changes and widenings. Location for group of public buildings at right

Next in importance to this plan of a civic center with radiating streets, and the South Hills tunnel, is that for an improved river front with a belt drive around the downtown district. Recommendation for this drive was made by Mr. Olmsted after consultation with the engineers of the Flood Commission appointed by the Chamber of Commerce in 1908. The co-operation of the engineers of the two commissions itself illustrates the tendency to sink organization pride in united effort for the city.

Work of the Flood Commission

The river front wall for protection against slightly risen streams, which enters into this joint plan, is but a detail of the far flung recommendations of the flood commission. For four years the men who composed it—leading business men and engineers—devoted time and skill to finding a solution for the flood problem of the city. The engineers' committee especially studied domestic and foreign methods, together with most detailed data of the local setting. Their work was done without remuneration, the only expenditures made being for surveys by a corps of field assistants.

The exhaustive report of this committee is almost as important for other American cities that suffer from floods as it is for Pittsburgh. The main recommendation is for a system of 17 reservoirs situated in the headwaters of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers, at a cost of $20,000,000. These reservoirs would hold back the water at times of greatest flow and release it when otherwise the rivers would be too low for navigation. Water could thus be kept from ever rising higher than the relatively low wall proposed. This regulation of the flow is of so great a value to navigation on the Ohio and its two great tributaries and to all cities on their banks that Congress and the state legislature have been asked to share in the expenditures to put the recommendations into effect. Such a demonstration of methods common in Europe would revolutionize methods of attacking flood problems in America.

Plan for a Sewer System

Pittsburgh is thus applying the foresight and co-ordinated effort characteristic of its industrial enterprise to public business. Bound up with the joint program for flood control, the development of river front and thoroughfares, is the projection of water supply and sewage facilities for the entire metropolitan community irrespective of artificial legal boundaries. There are few more striking illustrations in American municipal history of the coming together of civic movements and the interlocking of large plans for public improvements. The report on an

adequate sewer system made to the city by Allen Hazen of New York recommended trunk sewers under the river front wall and drive, all to be built at the same time, thus gaining maximum utility at an expense but a fraction of what the city had anticipated for sewage system alone.*

The Local Transportation Problems

The city administration took over that part of the work of unified planning having to do with street transit. In the summer of 1910 an extensive report was made by Mr. Arnold to Mayor Magee upon the fundamental defects of the existing system. He recommended an immediate rehabilitation of the whole service at an expense of $10,000,000, a reorganization of the company on the basis of the real value of its property, reasonable returns on such value to the investors, and the pressing of all possible litigation to secure for the city as much power over the corporation as possible. Mr. Arnold's report also laid down a method of procedure for securing rapid transit.† The growing demand of the citizens upon the street car company is: "One city, one fare, through routes, universal transfers"; and a complete system of faster-than-surface transportation is a matter of the no distant future.

A still more ambitious and far-reaching physical improvement than city-wide transportation has been brought a step nearer realization by an act of the 1913 legislature. For years Pittsburgh has dreamed of a water connection with the Great Lakes. Fears of the transfer of the steel industry to the lake cities have sharpened this vision. Such a ship canal is now authorized by the state, $150,000 has been appropriated for preliminary work, counties are empowered to help finance the project, and a commission of five members, appointed by the governor, is to decide upon the route.

Thus physical barriers are being broken down. Distance is being overcome, the hills are being pierced with tunnels, ravines are being spanned with viaducts, bridges are being freed from tolls; and along with these increased means of internal communication Pittsburgh as a center of economic production can look to new avenues of communication with the country at large.

* Whether this plan will be accepted by the state health department which has jurisdiction over the city is in question and it may require long litigation.

† Up to 1912 the report seemed without practical results. But during that year the city won its first important suit against the traction interests for unfulfilled obligations. Damages were only about $250,000, but the decision opened the way for the filing of more suits; and soon after, the company made its first substantial financial proposal to the city—an investment by the company of $6,000,000 in rehabilitating the system. Several propositions have been submitted by private companies which wish to build a subway, but none of the plans has yet secured such support from public opinion as would lead Council to adopt it.

ORGANIZATION IN SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS FIELDS

To turn to the field of organized effort, the new spirit of co-operation in Pittsburgh has been strikingly illustrated in the 105 philanthropic agencies which allied themselves with the Associated Charities during its first two years; in a children's bureau for the correlation of all children's agencies; in a health conference to secure co-operation, instead of rivalry and competition, among the medical charities; in a monthly council of the social settlements to discuss the problems shown by neighborhood experience to be common to the whole city; and in the response of Pittsburgh to the Men and Religion Movement which the national leaders say was more vigorous than that of any other city. A committee of 100 drawn from 400 churches for the eight-day campaign in 1912 has led to a permanent organization of the churches.*

The fraternizing power of the common meal has been demonstrated in ways unthought of five years ago. Workers in charities, education, and civics have united in a club meeting once a month for dinner and social intercourse, with only as much "shop" as is necessary to trick these serious people into thinking they are not being frivolous. The Hungry Club is a weekly lunch club of men which discusses current public questions. Any citizen is welcome to attend. There is no regular membership as yet, but the attendance has become so large that a committee is at work studying the possibilities of a permanent city club. So prevalent has the eating and talking together practice become that the credit men, the Chamber of Commerce, the builders, and the real estate dealers are all utilizing this method for a general discussion, not of matters of trade, but of public affairs. With it all, civic interest is now so widespread that no propaganda organization has enough available speakers to meet the demand. Churches, clubs, brotherhoods, unions, and schools have been roused, and the newspapers fill unheard of space each day with accounts of what are called "uplift meetings." Here is a typical headline:

> **PLANS FOR CIVIC UPLIFT ARE WIDESPREAD**
>
> **DOZEN MEETINGS HELD WITH VIEW OF OBTAINING IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS**

Before the week was out a new record was made—a sixteen-meeting-day!

* See Woods, Robert A.: Pittsburgh: An Interpretation of Its Growth. P. 39 of this volume.

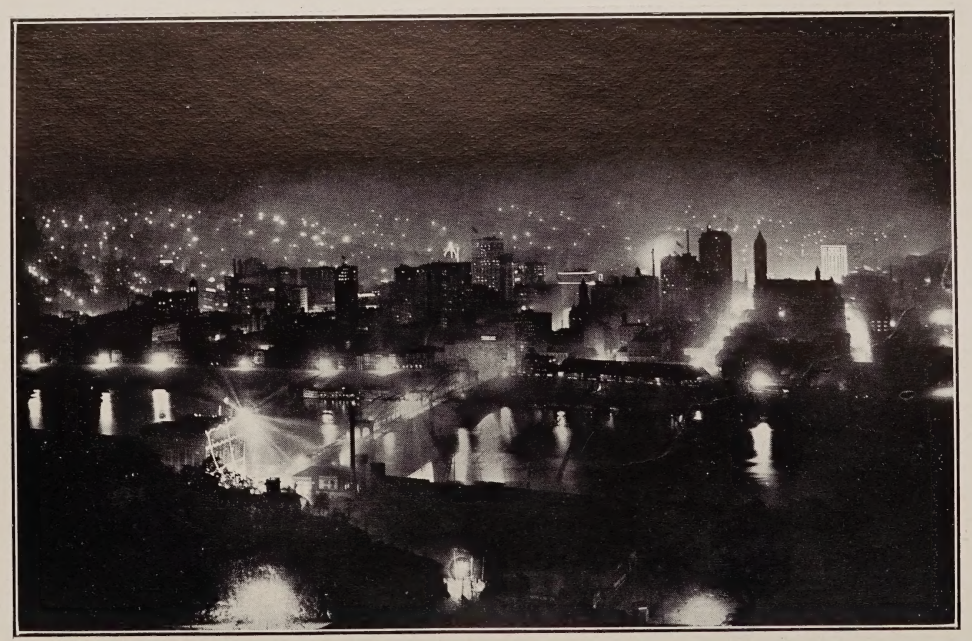
ORGANIZING ACTION FOR CIVIC IMPROVEMENT

The most significant evidence of the passing of the old individualism and sectionalism has been the co-ordination of various commercial and civic bodies. Instead of forming a new organization to take up the latest idea for the public welfare, the effort is made to correlate all the good impulses of the community and unify their channels for expression. In 1907 the two rival commercial bodies, the old Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, became one to form the new Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce. This organization has commanded the loyalty of the leading business men. Board of Trade was the name that curiously enough had been adopted by each of the 15 local bodies whose original purposes had been to secure improvements for their respective sections. In 1908 these "boards" formed the Allied Boards of Trade, in order to pool issues, believing that each locality could best be served when the whole city is served. With this new body other organizations, which from their beginning had been city-wide in scope, such as the Civic Club and the Civic Commission, affiliated themselves and in 1913 the Allied Boards of Trade reorganized, with 25 organizations represented on its Council by two members each. Ten directors were chosen at large, leading men in progressive movements, such as the presidents of the Civic Club, the Civic Commission, the Pittsburgh Board of Trade, and the Charter Committee. There are 10,000 members in the constituent organizations and they include the most independent, public-spirited groups of citizens in Pittsburgh.

By working together these bodies are learning the strength of union. To carry on special campaigns, organizations which heretofore considered themselves rivals, or the one much superior to the other, now form co-operating committees. An early illustration of this procedure was the budget conference, a body more representative of city-wide interests than the Allied Boards of Trade itself. Its purpose was to secure proper presentation and discussion of city appropriations both within Councils and among private citizens. Similarly, the Civic Club of Allegheny County, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Civic Commission merged their housing committees to co-operate with the city authorities in promoting higher standards of sanitary regulations.

SITE OF CIVIC CENTER PROPOSED BY PITTSBURGH CIVIC COMMISSION

The tower of the Court House (which is the best work of H. H. Richardson) is to the left of the Frick Building



Pittsburgh at Night

MUNICIPAL SOLIDARITY

It should be noted that while many of the men's organizations were still sticking to their claim of isolated superiority in municipal affairs, the Federation of Women's Clubs in 1911 brought together representatives of the most influential civic organizations in a united campaign for better schools. These bodies backed the recommendations of a state commission for the new school code which in Pittsburgh was to abolish the 61 ward school districts, and substitute a single district embracing the whole city, organized on modern business and educational lines.* The legislature of 1909 had passed the code with incongruous amendments which Governor Stuart used as an excuse for a veto. Lack of sufficient and concerted public demand, however, was the real cause of the miscarriage. One of the first acts of the legislature of 1911 was to pass the code. During the intervening two years, civic force had accumulated. So Pittsburgh unified her most fundamental institution, the American and Americanizing public school, and in doing so civic spirit was itself further massed and unified.

Moreover, the new school code ushered in a new stage of fiscal solidarity. Each of the old school districts had carried its own costs of school building and equipment; each had its own bonded or floating debts. Should their liquidation be by the city as a whole or by the tax payers of the old district? This was the most hotly debated question in the passage of the code through the legislature. Nothing could better bring out the remnants of sectionalism than this discussion. It resolved itself, so far as the future went, into a question of whether downtown should continue to shirk its due proportion of the cost of the school plant of the city or be compelled to begin paying, at a late date to be sure, a part of the entire school debt. It was decided that downtown should pay, and the city is now a unit in the financial as well as in the educational department of its school system.

Other fiscal legislation of 1911 was in line with this "get together" policy, notably the tax reforms of 1911 and 1913.†

* See North and Kennard, op. cit. Pp. 217 and 469, respectively, of this volume.

† For detailed discussion of consolidated tax system for schools and city see Harrison, op. cit. P. 156 of this volume.

As brought out by Mr. Harrison's report, Pittsburgh had been divided into three parts by taxation as well as by rivers, small homes and business properties paying at the full rate; residences at two-thirds; and large undeveloped holdings, by no means always on the outskirts, one-half. At the demand of broadminded citizens, this further divisive feature of public policy was brought to an end in 1911, and the succeeding legislature (1913) turned the old situation inside out so as to give advantage to the man who improves his real estate. Pittsburgh becomes the first great city of the United States to try the experiment of taxing buildings at one-half the rate on land.

To permit adjustment of investments and prevent hardships this change in rate will be spread over twelve years. The present year the rate on buildings has been reduced to 90 per cent of that on land, in 1916 it will be reduced to 80 per cent, and so on by reductions of 10 per cent every third year until 50 per cent is reached in twelve years.

The whole story for unification in public service is yet far from complete. The ward system of courts* as well as of schools has been mentioned. These courts can be abolished only by a constitutional amendment which in Pennsylvania takes at least three years,—two sessions of the legislature, and then a popular vote. Such an amendment passed the 1909 legislature but failed in 1911. So, late in the legislative session—in order to secure at least an alternative to the ward justice shops—a movement was started by the Civic Commission; other civic bodies joined, and an act was carried authorizing a court of limited jurisdiction for civil suits.

This bench, fashioned after the municipal courts of Chicago, hears all cases up to $1,500, and is presided over by a chief justice and four associates. It has proved a welcome and effective refuge for the small litigants of the whole county from the clutches of the aldermen who still sit as petty magistrates.

The united action of citizens which has struck hardest at the central need for municipal change has, however, been the movement for a new city charter which grew out of the mass meeting of 1910. That meeting called on all civic associations to appoint representatives for the purpose of recommending a new form of

* See Blaxter, H. V., and Kerr, Allen H.: The Aldermen and Their Courts. P. 139 of this volume.

city government. The response was prompt. A committee was formed which threshed out differences of opinion and adopted a plan for a charter which would make every elected official the representative, not of a section, but of the whole city. This plan met with the unanimous approval of the 17 co-operating organizations. These at once authorized their representatives to form a committee to remain permanent until the legislature granted the demand.

No such campaign, said the oldest inhabitants, had ever before been conducted in Pittsburgh. A thousand meetings were held—the largest and last, one of 10,000 people. Fifteen thousand voters signed the petition to the legislature to adopt the charter without change. Many delegations went to Harrisburg, and the committee kept representatives there till the very close of the session of 1911. To tell the vicissitudes of the charter bill would make an entertaining and enlightening story of a machine-controlled legislature. But the thing that interests us here is the unanimity of Pittsburgh's demand and the fact that the one radical change which was secured was that most expressive of the new unity. The ward councilmen were unseated, and a new Council provided for to be composed of nine men for the whole city, elected at large.

Nine men were at once appointed and later, when these nine men came up for election, even party distinctions were put aside. They were made the nominees of every political party. The old régime had tried to reassert itself at the primaries. Not a few of the oldtime councilmen ran for nomination. Many got a plurality in their oldtime wards, but not one of them commanded enough support outside his own ward to secure a city-wide nomination for one of the nine places on the ticket of any party.

A new era of city government in Pittsburgh has begun with the new Council. No longer are questions settled on the principle "Scratch my back, I'll scratch yours," of ward councilmen days. Measures are discussed from the point of view of the good of the whole city. The new councilmen go slowly and cautiously, as is natural for men who have given most of their time to business

and little to municipal questions, but the changed system had in two years so proved itself that when in 1913 a threat was made in the legislature to go back to the old ward plan, all the organizations that had worked for the creation of the new body went again in force to Harrisburg. Even the mayor and the head of the state Republican organization, lukewarm two years before, used their influence to kill the proposed "ripper" bill.

The plea for the abolition of division lines was heard again by this legislature, and another provision of the "Pittsburgh plan" charter became law. This provided that all municipal officers be chosen at non-partisan elections as a means of preventing party lines from cutting across and confusing issues.

A Pause

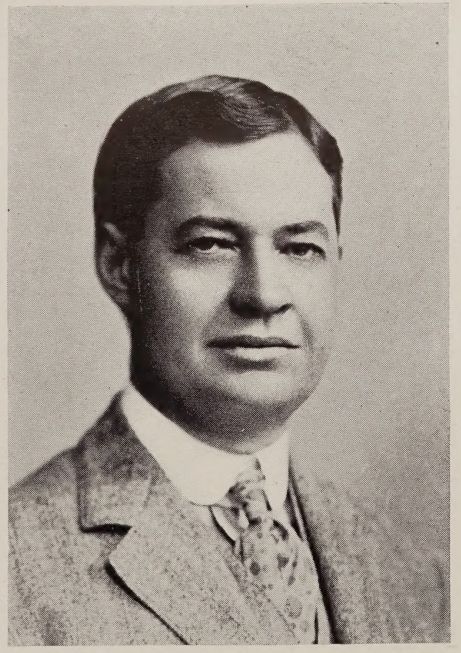
While the reform movements of the five years have brought in the forms and functions of a unified city government, they have been slow to crystallize as a democratic political force among the people of the city. While they have thrown into the junk heap a great mass of out-of-date municipal apparatus, the new centralized machinery has not proven automatic, and at the elections in November, 1913, was, in a sense, taken over bodily by the political-business interests that in the past had turned to their own uses the decentralization, partisanship, and inefficiency which cost the city so much in health and treasure.

It is as if the united civic forces, having spent themselves in their work of construction, need a time of recuperation and re-alignment of forces before they can successfully wrest the re-ordered public service from its old masters.

The situation is revealed in a Council, divided along factional lines and dominated by a majority in alliance with the Republican state machine; in a city planning commission reduced to the lowest possible activity; in municipal civil service regulations become a farce; in adequate housing laws yet to be enforced; in new playgrounds without equipment. Aggressive attack on the street railway monopoly has been dropped; men of the underworld have been appointed to the police bench; the art commission has been threatened with extinction; and the advanced system of taxation attacked in Council. The shrunken vision of the leaders of

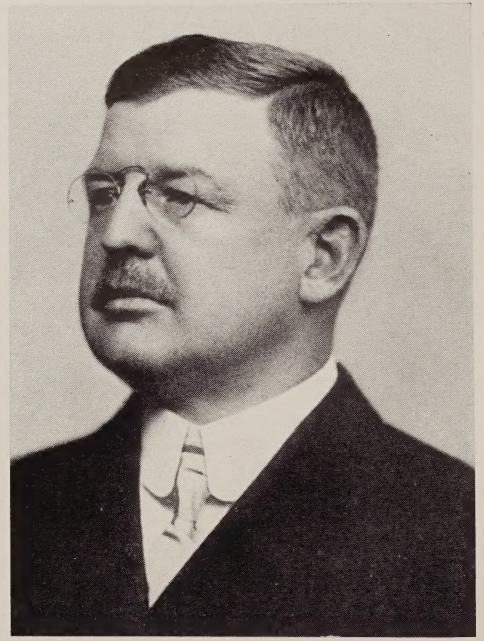
H. D. W. English

Chairman, Civic Improvement Commission. As president of the Chamber of Commerce in 1908, Mr. English set going two far-reaching conservation projects—the Pittsburgh Flood Commission and the Experiment Station of the Federal Bureau of Mines which has revolutionized safety engineering below ground.



W. D. George

The private citizen who has been back of the revolution in Pittsburgh's tax system—from the most belated to the most advanced of the great cities of America.



Morris Knowles

The consulting engineer who designed and constructed the Municipal Filtration Plant.

that body was epitomized when they ridiculed modern supervised and equipped playgrounds as breeders of molly-coddles and a waste of taxes.

Voluntary, as well as official activities, reflect the situation—the Chamber of Commerce, in dropping its most militant directors and in failing to stand out against governmental privilege; the Pittsburgh Board of Trade in dropping its experienced secretary at the demand of members who opposed aggressive civic activity; the Civic Commission, in giving up offices and paid staff until such time as constructive proposals stand a better chance of financial backing and governmental enactment. At this writing no organization is projecting new concrete improvements.

The situation, however, has its positive side. Civic forces are quietly mustering for direct political action as the way left open to give social effect to the structural reforms which have been enumerated—to equip the playgrounds, clear the magistrates' courts, enforce the new housing laws, secure adequate transit, round out the city plan, wrench Council from its political alliances and lift municipal administration to a new estate. This is illustrated by the civic leaders who have shifted their energies from educational to political activity. It is illustrated in an analogous field by the women whose training in the civic club and other social work is now turned to account in the state suffrage movement directed to secure their full participation in political affairs. It is illustrated by renewed demand for the three defeated proposals of the Pittsburgh Plan Charter (the initiative, referendum, and recall) which would have infused it with Democratic control.

THE YOUNGER PITT

Such is the progress made in the coalition of the civic forces of Pittsburgh. It is a progress in process, not completed.

For the lesson of the "house divided against itself" which the nation was taught through the stress of civil war, Pittsburgh paid her price in charitable waste and inefficiency, civic supineness and enmity, political crime and shame. Slowly she has learned the full meaning of Franklin's warning to his fellow-patriots about "hanging together." The centripetal forces are overcoming the centrifugal. In place of disunion and dissension, harmony and

co-operation are coming in. Difficult as it is, the task of fusing and welding repelling elements into one organic, effective body politic is well under way.

Cities are accustomed to represent themselves by supposedly appropriate personalities. But often these characters lack the virile, assertive qualities necessary for modern civic achievement. They are decrepit old men who belonged to another age—Father Knickerbocker, Father Penn, Lord Baltimore, Moses Cleveland, Father Pitt. Are these personifications fitting now? When cities reach their civic majority, may they not adopt new symbols? These should be rugged, purposeful men, dauntless and beautiful young women, across whose breasts may justly be inscribed the watchword of Chicago's robust empress of the prairies, "I will!"

The story of every new-world city is one of gradual and partial achievement of civic self-consciousness, self-direction, and self-control. Like overgrown children, who but slowly gain command of their rapidly increasing powers and faculties, few have fully "come of age." Against greater odds than perhaps any other American city has faced, Pittsburgh is attaining her civic majority. She is advancing from a disorganized aggregation of individuals to a self-reliant, self-directing community. As she undertakes the tasks ahead, the municipality may justly be likened to one of her mighty mill workers who, in the light of labor done, faces the future with the words, "I can!"

II
CIVIC CONDITIONS

THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OF TYPHOID

THE ECONOMIC COST TO PITTSBURGH AND THE LONG FIGHT FOR PURE WATER

FRANK E. WING

ONE startling and convincing feature of the Pittsburgh Civic Exhibit in November, 1908, was a frieze of small silhouettes three inches apart stretching in line around both ends and one side of the large hall in Carnegie Institute in which the exhibit of the Pittsburgh Survey was installed. The frieze was over 250 feet in length, and the figures, which were distributed in exact proportion by age and sex, represented 622 persons, the death-toll from typhoid fever in Greater Pittsburgh during the year previous. Accompanying this frieze, placed prominently over the doors where everyone could read them, were duplicates of the following sign in large display letters:

> If the Death Rate Had Been 25 per 100,000 which is still considerably greater than that in Albany, Ann Arbor, Ansonia, Atlantic City, Binghamton, Boston, Bridgeport, Brockton, Cambridge, Canton, Detroit, Fall River, Hartford, Jersey City, Lawrence, Lowell, Milwaukee, New York, Rochester, St. Paul, Springfield, Syracuse, Worcester, and a score of other cities having a fairly pure water supply, but 137 of these 622 persons would have died and the line would be only two-ninths as long as it now is.
>
> Who is Responsible for this Sacrifice?

Next to this placard was another sign, showing how typhoid fever had dropped off in the four months that had elapsed since

the opening of a great municipal filtration plant. For example, the 593 cases in October, 1907, had dropped to 96 in October, 1908.

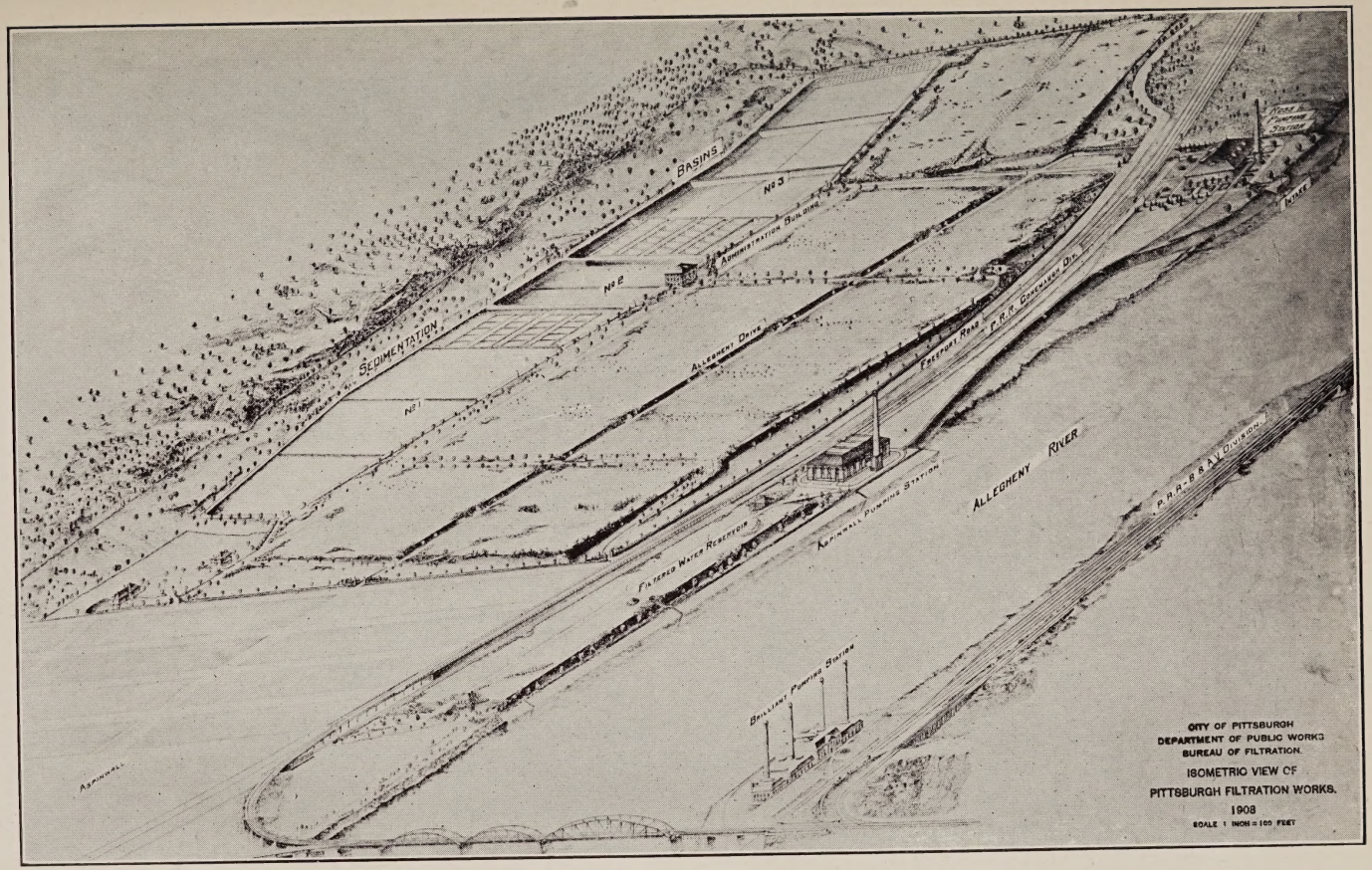
The story of the city filtration plant which had ushered in this change is the story of the navigation of an unwieldy craft whose freightage of health (and contracts) was a prize over which the elements in the municipal life of Pittsburgh battled hard and long. The bringing of this craft to port, despite the cross winds of public sentiment, the squalls of commercial rivalry, and the buccaneering of political factions which coveted its booty, is one of Pittsburgh's great civic achievements; its protracted passage is her most enduring disgrace.

For the typhoid fever problem in Pittsburgh in its principal cause has been a water problem; in its consequences it early became one of the biggest social and economic problems of the community; in its solution, it has been bound up with the politics of a boss-ridden city. My review, therefore, will be grouped under the three heads: water, economics, and politics.

I

WATER. THE MENACE

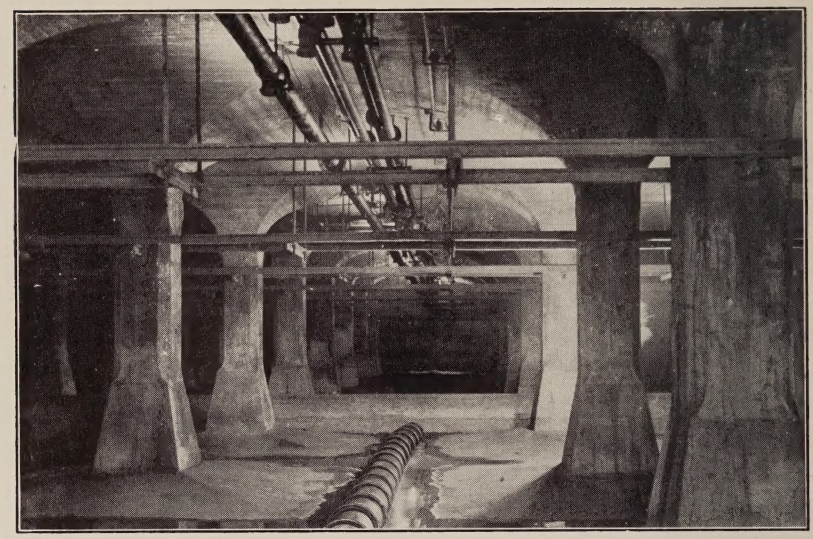
The publicly supplied drink of Pittsburgh has always been river water and, well into the present century, whatever the river water contained. Prior to the opening of the new filtration plant in the summer of 1908, and during the period of the Pittsburgh Survey, "old Pittsburgh" received its water supply from cribs in the bed of the Allegheny River at Brilliant Station, about seven miles above the city. Water taken from these cribs (and since 1905 from an artificial channel of sheet-piling along the shore) was pumped into reservoirs on Heron Hill and Highland Park, and then turned unfiltered into the water mains for distribution to shops



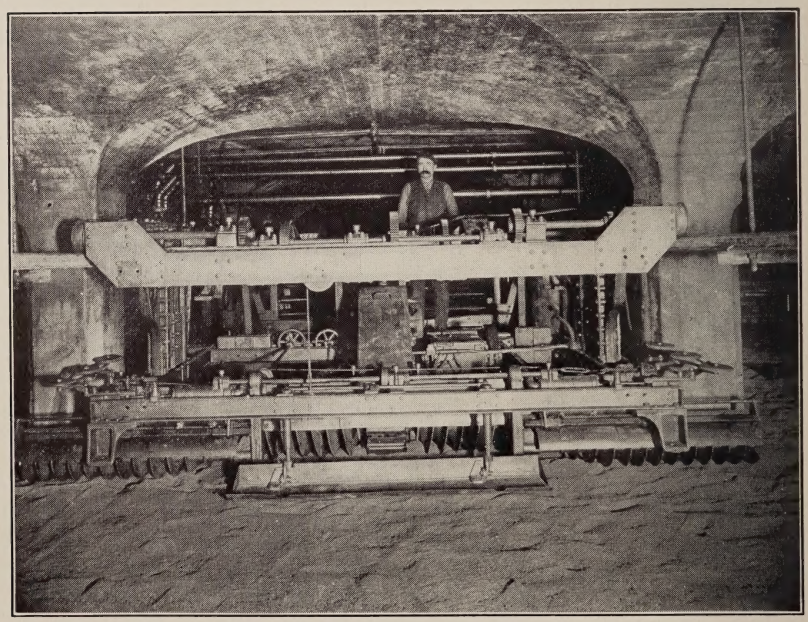
Isometric of Pittsburgh's Filtration Plant
The city's most notable investment for health.

FILTRATION TOOLS

The plant is in a sense a great "pure-water" factory



Interior View of a Filter



Sand-scraping Machine

and residences. With the exception of two or three wards, which received a company supply of filtered water, that part of the city known as the South Side received its water from the Monongahela direct and from the Ohio just below the junction of the Monongahela and the Allegheny. The city of Allegheny—the present North Side of Pittsburgh—was supplied directly from the Allegheny River at a point near Montrose, about eleven miles up the river. A second intake in the city itself, near Sixteenth Street, was discontinued on March 5, 1908.

The Allegheny and the Monongahela Rivers are turbid at all times, and in the spring or after a rain are so muddy that a bright platinum wire can not be seen more than a quarter of an inch below the surface. The rivers commonly carry in solution the soluble chemical products of the mills along their shores,—organic and inorganic; acid and alkali; oils, fats, and other carbon compounds; and in addition, investigators of the river contents have gathered up dead animals, flesh-disintegrated and putrescent, as well as the off-scourings of iron and steel mills, tanneries, slaughter houses, and similar industries. Nor is this all. Seventy-five up-river towns, with an estimated population of 350,000 inhabitants, in the Allegheny or its tributary valleys; and in the Monongahela valley a long string of towns—Swissvale, Homestead, Braddock, Rankin, and McKeesport—all furnish their supply of common sewage as a further contamination.

These conditions have existed since Pittsburgh came into prominence as an industrial center. For thirty-five years typhoid was endemic. The sufferance of this "plague," in the words of a recent treatise on typhoid,* is "one of the black records in the sanitary history of our country." Here and there clamorous,

* Whipple, George Chandler: Typhoid Fever; Its Causation, Transmission and Prevention. New York, Wiley, 1908.

indignant voices were raised against it; but public sentiment became so calloused that it only spasmodically and half-heartedly demanded the system of filtration which brought the delayed relief. In the meantime, those who could not afford to buy bottled water continued to drink filth.

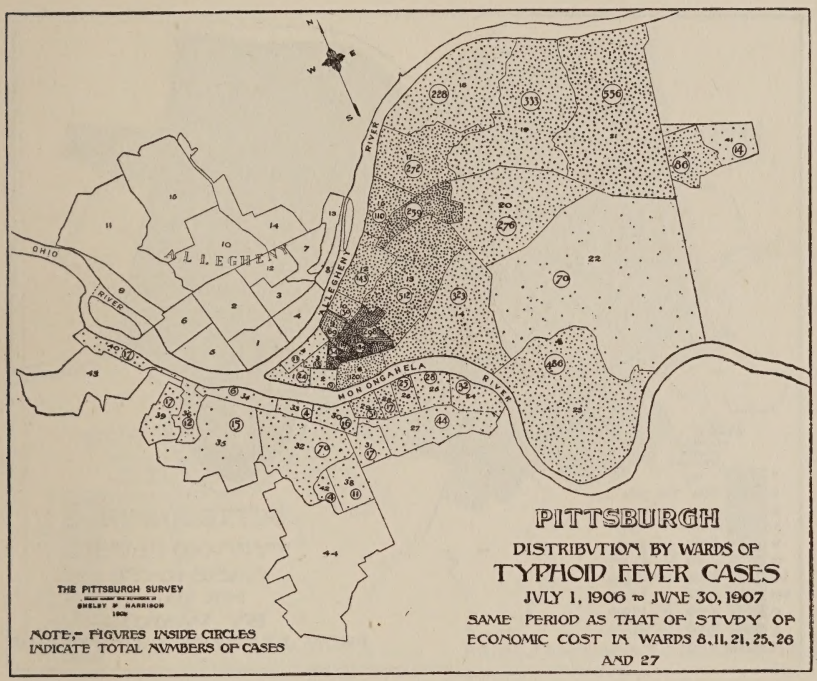
And with what result? For the twenty-five years prior to 1908, an average death rate of 102.5 per 100,000 population;* for the nineteen years between 1889 and 1908 an average of 107; for the last nine years of this period an average of 130; and in 1907, the year of the completion of the Pittsburgh filtration plant, 131.5 deaths and 1,115 cases for every 100,000 inhabitants. A black record this, in the face of incontrovertible evidence from other cities, both in this country and abroad, that the purification of the water supply would have blotted out at least seven-ninths of it styphoid fever cases.

Contrast Pittsburgh's high typhoid death rate with the average for other large American and European cities for the nine years subsequent to 1898:

City	*Typhoid death rate per 100,000*
Pittsburgh	130.0
Allegheny	104.4
Washington	59.0
Philadelphia	54.7
Baltimore	35.3
San Francisco	30.5
St. Louis	30.3
Chicago	27.3
Boston	24.5
New York	18.2
Paris	17.4
London	11.7
Vienna	5.2
Berlin	4.2

*The "Pittsburgh" of this study includes the South Side and other additions to the municipal area prior to the annexation of Allegheny City in December, 1907. The frieze and sign at the Civic Exhibit, however, displayed after the merging of the two cities, were for the Greater City.

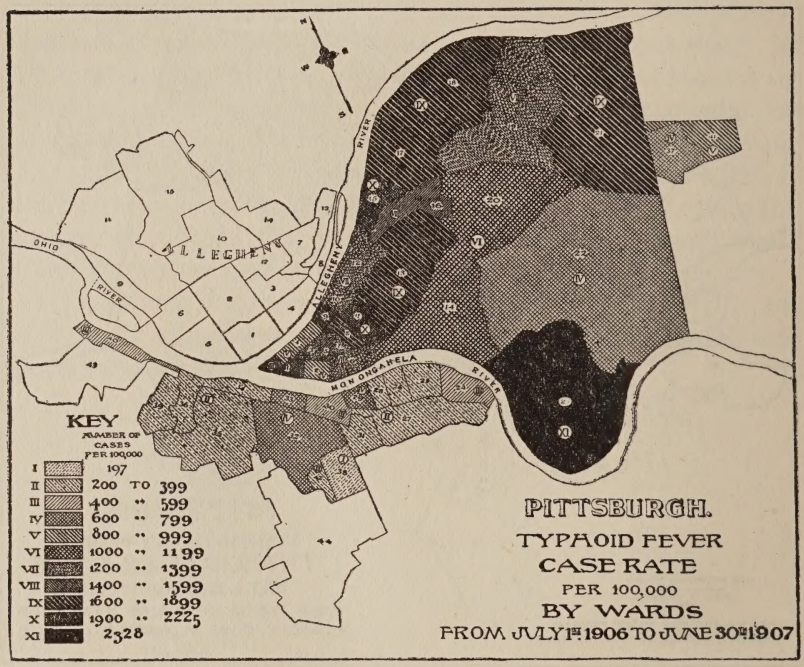
The very even distribution of cases shown on the map printed below points to infected water as the chief cause. Each dot represents a case of typhoid within a year—July 1, 1906, to June 30, 1907—the period covered by the main part of this study.



The two maps which follow show the relative morbidity and mortality, by wards, for the same periods of time.

The chart on page 70 shows the gross number of typhoid cases and deaths reported in Pittsburgh during the twenty-five years from 1883 to 1907; while that on page 71 exhibits the

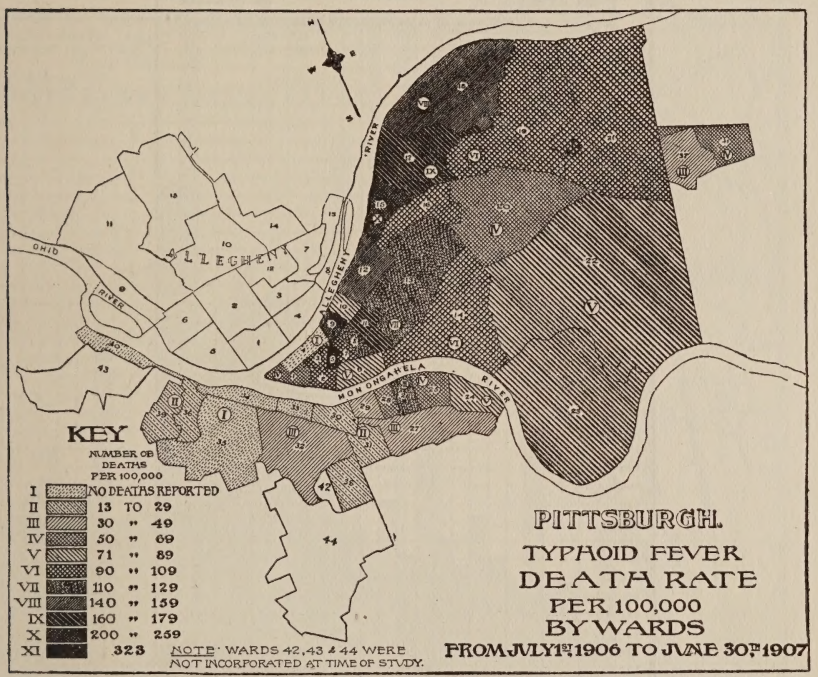
relative rise and fall in the typhoid fever cases and deaths per 100,000 population from year to year, based on estimates of population provided by the United States census bureau. The morbidity figures, however, are taken from the Pittsburgh bureau



of health records following the year 1901, and from the United States census prior to that time.

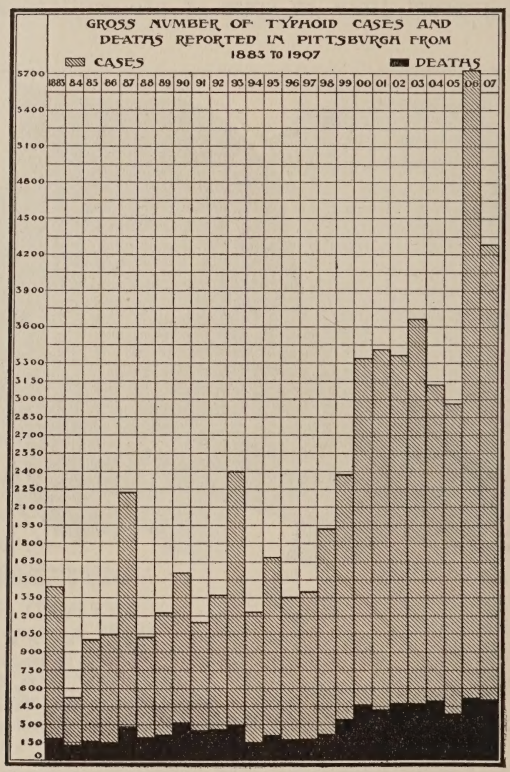
Previous to 1883 very little attempt was made to compel physicians to report typhoid cases to the Pittsburgh bureau of health; hence no reliable morbidity records are available up to

that time. But in the year 1882 an ordinance was passed requiring such reports to be made. It is very certain that several years elapsed before a majority of the cases was actually reported, and even at the present time, in spite of prosecutions and a more



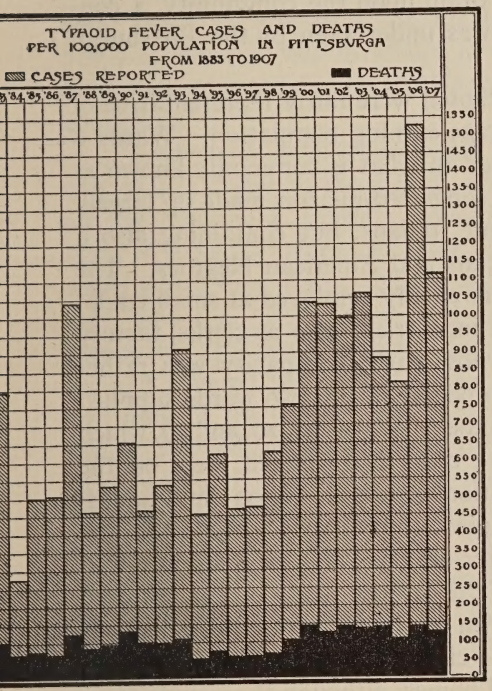
enlightened sentiment, many cases never reach the bureau. Yet the number actually reported in Pittsburgh proper from 1883 to 1908 reached the astounding total of 54,857. Consider this quarter century in which we have records of typhoid. Out of these

54,857 reported cases, 13.5 per cent died as a result of their illness; 7,422 men, women, or children sacrificed to a disease known by

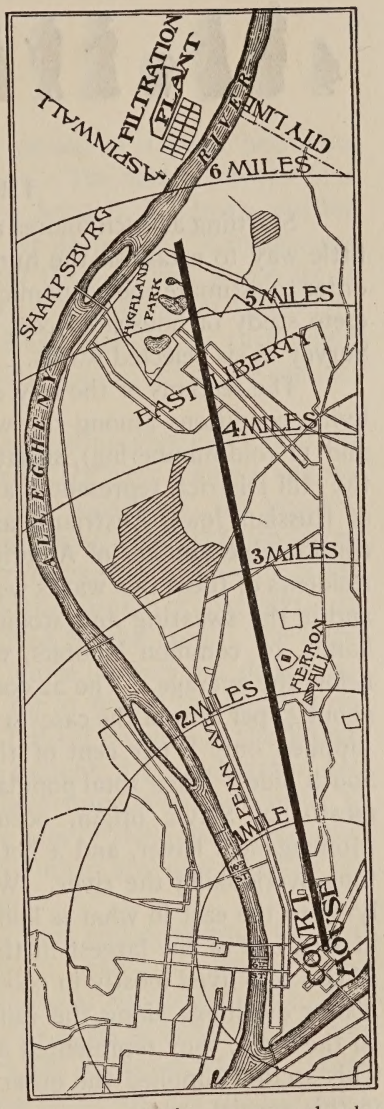


modern science to depend for its very existence upon lax methods of handling food, water, and waste. Over half of them (4,078) were so sacrificed subsequent to February 6, 1899, when the report

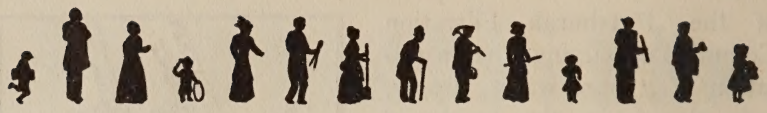
of the Pittsburgh Filtration Commission, urging the installation of a pure water supply, was placed in the hands of the Pittsburgh Councils. In life, these 7,422 people standing single file, four feet apart as in



a military parade, would have formed a line 5.6 miles long; a line which would have extended from the court house up the Allegheny River nearly to the filtration plant at Aspinwall.



Line representing 7,422 people who have died from typhoid fever in Pittsburgh during the quarter century prior to the year 1908. Standing in marching order, single file, four feet apart, they would make a procession 5.6 miles long.



II

THE COST

Startling as such figures and comparisons are, they go only a little way to establish the human meaning of typhoid fever. In order to estimate the economic drain upon the community, a concrete study of household cost was undertaken by the Pittsburgh Survey in six selected wards.

The sections of the city chosen were fairly representative of living conditions among the wage-earning population. Wards 8 and 11 (old numbering), situated in what is commonly known as the Hill District, represented a congested quarter made up largely of Russian Jews, Austrians, and Italians, but containing also a considerable number of Americans and American Negroes. The residents of these two wards were chiefly employed at small trades and in the sweating and stogie industries; also as clerks, factory hands, or common laborers, whose earning capacity was rather below the average. The 22,000 people in the two wards supplied about 44 per cent of the cases studied. Wards 25, 26, and 27, which supplied only 8 per cent of the cases investigated, were on the South Side. Their total population was about 33,000; mill hands, mostly of Slavic origin, occupied the districts bordering the Monongahela River, and a better-off class of Americans the hill-tops overlooking the river. Ward 21, the final section selected, lying to the east in what is known as the Homewood district, was in area one of the largest in the city. Its population was about 26,000 who lived mostly in good homes, although there were some poorer dwellings along the railroad and in some of the "runs." In the main, they represented a high wage or small salaried class. This section supplied the other 48 per cent of the cases included in this special study.

The investigation covered the period of a year, beginning July 1, 1906, and ending June 30, 1907. The field work was done during the winter of 1907–08 by Miss Anna B. Heldman, visiting nurse of the Columbian Settlement, whose personal acquaintance with many of the families of the Hill District, and whose six or eight years' experience in nursing typhoid patients in this neighborhood, enabled her to secure in detail many facts that might have escaped a person less familiar with the district or the families concerned.

Aside from such information as was necessary to learn the cost of the illness to the family, other data were secured bearing on the household, sanitary, and living conditions, the physical state of patients before and after the disease, the home conditions under which they were cared for, how the expense of the illness was met, and the consequence of it to the family or patients. In computing the actual expenses incurred by the family, the items secured covered the cost of doctor, nurse, or servant, drugs, ice, and milk, if the patient was cared for at home; the hospital expenses, if cared for in a hospital; the funeral expenses, if the patient died; and loss of wages both by the patient, if a wage-earner, and by others in the family who may have stopped work in order to care for the patient while sick. The sum of these items, exclusive of any estimate of the value of each human life, was taken as the total cost of the sickness in each family.

Within the year studied, there were either reported by local physicians to the Pittsburgh bureau of health, or known to the investigator (although unreported by local physicians), 433 cases of typhoid fever in wards 8 and 11; 94 cases in wards 25, 26, and 27; and 502 in ward 21—a total of 1,029 in the six wards. These cases occurred in 844 families. Miss Heldman, five months after

the close of the year under review, was able to find but 338 of these families; the remainder had either moved out of the city or been lost track of by people living in the neighborhood.

These 338 families became, therefore, the sphere of our inquiry. In them were 2,045 individuals, or an average of 6.1 persons per family. Of this number, 448 individuals, or 22 per cent, had contracted typhoid fever within the year. Among these 448 cases there were 26 deaths, an exceptionally low percentage of deaths to cases.

Of the 448 patients, 187 were wage-earners contributing all or part of their earnings to the family income. As a result of their illness, these 187 wage-earners lost 1,901.5 weeks' work, or 36.6 years. This amounted to over ten weeks per wage-earning patient, and represented an actual loss in wages of $23,573, and an average loss in wages of $126 per patient. Other wage-earners lost 322 weeks' work and $3,327 in wages while caring for patients, which brought the total of wages lost to $26,900. This was the heaviest burden of loss.

Another large item of cost was the care and treatment of patients. Ninety cases were treated in hospitals for all or part of the time, as pay patients, part charity, or full charity cases. To meet these hospital expenses, $2,332 was paid to hospitals by patients themselves, and $1,835 was paid the hospitals either by individuals or organizations for the care of part-pay patients, making the total cost of caring for 90 hospital patients $4,167. This is an understatement, however, because it omits the contribution of the hospitals themselves to the care of part charity and full charity patients. If the figures had been available, there should have been added the difference between the money paid to hospitals and the actual cost of maintenance therein.

The expenses of the remaining 358 patients cared for in their homes* amounted to $12,889 for doctors' bills, $1,965 for nurses, $862 for servants made necessary by the illness of those ordinarily caring for the home, $2,641 for medicines and drugs, $1,810 for milk, $629 for ice, and $1,204 for other expenses, of which the largest single item was the cost of a trip to Colorado at the doctor's orders, for a patient threatened with tuberculosis. The total of these expenses was $22,000.†

The funeral expenses of the 26 patients who died amounted to $3,186. It may be argued that sooner or later funeral expenses must inevitably be met, and that they should not, therefore, be charged against this account. Under the circumstances, however, these expenses were premature, and it has seemed fair from the point of view of this study to include them.

The grand total loss in wages and in expenses thus outlined, not including the difference between the amount paid to the hospitals and the actual cost of maintenance, was $56,253.

As these wards were of the less well-to-do of the city the figures as to lost income and sickness expense are low rather than high for the entire city. Consider the losses in these wards in their bearing upon the community. The average cost per patient in loss of wages and expenses for the 448 patients was $126. There were 4,283 cases of typhoid fever in Pittsburgh in 1907. If the cost to each patient was $126, typhoid fever cost the

* Of the 358 cases treated at home, 50 received outside aid and 96 were compelled to incur a debt for all of their expenses, with no immediate prospects of being able to repay it. Moreover, many received sick benefits and others were a direct drain on the business interests of the city from the fact that their employers kept them on their payrolls during sickness, at half pay.

† These items in family expenses were entered on the record blanks by our investigator in consultation with each family. They were of a sort which her experience in dealing with typhoid cases in the homes of the Hill District enabled her to estimate and check with more than ordinary accuracy.

city that year about $540,000 in expenses and loss of wages alone,—setting no value at all on the earning power of lives snuffed out. Under the bonding system employed in Pittsburgh this sum would have paid interest, depreciation, and sinking fund charges for the year on the new filtration plant.

When it is considered that typhoid fever had been almost constantly prevalent within the city limits, with practically no abatement, for the preceding thirty-five years, it requires only a little applied mathematics to grasp the probable magnitude of the money loss to the community, year after year, through the ravages of this disease alone.

Some Social Consequences

I have used the term "economic cost" of typhoid fever with reference to Pittsburgh families. The mere phrase carries with it no knowledge of all those family inconveniences and readjustments and the misery and distress of mind that must be considered before we can form any adequate idea of what such sickness holds for a wage-earning population. To measure the result of typhoid fever only in cold cash is a relatively easy task. But there are also the thousand and one makeshifts and re-establishments that must be reckoned with among the poor where, without the invasion of sickness, the business of getting bread is a constant struggle.

In a family consisting of a man, wife, and three children, the sixteen-year-old daughter, who had not been very strong, contracted typhoid. At the end of sixteen weeks in bed and thirty-two weeks out of work, she had developed a marked case of tuberculosis. Not being strong enough to return to her former employment, she secured work in a bakery where she was subsequently seen coughing as she wrapped up bread for customers.

The father of this girl, during her sickness, was keeping six cows on the premises and selling milk to customers living in the neighborhood.

The twenty-year-old wife of a Hungarian laborer had a baby six weeks old when she came down with a slow case of the fever. She remained at home for a week with no one but herself to do the work and care for the baby. The husband, who did not realize the cause of her weakness, gave her a beating each day when he came home, because he thought her lazy. He made her carry up coal for the fires until she became so delirious that he could not keep her in the house. She was then sent to a hospital and the baby taken by friends. The woman died in a week and the baby two weeks later.

A family of five, consisting of father, mother, and three little children, cooked, ate, and slept in one uncurtained room. The mother and four-year-old girl were taken sick at the same time. The sick girl occupied an Arbuckle coffee box, with a pillow for a mattress. The man's overcoat was her only covering. The mother slept in the only bed, furnished with a mattress and one small comforter, which she shared at night with the father, the baby, and their six-year-old girl, who lay across the foot of the bed and was thus exposed to the danger of contracting pneumonia.

A family of seven occupied a store and kitchen on a first floor together with two rooms upstairs. A small bedroom was the only one which had a fireplace, and the entire family slept there—the mother (who had typhoid) in the only bed, and the father and five children in a row on the floor.

In another family, the six-year-old boy had the fever, and was found lying on an improvised bed—the ends of two boards supported on a shelf in a china closet at one end of the kitchen, and on a chair at the other. The mother had arranged it thus, so that she might care for the patient, do the cooking, and attend to the baby at the same time. By this makeshift, the father was free to keep at his work.

Typhoid appeared in a family which consisted of father, mother, and five children, who managed ordinarily with a bed for the parents, a child's bed for the eight-year-old girl, a two-third size bed for two daugh-

ters eighteen and sixteen years old, and a cot for the boys of fourteen and ten years, one boy sleeping at each end. First the mother and one of the boys were taken sick, and during the early part of their illness no one was disturbed. But within a month, and before the first two patients got well, the four other children came down with typhoid, making six in the family sick together. Then the father slept on the floor and the sick mother got out of her bed to give place to two of the children, she herself sleeping at the foot of the bed until one of the children became delirious. After that she moved to the foot of the two-thirds bed. In the day time she had no place to lie down, and sat all day in a chair until she became so weak that she could hardly walk. Occasionally she helped her husband who did the housework and cooked and cared for the patients. No one had time to keep the kitchen sink clean, and the accumulation of vegetable matter became so filthy that it had to be reported to the bureau of health. With family income cut off, and with nothing saved, the family would have starved had it not been that they were trusted for groceries and milk. Friends gave about $20 in cash, the Columbian Settlement furnished bedding and the services of a visiting nurse, and the doctor made his bill moderate. The mother did not fully recover for about six months. The father, who had suffered from loss of sleep and exposure while caring for the patients, contracted a cold. This developed into serious complications from which he died.

To these and many similar families there were more serious results than the debts incurred. A school girl's unrecovered health, a stogie roller's reduced speed, a blacksmith's and a tailor's loss of strength, a case of tuberculosis developed, a boy become a truant, a family broken up and deserted, a baby's death,—all are items of tremendous concern in the annual wear and tear of the city's potential resources. They are items of "economic cost" that can not be measured by any statistical method. They are, in short, the human finger marks that typhoid leaves when its clutches are loosened.

Such a showing, then, of actual economic and personal loss as this study of the ravages of typhoid fever in six Pittsburgh wards brought out, is offered as a final leverage to those in other American cities who may be endeavoring to dislodge inertia and clear their water supplies; or to down some other preventable disease whose human consequences the public has failed to grasp.

Secondary Causes

This investigation of typhoid fever as it was found in the households of the wage-earners of Pittsburgh, had, however, its immediate practical bearings. The sanitary facts it brought out showed unequivocally the necessity for ridding the city of other sources of infection at the same time that the water supply was cleared.

There was evidence that many of the after cases in the families studied were due to conditions existing entirely apart from the water. Reports on housing conditions in Pittsburgh* showed that a favorable laboratory for the growth and dissemination of germs existed in the unsanitary dwellings of the city. Insufficient water supply renders cleanliness almost impossible. Overcrowding means increased infection through contact of disease germs with food and drink in the combined family kitchen, pantry, dining room, and bedroom. Pittsburgh's thousands of open privy vaults afforded ideal conditions for any spread of disease by flies and other insects, and by personal contact. Such plague spots as Saw Mill Run, with its string of double and triple decker rear privy vaults discharging on the banks of a stream which was flushed only when the water rose after a rain, afforded further examples, deplorable and disgusting.

How much of the Pittsburgh typhoid had been due to direct

* See Dinwiddie, Emily, and Crowell, F. Elisabeth: The Housing of Pittsburgh's Workers. P. 87 of this volume.

contagion from such conditions as these could only be inferred at the time of our investigation. In line with the general question of contagion as a secondary cause, however, our data afforded some clues. They showed that in 40 of the families studied, the first case was followed in from ten days to one or two months by other cases, 76 in all, in addition to the original 40. They showed further that in at least 18 of these families, one or more of the following conditions existed: family crowded into one or two rooms; home dirty and poorly kept; the person who cared for the patient also doing the family cooking; well and sick members of the family sleeping in the same room and often in the same bed; privy vaults in exceedingly bad condition, and often stopped up and overflowing with filth.

In one family, consisting of man, wife, four children, and three lodgers, crowded into two dirty rooms, a three-year-old boy was taken sick in October. The mother did the family cooking and cared for the patient. The cesspool in the yard, which was in bad condition, was used by two families. Another member of the family became ill November 3, and the mother came down with the fever on December 19. Within the year there were seven cases in homes surrounding this one court yard.

In another instance a man, wife, and nine children were living in three rooms. On June 20 the sixteen-year-old son was taken sick and was sent to the hospital. Then in July came the illness of the thirteen-year-old daughter whom the mother cared for at home. The mother also did the family cooking. She, the father, and eleven-year-old son all slept in the same room with the patient. All three of them came down with the disease within a month, and in addition another son, twelve years old, was taken sick in August.

In another family of eight, the sink in the kitchen and the toilet in the yard were in a very filthy condition. The mother and one son became ill in August. The sick and the well slept together in the crowded bedrooms. In November, four more members of the family came down

with the disease, on the sixth, ninth, eleventh, and fifteenth of the month respectively.

The appointment of the Pittsburgh Typhoid Fever Commission marked a recognition of these facts and a recognition also from a national and scientific point of view, that probably never again in the history of any large American city would there be such a favorable laboratory in which to study the epidemiological facts of typhoid fever both before and after filtration. This commission, appointed by Mayor Guthrie in April, 1908, was made possible by a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation, and by the co-operation of the bureaus of health and water supply, which offered the free use of their laboratories for analytical and administrative purposes. Dr. James F. Edwards was appointed chairman and the members included Dr. Samuel G. Dixon, state commissioner of health, Professor William T. Sedgwick of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Dr. Milton J. Rosenau, who had been directing elaborate investigations into typhoid in the District of Columbia carried on by the public health and marine hospital service. Dr. E. G. Matson of the Pittsburgh bureau of health was made executive officer of the commission, and it first addressed itself to a minute investigation of all cases of typhoid which appeared on May 1, 1908, including the sanitary condition of the living and working places of patients.

REPORT OF THE PITTSBURGH TYPHOID FEVER COMMISSION

The work of the commission which came to cover a wide range of closely related subjects and extended over a period of several years, is embodied in an extensive report drawn by the

commission's executive officer, Dr. E. G. Matson, to be published subsequent to this volume by the United States Public Health Service, with supporting maps, tables, diagrams, and charts.

The report shows conclusively that contaminated drinking water was the causative agent of the endemic nest of typhoid fever which had existed in Pittsburgh for more than a third of a century, and which has not reappeared since water from the municipal filtration plant was brought into use.

The study of secondary causes disclosed the relative unimportance of milk as a vehicle of typhoid infection in Pittsburgh,—due perhaps to the fact that, locally, the milk is very generally pasteurized before it reaches the consumer; failed to substantiate the theory that flies are important carriers of typhoid; and showed that spring waters and surface wells play no more than an insignificant rôle in the eventful typhoid history of the city.

A rather notable discovery was the inhibitory effect of acidity in the Monongahela River on the prevalence of typhoid, it being observed that the amount of typhoid varied inversely with acidity of the river.

The investigation seems to have furnished another confirmation of the precepts of sanitary science that stagnation in a stream results in the destruction of disease germs, as shown by the seasonal fall of typhoid apparently brought about by the self-purification of low water in the Allegheny during the summer months.

As an example of the ability of an expert statistician to disentangle instructive facts from misleading data the report has unusual value. For instance, it shows the excess mortality from typhoid among girls below the age of fifteen over that among boys of the same age, even though there is an actual excess of males in the total population. This, Dr. Matson believes, is the price paid by girls in the homes of the plain people where they are widely called to nurse other members of the family, with consequent high possibility of exposure to infection.

One of the interesting facts connected with this study was the discovery that one-fourth of all the cases during a particular period of high typhoid fever prevalence had lived in Pittsburgh less than a year, thus

shedding valuable light upon the shifting character of the population of America's great industrial center and its reaction upon health.

Much emphasis has been placed upon the dangers from typhoid to which city dwellers are exposed during vacations or other visits in the country. It appears from this study, however, that persons from the country or from foreign countries, in becoming residents of cities like Pittsburgh, often run even greater risks.

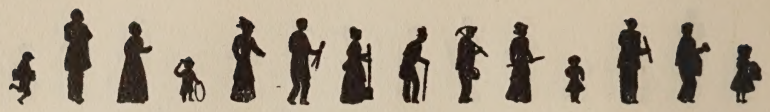
The study developed other interesting and important facts such, for example, as a real connection between typhoid fever prevalence and industrial expansion or recession; the loss of wages due to the prevalence of typhoid; the effect of season in causing rise or fall in the river with the consequent varying typhoid prevalence; acidity or alkalinity of the Allegheny as affected by its tributaries, with increase or decrease of typhoid; and lastly, the influence of nearby and remote towns or villages upon the condition of the river and the relation between typhoid prevalence in these towns and villages and a high or low prevalence in Pittsburgh.

III

THE LONG FIGHT FOR PURE WATER

The story of the long fight for pure water, which lies back of these death rates and the misery of many homes, was brought out in detail in our magazine presentation.* It is ensnarled in the struggle for supremacy between contending factions of the dominant Republican party dating from June, 1896, when the first attempt to redeem party pledges was made by the appointment of a filtration commission, to October, 1908, when the filtration plant was at last supplying a good quality of filtered water to the first 23 wards of Peninsular Pittsburgh. During this period the reins of control zigzagged six times between the two factions of the ruling party, with as many changes in the office of director of

* *Charities and the Commons*, XXI: 923–939 (February 6, 1909).



public works. Proposals were once received but award of contract restrained through injunction proceedings, the court holding that an estimate of the whole cost of the improvement had not been made to Councils and become a matter of public information as required by charter; new ordinances for the letting of contracts were presented to Councils only to be held up by refusal of the comptroller to honor any further indebtedness because there was then no authority for any expenditure for filtration purposes; an attempt was made to substitute a mechanical for a slow sand method of filtration; an increased estimate, which had been ordered, was referred to a sub-committee which consumed ten months' time in reporting that the estimate did not provide for covered filter beds; new estimates were prepared and a commission appointed to verify and make a report as to the correctness of these estimates; a new bond issue was authorized, and it was not until March, 1905, that the final contract was let.

Prior to May 1, 1900, a fund of $2,500,000 was available for the construction of this work, yet no part of the work was begun until five years later,—a delay of at least four years. During all this time, more than $2,200,000, on which the city was paying 3.5 per cent interest, lay in the banks favored by the administration, bringing the city but 2 per cent interest, and during all this time the death rate in Pittsburgh was by far the highest of any of the large American cities. It was more than 30 times as high as the death rate for typhoid fever in Berlin, Germany. But for the delay described the plant might have been brought to completion on January 1, 1904, or at least as far advanced as it was January 1, 1908, and four years—1904, 1905, 1906 and 1907—of excess typhoid fever might have been avoided.

Consider seriously what these four years of excess typhoid fever meant to the people of Pittsburgh in deaths and economic

cost.* The story has been told of less than half of the typhoid victims in six wards out of 43, one year out of four. In 1904, with an estimated population of 352,852, there were 503 deaths from typhoid in Pittsburgh. Cities with a fairly pure water supply, as has been said, do not have over 25 deaths annually per 100,000 population from typhoid. Had Pittsburgh's typhoid fever death rate in 1904 been 25 per 100,000 there would have been but 88 deaths instead of 503 and 415 lives would not have been wantonly blotted out. There were 289 wanton unnecessary deaths in 1905, 425 unnecessary deaths in 1906, and 409 unnecessary deaths in 1907. During the four years, therefore, 1,538 lives were unnecessarily sacrificed.

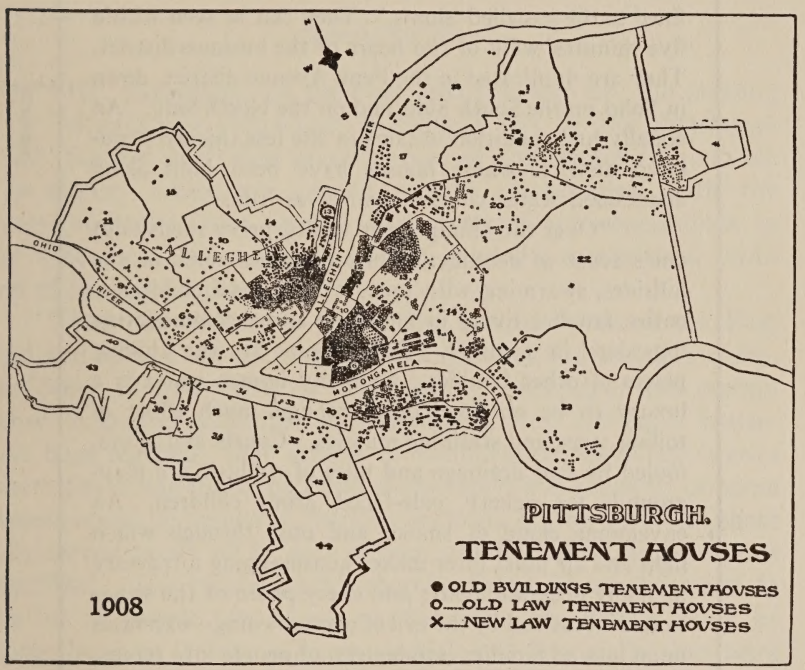
* It is possible to put a money value on this human wastage; but here we leave inductive facts for estimates. Among the 448 cases studied, the loss from lost wages, sickness and funeral expenses averaged $126 per case. If it be assumed that this figure represents the average loss per case for all of the 4,283 cases which occurred in Greater Pittsburgh in 1907, we obtain a total cost to the community of approximately $539,658, and as there were 505 deaths among the 4,283 cases the average cost per death would be, on this basis, $1,069. The sum of $1,000 will perhaps serve us as a rough figure. Let us assume also that the value to the community of these lives lost was $5,000 each. This brings the average loss to $6,000 per death. This is a conservative estimate, in view of recent values placed on victims of tuberculosis, whose average expectation of life is not greatly different from that of victims of typhoid. In a paper read at the International Congress on Tuberculosis, in 1908, Professor Irving Fisher of Yale held that "$8,000 is the very least at which we can reckon the average cost in actual money of a death from tuberculosis in the United States." (Proceedings of Sixth International Congress on Tuberculosis, Vol. III, Section V, page 34.) Prof. Fisher further divides this amount into $2,400 which represents the losses before death, which exceed those in typhoid fever because of the much more protracted period of disability, thus leaving $5,600 as the minimum capitalized value of earnings cut off by death. If we apply the $6,000 rate to the excess typhoid mortality in Pittsburgh, the 415 unnecessary deaths in 1904 meant a wastage of $2,490,000; the 289 unnecessary deaths in 1905, a wastage of $1,734,000; the 425 unnecessary deaths in 1906, a wastage of $2,550,000; the 409 unnecessary deaths in 1907, a wastage of $2,454,000. Lack of pure water in these four years of unnecessary delay meant, if we give weight to these estimates, a wastage of $9,000,000 in community capital, or enough to have built and paid for outright the $5,720,000 plant at Aspinwall, and 41 additional filter beds for serving Allegheny City and the entire urban district.

There are those who may say, and perhaps rightly, that the filtration plant of Pittsburgh is today the magnificent triumph of construction that it is only because of those years of delay in shaping the final plans; that while the men who fought the measure tooth and nail for so many years did not have that purpose in mind, yet the setbacks they caused made in the end for a larger, better, more effective and far-serving plant than would have been possible had the first plans been carried hastily to completion. Such may be the case. If so, let it be remembered at what cost to the people and to their city the fight was won. Let the people rejoice that the cause of pure water triumphed ultimately over a lethargic public sentiment, selfish political purposes, and municipal shortsightedness. Let the plant stand as an object lesson of tardy municipal action and a monument to those hundreds of men, women, and children whose lives were forfeited to an unaroused municipal conscience.

THE HOUSING OF PITTSBURGH'S WORKERS

DISCUSSED FROM THE STANDPOINT OF SANITARY REGULATION AND CONTROL

EMILY WAYLAND DINWIDDIE F. ELISABETH CROWELL



THE housing investigations for the Pittsburgh Survey were made under the direction of Lawrence Veiller, secretary of the New York Tenement House Commission of 1900; first deputy commissioner of the New York Tenement House Department, 1902–03, and organizer in 1912 of the National Housing Association. Two investigations were carried out in co-operation with the Pittsburgh bureau of health, then under the superintendence of Dr. James F. Edwards (the first, December, 1907, to March, 1908; the second in October, 1908). No attempt was made to undertake an exhaustive inquiry, but rather to apply standards worked out in earlier, detailed investigations in New York and Philadelphia, and to study at first hand local types of housing conditions. The field work was carried out by two members of Mr. Veiller's staff in the department for the improvement of social conditions of the New York Charity Organization Society. The sanitary report was the work of Miss Crowell, Miss Dinwiddie reviewing the housing laws. For purposes of presentation in this final volume the reports have been combined into a single chapter and with the assistance of Sherrard Ewing, secretary of the Pittsburgh housing conference (1910–13), certain later developments noted.

THE SITUATION IN 1907–08

"TODAY we have in Greater Pittsburgh, with its population of nearly 600,000, housing conditions which are inimical to public health and to private decency. It requires no skilled detective to ferret out these places, nor are they confined to the so-called 'slums.' They can be seen within five minutes' walk of the heart of the business district. They are duplicated in the Penn Avenue district, down in Soho, on the South Side, and on the North Side. An equally bad condition obtains in the less thickly populated districts where houses have been built along abandoned water courses, known as 'runs.'"

"Over the omnipresent vaults, privy sheds flout one's sense of decency. Eyrie rookeries perch on the hillsides, swarming with men, women, and children—entire families living in one room and accommodating 'boarders' in a corner. Cellar rooms are the abiding places of other families. In many houses water is a luxury to be obtained only through much effort of toiling steps and straining muscles. Courts and alleys, fouled by bad drainage and piles of rubbish, are playgrounds for rickety, pale-faced, grimy children. An enveloping cloud of smoke and dust through which light and air must filter makes housekeeping a travesty in many neighborhoods; and every phase of the situation is intensified by the evil of overcrowding—of houses upon lots, of families into houses, of people into rooms. Old one-family houses converted into multiple dwellings show that the Pittsburgh housing problem threatens to become a tenement house problem as well. To cope with these conditions is a bureau of health hampered by an insufficient appropriation, an inadequate force of employes, and an uneducated and indifferent public opinion."

The gist of a report published in *Charities and the Commons*, March, 1908, and circulated in pamphlet form by the housing committee of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce.

I

CONDITIONS

THE paragraphs on the page opposite sum up the housing situation in Pittsburgh as brought out by the Pittsburgh Survey in its first investigation in the winter of 1907–08. The inquiry, which was carried out in co-operation with the bureau of health, was limited to low rental accommodations in the Greater City and to the closely related governmental problem of sanitary control.

That fine residences graced the shaded lawns of the East End and spread out upon the hills of Avalon, Crafton, Sewickley, and other suburbs; that at Vandergrift, Ambridge, and certain other industrial satellites, new standards for company houses had been reached; that streets of comfortable, detached houses where clerks and mechanics and shopkeepers were tenants or home owners could be named in various sections of the city,—all these only served to set off by way of contrast the depressing conditions described. The better neighborhoods offered no amelioration to the lot of people who lived on the Hill, in Woods Run, or along the river fronts. Geographically and financially they were and are out of reach of the thousands.

That other industrial cities—Cincinnati, Cleveland, and St. Louis, to name three—were having to grapple with similar overcrowding, similar sanitary horrors, similar disease and squalor; that New York in its six-story tenements exceeded them all in mass and in misery, only went to show the national character of the problem. The extent of the evil was no excuse for tolerating such conditions in Pittsburgh or anywhere else in America; it was a warning to head them off.

What the Pittsburgh Survey brought out was not new. Pioneer leaders in the cause of housing reform in Pittsburgh, such as William H. Matthews of Kingsley House, the late Miss Kate

McKnight, and Mrs. Franklin P. Iams of the Civic Club of Allegheny County, had called attention to these conditions and had initiated the beginnings of public control. That the evils continued, unabated in the mass, only showed the odds against which such pioneers had to work, the slenderness of the forces for decency and good order, and the bulk of inertia to be overcome. As far back as 1893, the Tenement Improvement Company of Pittsburgh issued a prospectus which in plain speech told that housing conditions were making for moral and physical ill among the working people of Pittsburgh, and that laws relating to water supply, sewage, garbage collection, and overcrowding were non-existent or non-enforced.

This was fifteen years before the situation as described in the report quoted on page 88; fifteen years during which public officials, big estates, and petty landlords could not claim ignorance of the facts. Nor was what the Pittsburgh Survey brought out overdrawn, as shown by comparison with the following official summary later issued by the Pittsburgh bureau of health of the conditions dealt with by its division of tenement house inspection in 1907:

"On taking up the work March 1, we found the sanitary conditions in the different and widely scattered tenement house sections of the city such as to demand our immediate attention,—foul and full privy vaults, cellars full of rubbish and filth, cellars used for living purposes, etc.

"No part of the work of this division has been productive of more good than the effort to correct unsanitary conditions. Some of the conditions we found were as bad as could be imagined. The privy vaults were often found to be foul and full to the surface, sinks without trap or vent, the rain conductor serving to carry off waste water; damp, dark, and ill-smelling cellars used for living purposes; cellars filthy; leaky roofs causing the walls and ceilings to become watersoaked, rendering the rooms damp and unhealthy; broken and worn floors; broken stair railings and worn and broken treads; plaster broken and paper torn and dirty."

The physical conformation of the land with its succession of hills and steep declivities, its limited ground available for building sites along the waterfront, and the corresponding obstacles to be overcome in securing a transportation system which would spread

. . . PROSPECTUS . . .

THE TENEMENT IMPROVEMENT COMPANY,

Modeled after the Octavia Hill Association of Philadelphia, was formed for the betterment of the housing of the poor of Pittsburgh, for the following reasons:

First. There is no tenement house commissioner in Pittsburgh.

Second. Laws relating to the water supply, sewerage, garbage collecting, overcrowding and use of houses for immoral purposes, are either not in existence or not enforced:

Third. There are within a radius of twenty-five miles of Pittsburgh 35,000 Slavs, 4,000 Bohemians, 30,000 Poles, 10,000 Croatians, 8,000 Ruthenians, 1,000 Russians, 2,000 Servians, 35,000 Italians; these low-class foreigners must of necessity overcrowd the already congested districts.

Fourth. Conditions such as these make for moral and physical contagion, intemperance, pauperism, crime, anarchy, and the destruction of the home.

Fifth. This city is already aroused to the necessity of caring for the children before they become criminals, but these efforts are of little value unless strengthened by the influence of decent and respectable homes.

Sixth. Pittsburgh, in proportion to its wealth and prosperity, has done nothing to improve the housing conditions of the very poor.

The Purpose of the Company is to buy, build or remodel tenements in the worst localities, put them in sanitary condition, install tenants of moral character at the same rents paid before and have weekly visits of inspection made by women rent collectors. The Company will agree to manage, on these same lines, tenement houses for property holders on commission.

FOLDER OF 1893
The beginning of housing reform in Pittsburgh

out the residential areas; the extent to which land was held by large estates, and the tax system which encouraged these holdings* and at the same time discouraged house building,—all these factors had gone to accentuate difficulties which we have too long regarded as inevitable in the process of developing a frontier trading post into a modern city. The resulting evils needing correction in Pittsburgh resolved themselves into familiar types.

The Vaults

Of these evils the vaults were without doubt the most noxious and omnipresent. Within a few blocks of the county court house, in almost any alley the investigator was likely to find antiquated and indescribably foul privies,—privies that were not only polluting the atmosphere but were contributing a large quota to the mortality and morbidity of the community by serving as breeding places of disease germs to be distributed by flies.

The combination of an impure water supply with these primitive arrangements for the disposal of waste formed a vicious circle—the privy vaults serving to perpetuate conditions for which the water was primarily responsible. The new filtration plant, opened in 1908, struck at one source of infection. The bureau of health in 1907 inaugurated a campaign against the other.

It estimated at the outset of the campaign that 19,000 families in the old city alone were dependent upon privy vaults, numbers of which were not even sewer-connected. These vaults were not confined to any one section of Pittsburgh. They were to be found hidden in the corners of dark, noisome courts, in plain view at the edge of the street, or on the rocky sides of the hills, with seldom even a lattice surrounding them. The majority were easily accessible from the street, and when doors were allowed to remain unlocked the condition of the compartments was indescribable. When sewer-connected, they were of the type which is flushed at irregular intervals, and in which there is always a residue of filth at the bottom. Frequently in these old privies the surface waste water from a yard or court was supposed to drain into the privy well, but the drain became obstructed

*See Harrison, op. cit. P. 156 of this volume.

EXTREME CIVIC NEGLECT

Yard showing batteries of privy vaults and dilapidated condition of steps leading to third story. Two-room apartments rented for $12 per month in 1908. The pump was the sole water supply for two rows of houses

SAW MILL RUN

Rear view, showing dry closets which emptied at edge of stream. At the time of the Pittsburgh Survey the residents of this neighborhood were agitating for a sewer. They are still without one

at its junction with the vault and the waste water stood in greasy pools on the broken, uneven surface of the ground. Vaults were to be seen in Pittsburgh full to the brim and overflowing with liquid filth. Some drained down the side of a hill through an open conduit into a neighbor's back yard. One was found emptying at the curb of a busy street in a thickly populated section of the city. Thence the sewage found its way to the nearest street corner and at last into its proper receptacle—the public sewer. In one section, closet compartments were found built over long, wooden chutes which were supposed to empty into a running stream, or "run," which in its turn emptied into the Ohio River. The word "supposed" is used advisedly. As a matter of fact excreta were found exposed on the ground at the edge of the run, which was expected to rise and wash the sewage away when the river rose —an uncertain event both as to time and frequency. The chutes were abolished in 1907, but a more important change in sanitary equipment has been slow in coming. The particular stream in question, Saw Mill Run, drains the sections of the city commonly known as Montooth, Beltzhoover, Mt. Washington, West Liberty, and Elliott, as well as considerable territory not within the city limits. In 1907 and 1908 it was supposedly carrying off the sewage of about 35,000 people, though residents of the section who were agitating for a sanitary sewer claimed that "during most of the year the creek was shallow." In 1912 the residents were still agitating for the sewer. In 1914 they are still without one.

In 1907, despite lack of funds and a lethargic public opinion, the bureau of health caused 3,590 vaults to be filled and abandoned. By January 1, 1909, the total number condemned had been raised to 5,723, and 9,323 sanitary water-closets had been installed for the use of 10,471 families. In other words, fully 50,000 people had been affected by this vigorously prosecuted reform, but an indication of the size of the task was the fact that in the first 20 wards of the old city alone the number still in use was as large as the total thus far removed for the whole city.*

* In January, 1910, the department of health, with Dr. E. R. Walters as director, estimated the total remaining privy vault wells in use in Greater Pittsburgh, including former Allegheny, at 18,000. Official reports show that 1,131 vaults were abated in 1910 and 4,118 in 1911. Eight to ten thousand are still in use at the beginning of 1914.

sewage disposal with which, years after the importance of modern plumbing had come to be recognized, the entire face of the city was still pitted. Another state of affairs obtained in many of the houses inspected which, if not as primitive, was quite as intolerable when judged by the ordinary standards of sanitation. As a makeshift measure, in many old buildings so-called sanitary closets had been installed in the cellars, under sidewalks, and in small, unventilated, partitioned-off sections of the living rooms. When inferior workmanship and cheap material are combined in such closets they are little better than none at all. The water supply for flushing the bowls was found in many instances to come from an adjacent waste pipe and to be totally inadequate.

In a brick row of one-family houses at Thirtieth and Spruce Streets, owned by the Crucible Steel Company, there were nine such closets located under the sidewalk or court, and opening from the cellar kitchens. They were connected with the yard drain which was supposed to flush the bowls. Whenever the drain became obstructed the closets were without water, and according to the statement of one of the tenants this condition frequently endured for weeks at a time. About twice a year the company flushed the drain from a nearby hydrant. The provision for the lighting and ventilation of these closets was an opening over the coal hole that adjoined each closet compartment. In summer, numerous cracks in the partitions between coal bins and closets allowed a modicum of light and air to filter through, but in winter the openings over the coal holes were securely covered by the tenants, so that practically the closets were dark, unventilated, and unflushed during several months of the year.

In the neighborhood known as Negley Run, one building was found with six cellar closets. Dark and difficult of access, such closets were hiding places for filth and rubbish, and breeding places for disease. One such cellar that was inspected fairly beggared description. Before descending the cellar steps the stench warned the investigator of what might be expected. Of the three closet compartments one was unlocked and unspeakably filthy. The entire floor of the open space in the cellar, as well as of a partitioned-off portion, was literally covered with filth. In one corner leaking water and waste pipes added their quota.

The extremely foul condition of the cellar was explained by the fact that the entrance to it was by steps leading down from the rear yard. It would have been inconvenient to keep the heavy doors over these steps closed and locked, and as a result the cellar was a public privy for any chance passerby who wished to make use of it.

Water Supply

Another widespread evil with which for a generation Pittsburgh households had had to contend was an inadequate water supply. Housing investigators are familiar with the oft-repeated statement that "if these people lived in the country they would have to carry water from the yard to the house"; but conditions that may be tolerated on a farm or in a small village become indefensible when repeated in the congested quarters of an industrial city. With a water main and a sewer in the street it is inexcusable not to have running water in every house. Pittsburgh is a city of hills and mills and grime and smoke. It is difficult to keep clean under the most favorable conditions. Cleanliness is out of the question when water has to be carried not only from a hydrant in the court or yard but up three or four flights of stairs as well, and carried not once but twice, for in these cases there is rarely any provision for the disposal of waste water which in turn must be thrown out or carried downstairs and emptied into the yard drain.

Small wonder, then, that waste water was emptied from second-story and third-story windows and allowed to stand in pools in adjoining yards or courts, whence it found its way down through narrow passageways between the houses, across sidewalks, and into the street gutter. One ingenious second-floor tenant had hit upon the labor-saving device of installing a sink in the rear room of his apartment and running the waste pipe halfway across a first-story extension; a wooden conduit served to continue the drain to the center of the roof where connection was made with the rain leader, and so to the yard below.

Inadequate water supply within the houses was most frequent in old dwellings which had been converted into tenements. The process of conversion had usually meant merely the crowding of three or more families into quarters originally intended for one or two. This had not necessarily implied that any structural changes in the buildings had been made, or that the sanitary accommodations were multiplied to meet the demands of the increased number of families. In such cases, one of the chief evils, aside from the question of inconvenience, was the ruthless destruction of privacy that ensued. With no common hall, the usual

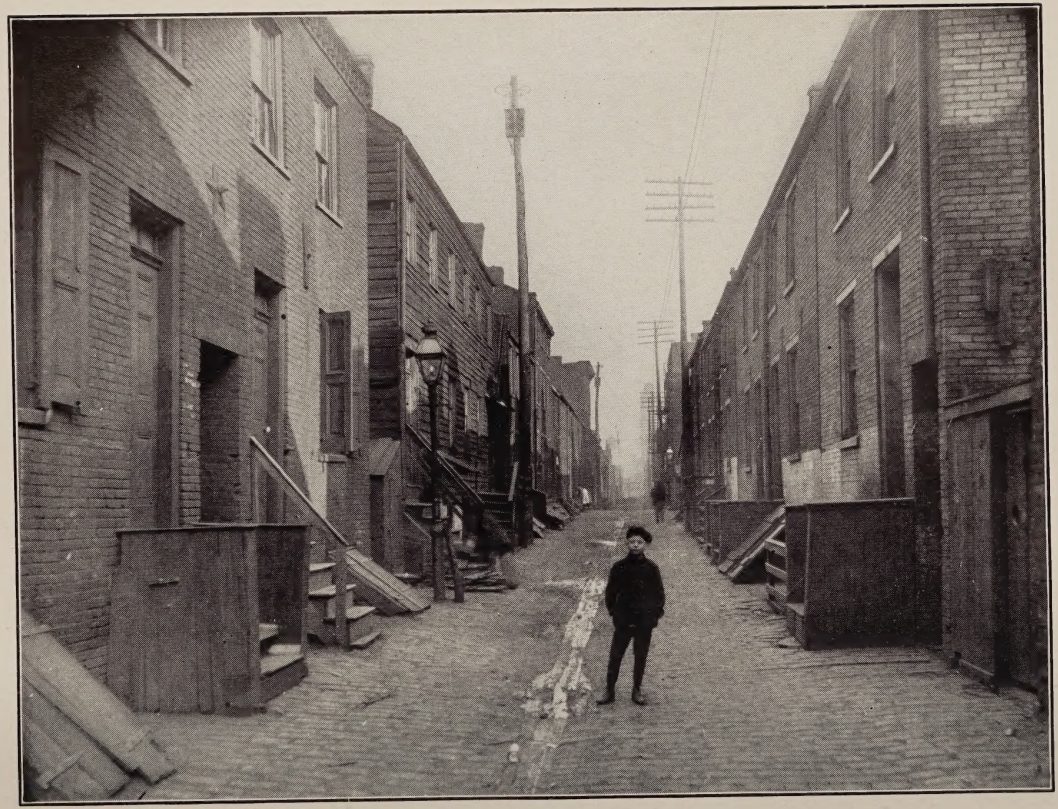
means of access to the faucet was through the living room or rooms of another family. This was also found to be true of sanitary closets in some instances where these had been installed within the house. When the sinks and closets were located in a common entry or passageway, a filthy condition of the fixture was to be expected. What was everybody's business was nobody's business. There was no placing the responsibility for the proper care of sink or toilet, and if out of repair they were allowed to continue in this condition for weeks and even months.

Just opposite the Union Station a row of seven houses was visited for which the sole water supply was one hydrant in the court. In the next court another hydrant furnished water for the tenants of 13 houses. These were not isolated examples. In a pamphlet issued by Kingsley House in February, 1907, William H. Matthews, then resident director, challenged public attention to the yard hydrants and rank privy vaults which infested the tenements of the Hill,—the old residential area back of and above the business district. He did not hesitate to indicate the ownership of many of these structures,—churches and "old family estates" among them,—and in discussing the poor water supply, showed its burden upon womankind. To quote:

"In the courtyard, often close by the closets, one finds a hydrant and a sink. To this must the tenants, whose houses open on the court, come for every drop of water they would use. Back to the sink must they return with the waste, or else throw it from the window into the court or street. That they often do the latter is not to be wondered at. Thrown into the court, a small part of the stuff trickles its way to the sink; the rest soaks into the ground. Where the yards are paved, the women may be seen at any hour of the day hard at work with their brooms in an effort to keep the place clean. But in many cases there is no such paving and the water and other matter soaks into the rotten planks that have been spread about the courts by the women in an attempt to keep the mud from being tracked into the house. Here, too, the hydrant and the sink ofttimes are frozen during the winter and then must the tenant resort for her water supply to some neighbor who is fortunate enough to have a supply in the house. Bear in mind this fact, that the hydrant is the supply not only for those on the first floor, but also for those living on the second and third, and up and down the stairs they must toil with their buckets.

"It is no wonder that they are stooped and broken in health—that

STEWART'S ROW
Showing proximity of privy vaults to kitchen



ALLEY DWELLINGS

The cellars used for living purposes: Mulberry Alley from the corner of 13th Street

there is a constant knocking at the hospital doors, that they tell you were it not for their children they would sooner be dead than living. The conditions under which they must live mean constant hardship, sickness, and bitter struggle.

"Go through Pike Street, Mulberry and Spring Alleys, through the Hill district from Sixth Avenue up, over on the South Side, and see for yourself if this is not true. Pick your way through the narrow alleys between the houses, look into the closets and shacks that fill the court-yards, grope your way through living rooms, go up the narrow, black stairways, note the ceilings patched with papers where the leaking roof has sent the plaster to the floor, feel the wintry wind as it drives its way through rattling windows and flimsily constructed doors, look at the worn, tired bodies and faces of the mothers, at the little children huddled about the stove; go out on the street and scan closely the faces of the boys and girls who are growing into manhood and womanhood and see what kind of men and women these environments are producing, and then, as you sit in your own comfortable home that evening, ask yourself squarely the question what chance you would have had under such conditions—ask yourself the question if you are not in part responsible for them and if you are doing all in your power to relieve them.

"I hear people say that there is no poverty in Pittsburgh—that there is work for all—that if there are people in want some one can always be found to give unto them bread. What of it? Are we to sit at ease or to go on piling up steel on steel, industry upon industry, concerning ourselves only with the question as to whether men's stomachs are full? These people are not asking for charity. They are asking for living conditions under which their children may grow up into clean, decent, respectable manhood and womanhood. I have noted of late the reports of some of our physicians who have been rendering good service in examining the children of the public schools. They are surprised and alarmed at the prevalence of many diseases. They would be more alarmed, though I doubt if surprised, did they but know the conditions under which so many of the public school children lived. And in those conditions will be found, I believe, the causes of many of the diseases.

"The wonder to me, as I have gone in and out of these places during the past month, has been, not that so many were sick, but rather that any at all could be well."

Cellar Dwellings

The occupancy of cellar and basement rooms for living purposes is an evil which has been aggravated in Pittsburgh by

the hilly character of the land. It is a question how far rooms partially sunk in the ground on the edge of a declivity come under the legal definition of cellar rooms; but one fact is certain, however they may conform to the letter of the law they are in direct contravention of its spirit. Entirely below the ground level on one side, some had three sides open, but others had adjoining rooms in front with perhaps a window or door opening upon a narrow passageway or a flight of stairs between this house and the next one. We found instances of such rooms lighted by a small grating in the sidewalk (which practically meant no light at all), without ventilation, damp, utterly unfit for human habitation, serving as bedrooms for a family—father, mother, and two or three children.

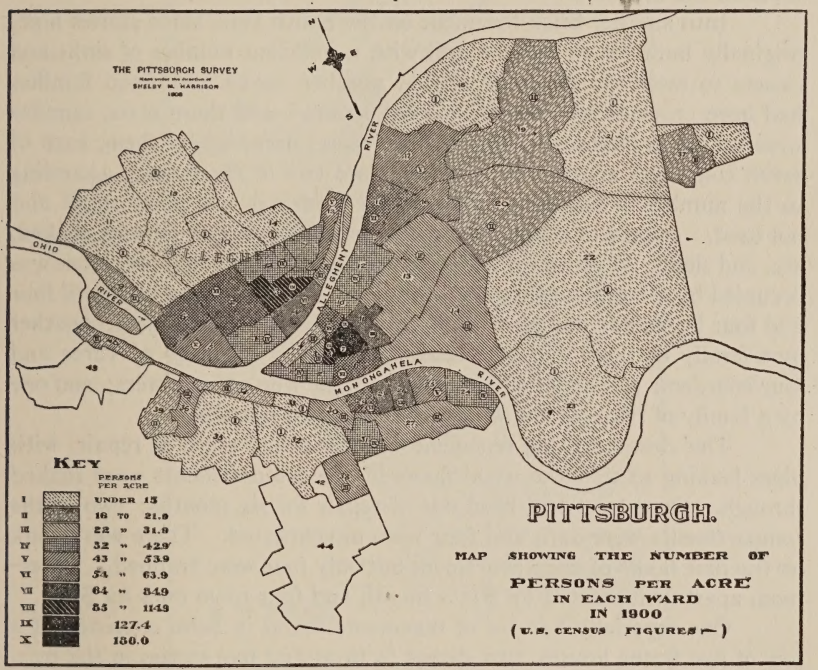
But our inquiries brought to light the fact that in addition to these half cave-like rooms, ordinary cellar or basement dwellings, as they are commonly known, existed in excessive numbers in Pittsburgh. These were an unmixed evil, whether occupied as kitchens or bedrooms, or both, as was frequently the case. In the course of a month's inquiry, in co-operation with the bureau of health, 409 such rooms were located in various sections of the city. Of this number, 364 were cellar rooms as defined by law,—that is, more than one-half the height of the room was below the ground level,—and 62 of these rooms were occupied as sleeping rooms. Of the remaining 45 basement rooms, all were below the required height of rooms permitted to be occupied for living purposes (8½ feet), and nine were occupied as sleeping rooms.

Overcrowding and Inadequate Sanitation

If the truth were known, the landlord was not always immediately responsible for the renting of these cellar rooms as dwellings, or for other forms of overcrowding, although his remote responsibility was evident when account was taken of the exorbitant rents often demanded for the house as a whole. Take for example the case of a five-room house, two stories and a cellar. The tendency was for the tenant to sub-let the two rooms on the second floor to one family, and the cellar to another. By charging the sub-tenants a little more than their pro-rata share of the rent, he reduced his rent for the two remaining rooms considerably below what he would have had to pay for a two-room apartment elsewhere. He had also done another thing; he had changed the

character of the dwelling from a one-family dwelling to an embryo tenement, and ushered in the beginnings of city congestion. In other cases, sub-letting was being entered upon as a business venture, the immigrant landlord exploiting his new-coming countrymen—as does the immigrant sweater.

Where sub-tenants were in turn moved to increase their income by taking in lodgers or boarders, a usual custom among the foreign population, we had superimposed upon these various



other evils a condition of overcrowding that served to intensify a hundredfold every bad condition of which mention has already been made. Foul closet compartments in the house or yard were made more foul; disorder and dirt became more and more the accepted state of things. Dark, unventilated rooms were made to do duty as sleeping rooms for six, eight, ten, and even more lodgers; and when one room was found to be the sole living and sleeping room of husband, wife, and children, and two or more

lodgers, one could but feel that the last word had been spoken, the last barrier of decency thrown down.

It would be possible to cite an indefinite number of instances of overcrowding and lack of proper sanitary accommodations found in Pittsburgh in 1907–08. In one five-story brick tenement on Bedford Avenue, containing 108 rooms, but 12 closets and four sinks were found in the entire building: six closets and a sink on the first floor, two closets and a sink on the second floor, the same on the third and fourth floors, and none on the fifth floor.

Into another brick tenement on the South Side, three stories high, originally built for 10 families and with a sufficient number of sinks and closets to meet the demands of that number, seven additional families had been crowded by sub-letting eight rooms,—and these seven families were taking in boarders. Of the eight rooms occupied by them, each of seven contained a stove, table, chairs, and two or three beds, according to the number of boarders. The eighth room was extremely small and not used. In each of these seven rooms from five to eight persons cooked, ate, and slept. A census of the rooms brought to light that one room was occupied by a family of three and three boarders; one by a family of four and four boarders; one by a family of three and two boarders; another by a family of three and two boarders; one by a family of three and four boarders; one by a family of two and the wife's two sisters; and one by a family of two and the wife's sister and two boarders.

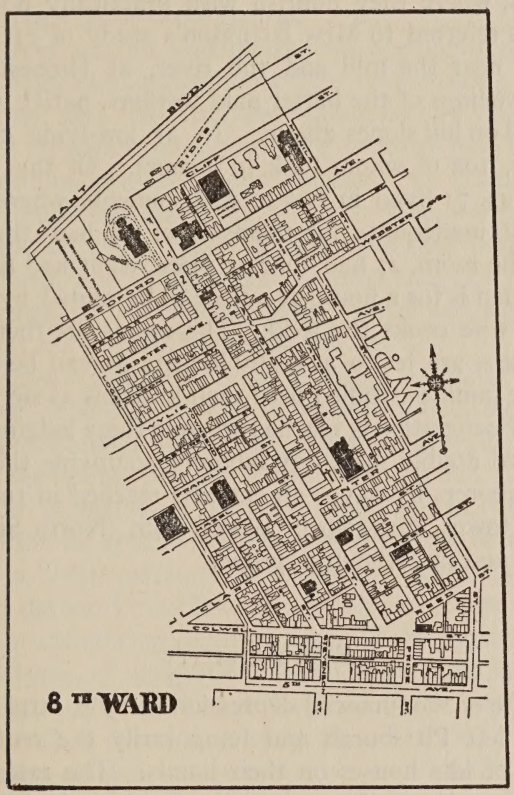
The closets in this tenement were in a bad state of repair, with pipes leaking so that the wood floors of the compartments were soaked through. One closet had been out of repair for six months; two of the compartments were dark and four were unventilated. There was a sink on the first floor* of each apartment but only four were trapped. Three-room apartments rented for $13 a month and four-room ones for $15.

One especially bad lot of tenements found in Soho consisted of a row of five frame houses, two stories in front and five stories in the rear. The houses were in a dilapidated condition; the plumbing was defective, the outside stairs had broken treads, the porches were insufficiently braced and had sagging, broken flooring, and from one flight the hand rail was missing. There was a sink in each apartment, usually untrapped, and frequently both waste and water pipes leaked badly. One unsewered vault represented the sole closet accommodations for the 19 families living in this group of houses (including the boarders, a total of 151 persons). The vault, situated farther down the hill, was reached by crossing a rickety platform so full of holes that its use was dangerous after nightfall.

* In the usual type of multiple house the apartments ranged vertically, with one room above another instead of on the same floor.

One especially large hole near the center of the platform was evidently used as a garbage dump, for directly below there was an unsightly pile of garbage and refuse of every description.

The overcrowding in this house was another feature worthy of note. One room was occupied by 10 boarders, two of whom were on a night shift and slept during the day, and there were two rooms each occu-



ONE OF THE CONGESTED DISTRICTS
(Eighth Ward—old numbering)

pied by nine boarders, one room with eight occupants, two with seven each, three with six each, two with five each, one with four, one with three, and one star boarder had a room entirely to himself, while the family of six slept in the kitchen. One of the rooms occupied by five boarders was a cellar room containing but one small window. Two-room apartments here brought from $6.00 to $8.50 a month; three-room apartments, from

$9.50 to $11, the average rent per room being $3.35. The total yearly income from the property was about $1,800. The item of repairs was a negligible quantity here as in many other cases.

For a description of the immigrant lodging houses, characteristic of an industrial center of the Pittsburgh type and of the mill town courts, where they flourish with practically no regulation, the reader is referred to Miss Byington's study of 21 such courts on the flat near the mill and the river, at Homestead.* The detached dwellings of the better paid workers, native and foreign, are clustered on hill slopes above. In 21 low-lying courts lived 239 families, 102 of whom took in lodgers. Of the 102 families taking lodgers, 71 lived in two-room tenements where the space was already inadequate for themselves; 55 had three or more persons to the room, 27 had four or more, eight had five or more. The usual plan is for a house or a floor to be rented by a boarding boss, whose wife cooks the food. The rooms are then filled with cots and these are let to as many lodgers as can be crowded in. One-half the families studied used their kitchens as sleeping rooms. The acme of congestion is reached when in these lodging houses the beds are used double turn, day laborers occupying them at night and night laborers by day,—an extreme reached in 1907 not only in the mill towns, but also in Woods Run (North Side), on the South Side, and in Pittsburgh proper.

Responsibility

Because of the financial depression in 1908, large numbers of immigrants left Pittsburgh and temporarily the rental agencies had plenty of idle houses on their hands. The rates they were quoting—lower if anything than those which had prevailed in prosperous times—threw light on the housing situation as it faced the laborer in Pittsburgh. Two-, three-, four-, and five-room apartments were available in many sections of the city at an average monthly rental of from $2.50 to $5.00 a room. There were also some single houses to be obtained at similar rates per

* Byington, Margaret F.: Homestead: The Households of a Mill Town, pp. 131–137. (The Pittsburgh Survey.)

room. Over half of these dwellings were without any modern sanitary accommodations, and many were in a wretched state of repair. The majority of the houses were in the most squalid quarters of the city, where living is high at any price. Certain dwellings were offered especially to foreigners or Negroes,—dilapidation, lack of conveniences, and undesirable locality being conspicuous features of these houses.

There was an old and discredited argument rife in Pittsburgh that many immigrants come from even worse conditions in their own land, and that they are willing to live thus. We call the foreigner an undesirable neighbor; we offer him the meanest housing accommodations at our disposal; we lump him with the least desirable classes of our citizens; then we marvel at his low standards of living. Let us first give him better, cheaper houses; a decent and comfortable home instead of a mere shelter from the elements, unwholesome, overcrowded, and expensive, and then see what his standard of living will be.

Where evil conditions obtain as result of the thrifty instinct of the tenant, it is bad enough in all conscience, but where the callous or preoccupied stewardship of a supposedly respectable landlord, or the itching palm of an unscrupulous one, is responsible, the situation is far more reprehensible. When that landlord is a corporation of great resources, the efficiency of whose workmen must in some measure be dependent upon their rest and health, even the most nimble-witted will be hard put to it to find any excuse or conserving common sense in the matter.

Three types of congestion, dilapidation, and responsibility are illustrated in the sketches at the close of this section, types so extreme that they have long since been rectified.* Particular properties were singled out, not in a spirit of unfair discrimination or of making a few "horrible examples" represent Pittsburgh dwellings, but because each presented the accumulation in one building or group of buildings of evils which in one phase or another cropped out in thousands of wage-earners' dwellings in the city and the adjoining district.

Skunk Hollow represented the squatter on the hillside and in the runs, who in shack or single dwelling pioneers for himself according to his lights but often to the hazard of public health.

* See Three Studies in Housing and Responsibility. Pp. 124 ff. of this volume.

Painter's Row on the South Side was for years an example of evil company-house conditions.

The old shack which stood on Basin Alley, and was known as Tammany Hall, was a glaring example of a third type of responsible ownership, that of private owner, lessee-landlord, or boss. With these the desire for the largest possible return consistent with the smallest possible expenditure is the economic motive back of overcrowding and disrepair. This motive is of no more than ordinary sordidness, but in a traffic in homes it makes brutal inroads upon the health of the community.

In the case of large estates, a system of leasing for a period of years sometimes entered in to divide responsibility and to choke progressive action on the part of either landlord or leaseholder. Such division of responsibility could not, however, be offered in explanation of the policy of managers in direct control of large properties. They could not satisfactorily plead ignorance of conditions, nor successfully offer the excuse that they were responding to a changed sentiment. We are dealing after all with a field in which they should long since have been the best informed citizens and the most active leaders of public opinion.

The endurance of such conditions is not only repugnant, but is destructive of human accomplishment. When in such environment a laboring man is forced to house his family and rear his children, working years are reduced and efficiency is impaired. Crime no less than disease is bred in dark places. The psychological effect of an overcrowded, unsanitary home on growing girl or boy can not be estimated. The community at large suffers.

II

PITTSBURGH'S HOUSING LAWS

Apart from all questions of private ownership or blame, the existence in any city of seams of congestion, dilapidation, and filth is a matter of public concern and action. When the whole community suffers, the whole community can not escape its part in the responsibility.

After reading such reports on twentieth century conditions the question naturally arises whether there were no building and sanitary codes in Pittsburgh. The answer is that many of these conditions were not only unsanitary and indecent; they were

illegal as well. In 1903, a tenement house law had been passed by the Pennsylvania state legislature which applied to Pittsburgh. In securing this law the second class cities had outstripped Philadelphia, the one first class city of the state, in housing legislation.* The law divided houses into two major classes: (a) one- and two-family dwellings which fell under general laws and ordinances with respect to public health, and which, owing to the existence of privy vaults, inadequate water supply, cellar dwellings, and overcrowding (especially that due to the boarding-boss system), presented a very large and unsatisfactory range of conditions in Pittsburgh; and (b) tenement houses proper, which included all houses sheltering three or more families. For purposes of administration, the health authorities classified the latter as old dwellings converted to tenements, old-law tenements, and new-law tenements, following in general the classifications employed in New York. In the case of both tenements and other houses, responsibility for local sanitary control was vested in the Pittsburgh bureau of health.

Pittsburgh had thus recognized the need for public control over the congestion of dwellings brought in by city growth; and both what the existing law provided and what it lacked, illustrate the chief phases of the problem of sanitary regulation as we have come to recognize it in America.

Power to Vacate. Up to 1911 the most serious limitation of the powers of the Pittsburgh health officials as against those of corresponding departments in many other cities, was their lack of authority to vacate buildings unfit for habitation. Even in the case of "Tammany Hall," which was almost as notorious in Pittsburgh as Gotham Court in New York, the bureau of health was unable to take direct action of this sort.

Before the Survey's reinvestigation in the fall of 1908 the bureau had indeed succeeded in getting this building torn down; but another familiar eyesore on Bedford Avenue was still standing. It was rented out, at least in spots, to three families in the front and three in the rear buildings,

*The law of 1903 was passed in the form of two bills, one chiefly having to do with matters of construction and its enforcement placed in the hands of bureau of building inspection; the other, including construction and sanitation, in the bureau of health; both at that time bureaus in the department of public safety. A law applying to new buildings in Philadelphia preceded this legislation of 1903.

Negroes and whites. These buildings looked dirtier and more dilapidated than when visited the preceding winter. The owner, a woman, had been notified over a year before that the houses must be repaired and certain alterations made if they were to be occupied as tenements. She had pleaded a heavy mortgage and a dying sister. The mortgage still held, the sister was still dying, she was unable to find a purchaser for the property, and in the meantime two-room "apartments" were still to be secured for $12 a month, with all ancient inconveniences: water to be obtained only from a hydrant in the yard and shared possibly with 11 families; foul privy compartments also to be shared with neighboring families and perchance with an occasional passerby. None but the lowest class of tenants will live in such to-be-abandoned dwellings, and their continued existence constituted a grave danger from a sanitary point of view not only to the immediate neighborhood but to the entire city. So long as the law permitted these breeding places for disease, so long the fight against filth diseases was bound to be a losing one.

Since 1867, one year after its creation, the Board of Health in New York City has had authority to vacate buildings unfit for occupation, and in 1887 it was expressly included in the law that this power applied to any building "unfit for use on account of the drainage, plumbing, ventilation, or the construction of the same, or because of the existence of a nuisance on the premises, and which is likely to cause sickness among its occupants." This provision remains in force in New York at the present day and power to enforce it has been extended to the Tenement House Department as well. In the course of one year the latter department alone vacated between 100 and 200 houses. Similar powers are held by boards of health in other cities. In Boston and Chicago they are exercised. In Washington many buildings have been not only vacated but demolished. Nor is this authority confined to the largest cities; Jersey City, with a population 100,000 less than Pittsburgh's in 1907, and Rochester, with 40,000 less than Jersey City, both had health boards with full powers in this regard.

Not until the legislative session of 1911 was the Pittsburgh health authority given power to order premises to be vacated and buildings demolished.

How matters stood in Pittsburgh at the time of our investigation is illustrated in the matter of cellar rooms in one- and two-family houses. When such rooms were found to be occupied in tenement houses, by a worrying process of bringing suits under the tenement house law the landlord could generally be forced to put his tenants out. Inspection and reinspection was, however, the only method of ensuring the continued observance of the law regarding the occupancy of these cellar rooms, the

violation of which had become a fixed habit, a habit which added no little to the revenue of the landlord or lessee, as the case might be.*

In taking up the question of sanitary control of existing structures it will be simplest to follow the general classification created by the law of 1903.

One- and Two-family Houses

Specific Sanitary Provisions. In relation to one- and two-family houses, the municipal health authority had under state law much the same general authority and obligations in Pittsburgh as in other cities. Its duty was to have nuisances abated and conditions dangerous to health removed.

But between the line of proven nuisances or dangers to health, and conditions which are socially desirable and making for right living, is a wide field. Moreover, municipal history could be filled with chapters where general powers have fallen through.

Specific mandatory provisions make for uniform, fair treatment, requiring as much of one house owner as of another. They give efficient health authorities a stronger case in dealing with offenders and make it more difficult for inefficient ones to evade their responsibilities.

An important ordinance dealing with one unsanitary feature, and applying to all houses, was passed by Pittsburgh Councils as far back as 1901. A state law of 1901 had prohibited the construction of a new cesspool or privy vault on premises where a sewer was adjacent, a prohibition which had been contained in the plumbing regulations of the bureau of health, issued as early as 1895. The ordinance of 1901 made unlawful the continued existence of such vaults and cesspools; although, as we have seen for years, or until the Guthrie-Edwards administration, the rule was honored mostly in its breach.

But with this exception, specific provisions affecting the proper maintenance of one- and two-family dwellings were until 1911 almost entirely lacking, although these houses are found in Pittsburgh in much greater numbers than tenement houses. The state laws contained practically no requirements for them except in regard to the cleaning of privy vaults and to plumbing. A change has come in since with the new city

* An ordinance passed in 1911 made a written permit from the department necessary if basement rooms are to be used for living purposes, thus inaugurating a system of automatic registration.

sanitary code, adopted in 1911. Such conditions as dark, damp cellar rooms, wholly underground, and one "town pump" serving as the sole water supply for 13 houses—conditions formerly definitely prohibited only in tenement houses—are now made illegal in all dwellings, a distinct step forward. Living in cellars has practically been abolished.

The Tenement—a Modern City Problem

The Pennsylvania tenement house law of 1903 was one of the first in this country to recognize the dangers which multiple dwellings have brought into modern city life. It drew its impulse from the movement for housing reform in New York which had culminated two years before in the passage of a comprehensive tenement law for the large cities of that state.

This first tenement law for second-class cities in Pennsylvania forbade the use of tenement cellars for living purposes; a cellar being defined as a "story more than one-half below the street or ground level." It permitted living in basement rooms only when they were 8½ feet high, were properly lighted and ventilated according to the specific terms of the law, and were not damp or otherwise unfit for habitation. It required for every room other than basement rooms in existing tenements, either a window equal in size to one-tenth of the floor area of the room, and opening upon the street or alley, or upon a yard or court, with a sectional area of not less than 25 square feet; or else a fifteen-square-foot window opening to an adjoining outside room in the same apartment. Under the new law, no room might be occupied unless it contained 700 cubic feet of air space, nor unless it was 8 feet high from floor to ceiling in every part, except that an attic room need be 8 feet high on only one-half its area. Overcrowding was prohibited by the requirement that any room must contain 400 cubic feet of air space for each adult, and 200 for each child occupying it.*

The "Household Basis." From the construction standpoint, one of the great economies of building houses in layers, in addition to the saving of land area, has been the saving through common service to the different households. This is illustrated by the cellar furnace in heated apartments which takes the place

* It is informing to compare these requirements with those in Veiller, Lawrence: A Model Housing Law. Russell Sage Foundation Publication. New York, Survey Associates, 1914.

In 1911 by action of Pittsburgh Councils these provisions were made to apply to one- and two-family houses as well as to those containing three or more apartments.

of stoves and fireplaces. But the trend in the cheaper low rent structures has been toward carrying economy further by expecting two or more families to use the sanitary equipment which each family would possess in a detached dwelling. Where old residences are turned into tenements, the house is too often merely divided, without adding to the number of water taps, closets, or sinks.

The contrary trend in sanitary law has been toward re-establishing the household basis in tenement equipment.

Thus in Pittsburgh, in new tenement houses, the law of 1903 required an independent water supply for every suite of rooms; in existing tenement buildings, or buildings converted to tenement use, it called for water supply on every floor, accessible to all tenants on the floor without the necessity for their passing through any apartment but their own. The space under all sinks was required to be left open, without enclosing woodwork. Pittsburgh's new health code (1911) goes further and puts the water supply of old as well as of new buildings on a household basis by requiring that "all occupied dwellings shall be provided with properly wasted, trapped, and vented sinks with running water for the accommodation of each family occupying the house or houses."

The slight extent to which the forces for housing reform were able to secure the enforcement of the state law of 1903 during the five years following its enactment is illustrated in the matter of water-closets. Actual conditions have already been described. The law required one water-closet for every apartment in a new building, except that where apartments were not in a basement and consisted of but one or two rooms, one closet for three rooms was allowed. In existing tenement houses one closet for two apartments was required, and for existing buildings converted to tenement use after the passage of the law, one closet for six rooms, but not less than one to a floor. Water-closets situated in the yard were permitted where the authorities considered this arrangement necessary.

Village and City Dangers. In many other respects the law of 1903 marked important advances in public control over tenements. It struck at some of the special hazards which come

of tall and crowded structures. The storage of anything dangerous to life or health was prohibited, as also the keeping of inflammable or combustible material under any stairway in a tenement house. Fireproofing and fire-escapes were demanded, as will be later described. It struck at the persistence of village conditions which are inimical in city life. The keeping of horses, cows, pigs, sheep, goats, or poultry was prohibited; also the use of any part of a tenement house for a stable.

The removal of garbage, which has an important relation to the sanitary condition of the houses, has received only belated recognition in Pittsburgh. A state act in 1895, and subsequent city ordinance, authorized the Bureau of Health and Department of Public Safety to provide for the removal of garbage. How frequently it should be removed was not specified by law. The work was let by contract and the specifications in 1907–08 provided that garbage be removed daily from markets, hotels, and so forth, three times a week elsewhere in the closely built up wards, and twice a week in the outlying wards. Up to 1911 from one-half to nearly two-thirds of the annual appropriations for public health were absorbed in paying for this service. Removal of ashes is not an important problem where practically all householders use gas; but it was not until 1913 that the collection and disposal of rubbish was provided, despite the bitter need for it. A commission of engineering experts has recently reported on the subject of sewage disposal.*

The "Converted Dwelling." The tenement law of 1903 contained one undesirable feature—placing a premium upon the conversion of existing buildings to tenement uses. This tendency has been one from which many American communities have suffered. There seems scarcely room for question that if the working population of a city must be crowded into multiple dwellings it should be into houses constructed and properly fitted for the purpose. Yet according to the provisions of the Pennsylvania law, a new house might not be built for tenement uses unless it had a separate sink for every suite of rooms and a water-closet for every suite, or, where suites consisted of but one or two rooms each, a water-closet for every three rooms; but an old building, not constructed for the purpose, might at any time be made to serve as a tenement house if it had a sink and a water-closet on every floor, regardless of how many families might be occupying

* See Burns, op. cit. P. 44 of this volume.

ROW OF FIVE NEW ONE-FAMILY BRICK HOUSES
Five rooms in each house; bath tub and closet; sink in kitchen. McKees Rocks

TENEMENT OF OLD DWELLING TYPE
It is these old one-family houses, converted into shelter for 3 or more tenant families, that present the most exacting problem of regulation and inspection

"MODEL" TENEMENTS

Two interesting experiments; but no solution of the housing problem of the city

FRANKLIN FLATS

Tenement Improvement Company of Pittsburgh. The outcome of the early model tenement agitation

PHIPPS MODEL TENEMENT, North Side

Four-room apartments rented in 1908 for from $4.25 to $5.00 a week; three-room apartments from $3.25 to $4.00 a week. Steam heat, gas slot meter, sinks and water closets in each apartment

the floor, provided only that there was at least one water-closet for six rooms. A landlord might lawfully turn an old dilapidated mill into a tenement and provide only two sinks and a yard hydrant for 25 families; but if he wished to build a new tenement for this number of families the law required him to put in 25 sinks.

The municipal and state reforms of 1911, to which reference has already been made, have since had a bearing upon this weakness in the law. A check was placed upon the conversion of tumble-down or otherwise improper buildings for tenement use by requiring a sink with running water for each family. No building can now be made into a tenement without a certificate from the health department; the latter, where necessary, can order the vacation or demolition of buildings.

New Buildings and Fixed Laws

Consideration of laws governing the plans and construction of new buildings as distinct from the sanitary maintenance of old and inhabited ones, brings up another and earlier phase of municipal control. An act of 1895 had established a Bureau of Building Inspection in the Department of Public Safety. Officials of this bureau were required to examine all buildings, houses, stores, factories, office buildings, theaters, and so forth, in the course of construction or alteration, or reported to be in an insecure or dangerous condition. Plans and specifications for all new construction or extensive alteration work were required to be filed with the bureau, and work of this character without a permit from the bureau was prohibited. It was provided that in a case where a permit is refused the party aggrieved might appeal to a commission, to be appointed by the director of the department of public safety and to consist of three persons, either master builders, civil engineers, or architects; but authority was in no case granted to this commission to set aside or alter any provisions of the act, or to require the issuance of a permit for a building to be constructed otherwise than as required by the act.

Such a fixed law, without discretionary powers granted to the building inspecting officials or to the commission of appeals, is an important safeguard to the community. The experience of New York affords conclusive evidence of danger in an opposite policy.

For example, previous to 1901 the laws applying to New York fixed a limit to the percentage of the lot which might be covered by a new

tenement building, requiring the remainder to be left vacant in order to provide proper yard and court space for light and ventilation. But the superintendent of buildings was granted power to modify this requirement, and the result was that it was practically nullified. The New York tenement house commission of 1900 examined several hundred new buildings erected under the law, in the borough of Manhattan, and found that only 1 per cent had the prescribed reasonable air space.

In theory, discretionary powers have advantages in giving a law sufficient flexibility to meet varying conditions, but in practice, where granted to modify reasonable legislation, they place worthy officials in the difficult position of being obliged to refuse—in opposition to any influence that may be brought to bear upon them—to exercise discretion plainly permitted them, and they open to unworthy officials of all grades innumerable opportunities for corruption and unjust discrimination.

But while Pittsburgh thus had fixed laws, those laws were as yet weak in specific provisions.

A building code which had recently been adopted by Cleveland, Ohio—a city with somewhat similar conditions—enabled the Pittsburgh Survey to show by comparison some striking defects in Pittsburgh's scheme of regulation. Experience has shown the inadequacy of this Cleveland code in many respects; yet it put in force, for new one- and two-family dwellings, detailed requirements as to the percentage of the lot which might be covered by dwellings; as to the sizes of courts and air-shafts, the provision of intakes to give a current of air through enclosed courts, the sizes of yards, the minimum sizes permitted for rooms, and the lighting and ventilation of rooms and of water-closet compartments and bath rooms. Corresponding to these light and air provisions for dwellings, there was in Pittsburgh only the requirement of 144 square feet of yard space at the rear or side. There was no law, ordinance, or regulation for houses other than tenements, prohibiting the construction of dark, unventilated rooms and halls, and of the "culture tube" air-shafts, which have been the curse of other cities.

In Pittsburgh the specific provisions regulating the details of building construction were incorporated in the main in state laws, but they are also the subject of city ordinances. Here again, as in the case of sanitary regulation, let us take up in turn the two classes of dwellings.

With respect to one- and two-family houses, up to 1911 the building requirements, apart from those relating to plumbing and sewer connections enforced by the bureau of health, were few in number.

Among the provisions affecting all dwellings was a requirement that in the case of new houses, cellars should extend under the whole buildings and be ventilated from both ends, and that in low, damp, or made ground, the bottoms of all cellars should be covered with bricks, concrete, or asphalt, at least 3 inches deep. Proper rain leaders were required from roof to ground or sewer in such a way as to protect walls and foundations. There were also restrictions in regard to frame extensions and frame sheds, provisions for roof exits, giving means of escape in case of fire, and requirements for strength of construction.

Also every new dwelling house was required to have an open space at the rear or side, equal to at least 144 square feet clear, unobstructed by any overhanging structure.

For tenement houses, the Pittsburgh building requirements were stricter than for other dwellings. Under the law of 1903 new houses of this class on interior lots were required to have at the rear or side at least 20 per cent of the lot left open,—on corner lots 10 per cent,—as a yard to provide light and air; this open space to be at least 8 feet wide throughout its entire length, and the courts between tenement houses or wings of tenements to be not less than 10 feet wide. All courts and air-shafts, except vent shafts for water-closets or bath rooms, were required to be open on one side to the street or yard. Every room in a new tenement was required to have a window opening on the street or on the open space described above, and the distance of such a window from the wall or party line opposite was set at at least 8 feet. The halls on each floor were required to have windows to the street or open space, unless light and ventilation were otherwise provided to the satisfaction of the superintendent of the bureau of building inspection. The requirements for the size of rooms and of windows, for basement and cellar apartments, and for sinks and water-closets, were the same as in the tenement house health law. New tenement houses four stories or more in height were required to be fireproof throughout. All new tenement buildings were required to be provided with outside fire-escapes in conformity with regulations already in force.

Discretion and the Fire Hazard. The same penalties were fixed for violation of the tenement building law as for violation of the tenement health law. But the act did not require that an official certificate that a completed new tenement house complied with the law should be issued before the building was

occupied. This important safeguard was entirely lacking. For example, the writers saw a number of new tenement houses fully occupied, but—contrary to law—without any proper means of escape in case of fire. The discretion which this law allowed in regard to hall lighting was another dangerous feature.

In addition to the provision on the subject in the tenement house building law of 1903, several acts relating to the fire hazards of tenement houses had been passed from time to time. A law of 1885 required a tenement building three or more stories in height to have outside iron fire escapes, with balconies and slanting stairways, except where the authorities permitted some other kind of escape. The number and location of these escapes was, however, not definitely specified. They were "to be arranged in such a way as to make them readily accessible, safe and adequate." A law of 1889 required, in addition, that at least one window in each tenement house room above the second floor be provided with a chain rope long enough to reach the ground or with any other appliances approved by the board of fire commissioners. The same act required the lighting of tenement house halls and stairways at night and the burning of red lights at the head and foot of each flight of stairs and at the intersection of all hallways with main corridors; and an alarm or gong ready for use and capable of being heard throughout the building was also required.

It will be seen at once that the wholesale discretionary powers granted in regard to the enforcement of the above fire-escape provisions made it easily possible for them to be nullified. It was against this weakness in the law that one of the major criticisms in our reports of 1908 and 1909 was lodged.

A building code commission in 1910 began work looking toward a complete revision of building laws, especially with a view to preventing the crowding of lots with small dwellings, limiting the height of business, office, and tenement buildings in relation to street width, and requiring protection in case of fire. It has to date reported on individual subjects, such as strength of concrete.

III

MOVEMENT FOR REFORM

It was a group of Pittsburgh people and organizations who, after great effort secured the passage of the tenement law of 1903—the first in the state applying to cities of the second class. This

law went into effect immediately upon its passage; a division of tenement house inspection was organized in the Pittsburgh bureau of health co-operating closely with the Civic Club of Allegheny County. Two tenement house inspectors were appointed and there seemed to be an awakening of the community to a realization of the necessity for definite reforms in matters of housing. But the period of alertness was short, and soon a lethargic numbness again seized upon and enveloped this particular phase of the public conscience. Adequate appropriations, staff, and backing were lacking.*

Overburdened with the necessity of ascertaining to what extent and where the law was being violated, as well as of securing its enforcement when violations were found to exist, the slender force of inspectors was handicapped at every turn. As an instance in point, a wretched row of dwellings in Soho, known as Lattimer's Row, may be cited. In July, 1907, these houses were inspected and orders were issued covering numerous violations of the law which were found to exist there. In January, 1908, the houses were again visited. They were quite as bad, if not worse than they had been six months previously, and the nuisances then existing were still unabated. Nor was this an isolated example.

PITTSBURGH SURVEY REPORTS. A few far-sighted individuals who possessed first-hand knowledge of conditions kept up the fight against odds. With their co-operation the investigations of the Survey in this field were carried on during a period of change and reawakening brought in by the Guthrie administration.

A report of the first investigation was published in March, 1908, soon after its completion, in *Charities and The Commons* and was circulated, in pamphlet form, by the housing committee of the Chamber of Commerce in a campaign of education in which several organizations participated, in support of ordinances then before Councils. These ordinances were in line with recommendations of the newly appointed superintendent of the bureau of health, Dr. James F. Edwards. Councils voted an increase of $20,000 to the bureau for its work in this field. The force of employes in the tenement house division was as a result increased

* "The annual report of Mrs. I. M. Harper, chief tenement house inspector, just submitted, shows a large amount of work done by this department during the past year. Yet one has only to glance through it to be convinced of the inadequacy of the working force of the department to properly cope with the conditions confronting it."—Kingsley House Record, February, 1907.

from one chief inspector, three inspectors, and a part-time stenographer, to one chief inspector, 10 inspectors, one clerk, and one stenographer on full time, and an up-to-date system of records was inaugurated.*

An ordinance was passed providing for the compulsory registration of all tenement houses and the division set about a census of all tenements. Until this stage was reached the tenement problem of the city could not even be stated quantitatively. Moreover, the merging of Allegheny City in December, 1908, threw a new bulk of responsibility upon the health authorities of Pittsburgh proper. Inspectors in the course of their census taking unearthed more than one example of rank conditions on the North Side. In one tenement the ground floor was occupied as a stable; a cellar revealed the piled-up accumulation of years; privy vaults flourished and household water supply was noticeable chiefly because of its inadequacy. Over one-fourth of the entire number of tenements in the Greater City were found to be located on the North Side, and, according to the chief inspector, at least 50 per cent of these were in a bad condition at the time of the merging.

The tenement house division therefore found plenty of work at hand for its inspectors during the period of six months between our first and second inquiries. Some of the worst plague spots in the city were eradicated, despite the fact that at that time, by veto of the governor of Pennsylvania, the power to condemn insanitary structures was withheld from the health authorities. But this was a year of financial depression; from every quarter of the city the cry of hard times went up, and orders relating to structural changes were held in abeyance, save that the process of eliminating privy vaults, the most threatening sanitary ill, was vigorously continued. How much needed to be done, therefore, was brought out in our midwinter report in 1909, as it had been the year before.

THE TENEMENT CENSUS. The main energies of the inspection staff during this interval were devoted to the official inventory of the housing properties of the Greater City as a basis for future sanitary regulation and control. This was the first logical step to be taken toward dealing intelligently and efficiently with the situation. This census showed a total of 3,364 tenement buildings in the Greater City.† They sheltered 12,300 families,

* Until then the chief inspector had had to pay the clerk personally or let the work fall behind.

† Before the census, but 1,883 tenements were on the record of the division of tenement house inspection. The number of registered tenement houses given in the report of the tenement division for December 31, 1912, was 4,311.

numbering 42,699 people; 1,532 families were taking in boarders and of these boarders there were 3,200. The total number of people living under tenement conditions (three or more families to the house) was therefore 45,899.

The nationalities and racial groups represented in the tenement house population at the time of the census are shown in the tables which follow:

TABLE 1.—NATIONALITIES OF 12,300 HEADS OF FAMILIES IN THE TENEMENT POPULATION OF GREATER PITTSBURGH. 1908

Nationality	*Families*	*Nationality*	*Families*
American white	5,831	Greek	37
Polish	2,054	Austrian	31
Hebrew	1,077	French	21
German	963	Welsh	12
Negro	597	Scotch	11
Italian	443	Swedish	10
Slovak	360	Servian	8
Bohemian	176	Finnish	4
Croatian	165	Chinese	7
Hungarian	113	Norwegian	1
Irish	104	Spanish	1
Syrian	98	Turkish	1
Lithuanian	67	Danish	1
Russian	57		
English	50	Total	12,300

TABLE 2.—RACIAL GROUPS OF 12,300 HEADS OF FAMILIES IN THE TENEMENT POPULATION OF GREATER PITTSBURGH. 1908

Racial Group	Families	
	Number	*Per Cent*
American white	5,831	47.4
Slav	2,887	23.5
Hebrew	1,077	8.8
German	963	7.8
Negro	597	4.9
Italian	443	3.6
British	177	1.4
Miscellaneous	325	2.6
Total	12,300	100.0

The heads of nearly one-half of Pittsburgh's tenement house families were American-born whites; one-fourth were Slavs.

More important than these sociological data, the census put in the possession of the health authorities a body of facts bearing upon the localization of bad housing conditions throughout Pittsburgh. Of the 3,364 houses enumerated, nearly 50 per cent were found to be old dwellings originally planned and constructed to accommodate one family. Frequently no provision was reported as having been made to meet the demands of the additional families who inhabited them, with privacy destroyed, closet facilities and water supply inadequate, cellar and basement rooms used for living and sleeping, and no protection from fire danger. Of the remaining tenements, less than one-half were structures built since the law of 1903.

One- and Two-family Dwellings. While the welfare of probably more than 45,000 people was thus dependent on tenement house standards and their enforcement in Pittsburgh, they made up only about 10 per cent of the total population,—a small proportion when compared with New York's 71 per cent. For the primary housing problem of the wage-earning population in Pittsburgh remains not a tenement problem in the strict legal sense, but a one- and two-family dwelling problem. As in the case of the tenements, the prime governmental relationship to this small-house problem is that of sanitary control. This is the aspect of the situation which Pittsburgh has come to face in the period subsequent to the Pittsburgh Survey.

Legislative Developments. The legislative developments of the period may be grouped under four heads:

First, the raising of the Bureau of Health to the rank of a department, by the legislature of 1909, with a subsequent swing of the pendulum in the matter of staff and appropriations almost as far above the general municipal average as it had been below.*

Second, the formation of the Pittsburgh Housing Conference,

* Early in 1910 Councils of the old form authorized increases in the number of sanitary inspectors of all kinds from 51 to 88 to become effective in October of the same year, or a month before election day. In consequence, Pittsburgh, in 1911, paid $92,409 in salaries to the three types of field men, $13,000 more than

through which the interest of voluntary agencies of the city was brought constructively to bear.*

Third, the passage of enabling legislation, by state and city, notably the act of 1911 granting the health department power to order the vacation or demolition of buildings unsuitable for human habitation.

Fourth, the passage of ordinances by Councils in May, 1911, incident to the completion by the Magee administration of a health code. Its extension of regulations for tenement houses to "other dwelling houses" has been the most signal broadening out of public policy toward housing.

THE PRESENT SITUATION. With means for registering all tenement properties, and one- and two-family dwellings in the Greater City; with the health authority no longer a subordinate bureau but an integral department of the municipal government; with the resources and inspection force enlarged to a point where the field can be covered; with adequate powers secured for the sanitary authority from Councils and the state legislature; and

Chicago, with four times its population, and $54,000 more than Cleveland, a slightly larger city, expended for the same kind of work in 1910.

In January, 1912, the new Council of nine made a cut of 34 men in the three divisions, thus approximately returning to the 1910 basis.

In the absence of a re-investigation no attempt is made here to review housing enforcement under the Magee administration (1909–1913). E. R. Walters, physician and active politician, was placed at the head of the health department, Dr. Edwards assigned to the bureau of infectious diseases, and the bureau of sanitary regulation placed in other hands. In 1912 the Voters' League brought charges against Director Walters, alleging that the sanitary conditions of the poorer districts were unbearable, that there had been few if any prosecutions under the health laws, that as many as 29 violations against certain properties had been held in abeyance. Dr. Walters was, however, never brought to trial by councils and at the close of his directorship certain violations were known to have been outstanding for four years. In an investigation on the Hill made the past winter under the direction of the Associated Charities, 158 violations were found in 16 blocks.

A new administration (1914) has brought Dr. Edwards to the directorship of the full department; but unfortunately equipped him to assail this heritage of neglect with an inspection staff headed and loaded up with political appointees.

* This conference was organized in 1910 under the chairmanship of C. Phillips Hill, its representation including the Pittsburgh chamber of commerce, civic club of Allegheny county, Pittsburgh civic commission, Kingsley House Association, Pittsburgh board of trade, Council of Jewish Women, and the associated charities. Rev. Charles E. Snyder is chairman, Mrs. Franklin P. Iams vice-chairman, and Percy R. Williams secretary.

A Pennsylvania State Housing and Town Planning Association was organized at a conference in Harrisburg in March, 1914, with Sherrard Ewing, secretary of the Reading Board of Trade, as secretary.

with at length a trained sanitarian and student of housing conditions as the responsible executive, Pittsburgh has reached a stage where it can enforce high standards of decency and domestic health if the city wills it and if public opinion sustains the authorities in doing their full duty in the name of the public health.

IV

THE NEED FOR MORE DWELLINGS

Closely bound up with this problem of sanitary regulation throughout all this period—an aggravating factor in the whole situation—has been the shortage of houses.

Of the housing supply in central Pittsburgh, Dr. Edwards wrote in his report for 1907:

"Many houses are held for speculation and their owners on account of prospective large changes in the neighborhood will not voluntarily spend any money in repairs. This is true especially of the lower Penn Avenue district, where the greatest dilapidation is found, the first five wards and the river wards of the South Side. This fact (that certain districts seem to be in transition from residence districts to business districts) has proved a serious obstacle in improving housing conditions in these districts. Though enforcement of the law should be reasonable, and as far as possible the rights of the property owners should be safeguarded, yet the perpetuation of bad housing conditions because of a possible change after an indefinite period, is a menace to the public health. It is not, on the other hand, enough to say 'they can move out,' if other houses are not available for them."

Writing in 1914, he states:

"The problem here in Pittsburgh, as elsewhere, is to provide smaller and cheaper homes for the working classes of whom Pittsburgh has so large a population. Even though the health department had as many housing inspectors as it could possibly use and would make all dwellings conform to the law, the problem would not be solved, even to a considerable degree, because under present conditions where a family is driven from a house because of the necessity of its vacation or demolition there is no other place for them to live, as pointed out in my report of 1907. By doing this we are beginning at the wrong end; we cannot expect to accomplish much until investors are willing to build houses for a small profit and until the present inflated land values are decreased. Two things are operating here, I think, the present law which provides for the

final taxation of land and secondly, Pittsburgh investors are beginning to realize that very large individual profits in iron and steel and other allied industries are conditions of the past and will be willing to invest money for more modest returns."

In 1908 a chamber of commerce report stated:*

"The City of Pittsburgh, along with its vast industrial development, has grown so phenomenally in population during the past ten years that it has been clearly impossible for the growth in housing accommodation to keep pace. Careful and comprehensive investigations show conclusively that the housing facilities of the Greater City have completely broken down, not only in point of reasonably proper conditions but in amount of available real estate."

Only slowly have Pittsburgh people come to realize the situation put thus graphically and their share in the responsibility for meeting it. Four significant interviews were included in our findings in 1908:

"We have not the time, nor is it our function to investigate the housing situation of the city. Let the charitable or philanthropic agencies make a systematic study of the evils that exist, and we will gladly lend the support of our influence to any recommendations which they may offer," said a leader in one of Pittsburgh's great commercial organizations. To this man the proper housing of the workingman had a charitable aspect.

"We don't want to go into the housing business. We are manufacturers, not real estate dealers. We may be forced to build houses in certain new districts in order to attract and hold labor, but in an old, settled community let the laboring man take care of himself. We don't believe in paternalism."—So said the president of a great steel company.

Said a prominent real estate man: "There certainly are other more attractive investments for private capital than the building of small houses,—taxes are high, the demand for such dwellings has fallen off considerably, and the returns are uncertain, owing to the difficulty of collecting rents in times such as these."

And a laboring man said: "I want a decent home at a moderate rental, within reasonable distance of my work." Can he get it?

Vigorous sanitary work by the health authorities will help. But that is not enough in itself.

* Annual Report of the President of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, May, 1908. By H. D. W. English.

Nor do model tenements, erected as philanthropic enterprises, afford a solution. In no American city have they been sufficient in numbers to relieve a house famine. In Pittsburgh there are only two model tenements, Franklin Flats in the old city and the Phipps model tenements in Allegheny. The ordinary commercial building of houses has by no means met the need. There are some modern tenements in the congested districts, but the readiest profits have come from supplying houses to those who can pay more than can unskilled, or semi-skilled workers, and who have the free time and means to live farther away from their work; hence the greatest activity on the part of builders has been in the outer districts.

As already indicated, the natural conformation of the land with its steep declivities, and its winding, tortuous valleys, has added much to the difficulty of the housing situation. Adequate transportation facilities would open up territory on the south and west where countless people could be housed. The trend of the mills away from the city to nearby river sites, attracted by lower tax rates and unlimited space, will offer further relief and improvement, especially where great employers of labor, in laying out their plants, as at Mariana and Vandergrift, Ambridge and Woodlawn, take heed of the proper housing and sanitation of the towns that grow up about them. As the situation stands today, however, bad housing conditions are multiplying in most of the surrounding industrial towns, and they face a common problem. Its seriousness demands the formulation of public policies encouraging forms of building operation that will produce sanitary houses at low rentals, whether they are private homes or company houses of creditable standard, or dwellings put up by building and loan companies, along English co-partnership lines.

THE SITUATION AS A WHOLE

The housing situation in Pittsburgh, then, should be seen in its right proportions. First should be remembered the past decades of neglect. The process of rehabilitation is a ten years' job. The very fact that tenement laws and ordinances have been passed and some thousands of people out of the many thousands in need have been supplied with sanitary accommodations, points

the way to the long, exacting work ahead in enforcing and lifting standards.

In the second place, the tenement house dwellings (for three or more families) are, when all is said and done, but a small part of the homes of the wage-earning population. The great housing problem in Pittsburgh is that of the one- or two-family dwellings. Here is the field where even more exacting work must be done in enforcing and lifting standards in the ensuing years.

In the third place, the mill towns, as well as the city, present every phase of the evils of bad housing. It is a district problem, then, in which the leaders in Pittsburgh must lead.

Finally, behind all these existing unsanitary conditions demanding regulation, is the shortage of houses throughout the whole district which must be met in larger, more ennobling and co-operative ways. In spite of encouraging progress much yet remains to be done; the need is still for increased effort.

THREE STUDIES IN HOUSING AND RESPONSIBILITY

1. SKUNK HOLLOW

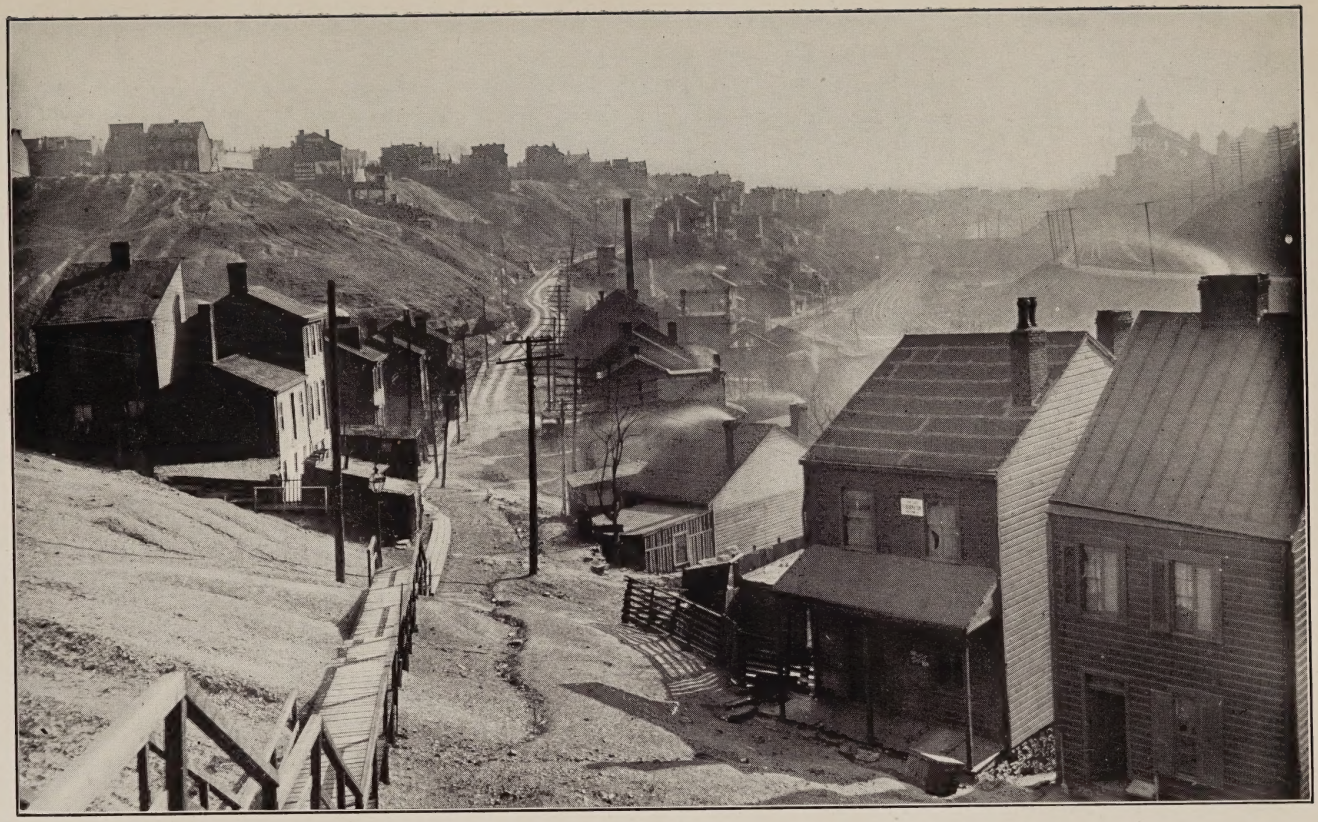
The Squatter

Florence Larrabee Lattimore

THE main thoroughfare is respectable and non-committal. It offers but one clue to the violence and misfortune which its brick fronts so innocently conceal. This clue is a narrow, dusty alleyway, which cuts through the brick fronts, runs back about 80 feet, and then turns sharply to the left and takes unto itself the name of Ewing Street. Ewing Street runs along the edge of a valley called Skunk Hollow. It pursues a serpentine course between two irregular rows of shacks,—the one, back to back with the brick houses on the thoroughfare, but ignored by them; the others, balancing themselves uncertainly on the edge of the valley. Finally it ends in a number of branching footpaths.

This street, and Skunk Hollow below it, both of them shut off and concealed from casual inspection by the row of brick houses, are bound up into a pocket edition of civic neglect. They present ample clinical material for a study of Pittsburgh's social ills, all in one closely packed group of abnormalities. Skunk Hollow is still an eyesore, and even now, when the department of health reports that many of the houses have been vacated, the impressions they left are so vivid that it is easiest to fall into the present tense in setting forth conditions as I found them in 1908, and share the sense of fresh exploration in company with the reader.

Do you wish to see the housing problem? You need only follow Ewing Street the length of a city block and observe. Here are rampant the conditions generated when families with feeble resources attempt to "live," as we say, on land rendered all but valueless because to natural disadvantages have been added artificial ones which wreck home life; when public opinion, among the people who are strong in resources and who should be intelligent in matters which affect the community's health, fails to see that the city's sanitary equipment is brought and its sanitary regulations enforced in such neighborhoods. Do you wish to catch glimpses of the problem of recreation, of juvenile delinquency, of the race problem, of the social evil, of liquor laws broken, of non-employment, and incapacity due to industrial causes; you need only happen in



LOOKING DOWN ON SKUNK HOLLOW
Luna Park is seen on sky-line at the right

A Firmly Entrenched Shanty
Fronting on no road, but guarded belligerently by its colored owner

at the Hollow, and see how disintegrating forces assert themselves, when progressive ones are shut off through civic lethargy or selfishness.

No visitor can tell, without inquiry, whether the shacks on Ewing Street are for cows, horses, or human beings; it is said that the owners do not care so long as the rent is paid. The level of one side of Ewing Street and the characteristic drop of the other, have brought two typical forms of Pittsburgh architecture, described in the vernacular of a resident small boy as "squatters" and "clingers." Whether it is the desirability of being in a "deadhead row" commanding a view of the valley, or the advantage of having a house which while showing but one or two stories above the street, takes a private drop of one story in the rear and accommodates itself to the abrupt decline of the cliff, there is no doubt that the latter, the cliff-edge structures, are far more popular than their stunted neighbors across the way. Together they form the nondescript shelters of a parasitical class of persons, white and colored, unassorted. In such fantastic and general dilapidation are these rows of unpainted shelters that some of them are falling to the ground without the formality of condemnation proceedings. Most of them have running water in the kitchens; a very few have "sanitary" toilets and shout the fact on black and white rental signs. Cellar rooms abound and are often used as sleeping rooms; in those houses built together into a block they are windowless. The outside privies are in the old boxed battery style, unflushed, and send their contamination down the grooves of the slope to Skunk Hollow.

The hollow, found by sewage through winding crevices in rubbish, and by goats and dogs over hills of tin cans and refuse, is reached by the people themselves down flights of decaying steps. In the street at the bottom, a wooden surface drain goes companionably along side by side with the footpath. Occasionally a trickling stream from the hill joins its contents and the whole falls at last through a basket-drop into an open sewer. The disheveled exterior which gives Ewing Street the personality of a gang leader with his hat on one side, is not so marked in the hollow. The hollow has a kind of sullen reticence.

So far you have been absorbed in the setting of the neighborhood, but now, as you begin to observe the people who slouch past you, you note that they correspond to their environment. The rakish aspect of Ewing Street and the morbid silence of the hollow are reflected in the manners of their respective inhabitants.

On Ewing Street, one of the first houses you see is reached by a flight of five or six broken steps, and looks like a bowling alley shack. It is long, narrow, and has two small windows and a door in the street end. On the porch is a colored "Madam" said to be notorious and ever ready to toss out her fine when temporarily hindered by arrest. Tacked

to her piazza is an old sign informing the passerby that religious services are held within, and pasted around the dilapidated smokestack is the sign "To let." "Nobody came as long as it was a mission," said the patrolman, "but they do come now. Always booze on Sundays there; nothing but crime."

The old colored aunty who owns a little cabin nearby in the rear, tells with bulging eyes and much gesticulation that the real trouble is that the ghost of Charlie Barber, who died there two years ago, comes back nights and, flinging up the windows and banging the door, breaks up services and carousals alike. She says he has driven most of the colored ladies "plumb spiritualistic" and that "Mrs. O'Rourke, a white Irish lady in the next house but one, goes to meetings in the city three times a week and spends so much for collections that her children have no shoes to wear to school." Sure enough, you find the children shut up in the house; the father a laborer out of work, the mother doing a washing. "Truant officers? What are they?" she asks.

In the back yard of this home lives a red-turbaned colored scold, owner of a much coveted hydrant upon which four families are dependent for water. Her house is a fenced-in triangle on a trackless waste of rubbish. It is to be approached only by original methods. The neighbors hold, however, that it is on "Christian Street." It is said that the owner sells out little plots here and there on the hillside for a hundred or so dollars apiece. Most of the houses are owned by the tenants, the unimproved lots having been sold to them by old Pittsburgh families. Building permits for frame dwellings have been refused, and as the owners can not afford to build with brick they stay on in shanties too far gone to improve. No sword wielded in defense of a feudal castle was ever more keen than the tongue of the turbaned owner of this estate on Christian Street as she raises her black fist over the fence and dares you to swing her gate!

Next in order is a burnt-out shell of a four-family house. No attempt is being made to prop it up or tear it down, and it hangs there, leaning toward the street, with uncertain intentions. The Negro who owns it asserts that it "was fired on a dark night,—not by a friend," and then he shrugs his shoulders and mutters something about the neighborhood. He sits on a neighboring stoop all day, in his Sunday suit and best hat, replete with darky respectability. Crutches are beside him and his feet are bandaged. Crouching near him, like a jack-knife on the point of snapping shut, is an old black mammy, her eyes glazed with coming blindness. In her Prunella gaiters, calico gown, and sunbonnet with a wide limp frill, she is as much a personification of the old Southern mammy as the

man is of a demoralized type of Northern Negro. She points fondly over her shoulder to her two stuffy rooms, crammed with knick-knacks, and tells groaningly that they must go under the hammer next week unless she can get help. This young man here would pay her a rent of eight dollars a month, but he is just out of the hospital and unable to work. His leg was crushed in the steel mill six weeks ago and not one penny has been sent him by his bosses. Both of them are living on credit and hope. The neighborhood isn't very bad, they say, "although there are some very disbelieving people in it." But they don't know a better "where folks would let out to niggers."

So far, then, we have found some consequences of bad streets, unsanitary housing, trade accidents, and the race problem.

Then one comes to a house, one story high at the street, two at the rear, which has two rooms opening in front and toward the hollow. Here live an Irish widower and his two children of ten and twelve years, together with a miscellaneous lot of colored people. They quarrel, and have to be watched by the police.

A step farther we meet a Scottish mill laborer out of work. He proudly points to the playhouse he has built for his two little girls "to keep 'em out of the street." It is set up against the toilet, but that can't be helped. The mixed family next door pick rags and "carry on" in the shed hard by. The woman there has "chronic tonsilitis" which is dangerous for the children. The mother wishes there was some better place for the children to play.

Up to this point one feels that this is a settlement of mill-ends; mill-ends of people, living in mill-ends of houses, on mill-end jobs, if they work at all. It does not seem possible that anyone could come to live on Ewing Street from a deliberate choice. With something of a start, therefore, one finds in this row of demoralization a house used by a charitable agency for the care of colored children. It is a temporary home for boys and girls and babies, occupying the ground floor and basement of a house unsanitary and dark, without gas, running water, or yard, its rickety back stoop offering an unparalleled view of Skunk Hollow. In a middle room, dark except for one outer window and another cut through into the back room, sleep eight or ten children, two in a bed, feet to feet, boys and girls ranging in age from infancy to twelve years. This particular house hasn't a bad name, the matron says; it was the one farther down that was raided last month and two under-age girls found there. Some other people of doubtful credentials are moving in; maybe they are good and maybe not. They are carrying in their household effects now. They do not look unlike the others of the neighborhood. A thin colored

woman stands off and watches, rocking her baby in her arms. She is seized with a fit of coughing, and turns into the dark doorway of her shack. One does not need to follow her to know that she represents one more city problem.

The vantage point for a view of Skunk Hollow seems to be the back stoops of the clingers on the edge of the basin. Here one becomes aware that the hollow is a public dumping ground of ashes and tin cans. As wagons drive up and drop their contents the air itself becomes full of refuse. Occasionally a thin stream of sewage from Ewing Street trickles by, making its way to the bottom of the valley.

The hollow seems to follow the bed of an old river; it winds away around a huge hill of gravel where two railroads lie. On a delta between the railroad tracks, the boys have improvised a playground. Farther along there is a straggling bunch of houses. You notice a little girl washing clothes on one of the back piazzas. A little boy runs out and cuffs her until she runs into the house crying, and a man comes out and chases the boy. The boy climbs a neighbor's fence and vanishes. A colored woman and a white woman are seen on the path that winds through this settlement; they go into one of the houses and shut the door. An Italian comes out of the same door a minute later, and walks off down the railroad track. The rears of these houses present another solid line of reeking, broken-down toilets with box vaults, unflushed, on platforms built level with the rear floor of the houses.

Tucked in between disreputable families of the lowest type, here and there, are bright-faced, thrifty Italians. Two families have recently sought refuge in Skunk Hollow from more livable neighborhoods because of the hard times. The rear room of one of these houses renting for $9.00 a month, is a ten by six cubicle with a two by two window in it directly opposite and two feet away from the doorway of the toilet. The air? Well, the window has a solid shutter, which the mother closes "to keep out disease!" She says, "The air isn't so bad." As she talks, two little chained dogs bark at the babies loaded on her arms, and on the edge of the railing, which prevents the unwary from stepping off the platform into a landslide of rubbish below, fruit and clothing are drying, macaroni is soaking, and busybody flies are thick. Any typhoid? Oh, yes, the grandmother died of it, and one of the children had it, but was taken to a hospital and got well.

Toward the end of Neville Street, in the heart of the hollow, we come to a back yard. The house, for its own reasons, prefers to front on the railroad. In the yard is a large shed patched with odds and ends of all sorts of boards, layer upon layer. The people in the house—most of

A Skunk Hollow Dairy

The cows live in the boarded up shed. Surface drains running beside the walk, emptied into the well from which the people drew water

Institutional Charity in Skunk Hollow

Play in Skunk Hollow
The Ball Team

whom are called "women boarders"—say it is used just to put things in. As a venture you suggest cows? Yes, there are cows there, three; the milk is sold for the babies in the neighborhood. The man says the cows "graze upon the hills around the hollow." He glances at the hills and laughs. It is true the cows haven't grazed there this summer; and in the winter it's best for them to be in the dark shed, where it is warm.

As you climb back up the stairs in the late afternoon, you meet the lamplighter going down with his ladder. Early? Yes, but it is not well to go into the hollow after dusk. There are only 16 lamps there,—soon lighted, but people have their own reasons for turning them off and few of them burn till morning. The hollow doesn't wish the light.

At the end of Ewing Street, by the alley of entrance, stand two patrolmen. They are side by side, looking meditatively down into the valley. They are watching for the little boy who climbed the fence. "He's a juvenile court boy named John Banks," they say. "He's home on probation. It's a queer thing about the juvenile court,—it takes children away and locks 'em up because the neighborhood's bad, and then it sends 'em home on probation." These men, without knowing it, were asking for a single judge for the juvenile court—one who would sit in the children's cases consecutively, so that he might co-operate in a long plan of help for a boy instead of treating him on the basis of one offense. "He promises to do right," one of them continues, "but they ain't enough probation women to see that he does keep straight and he's the worst one we've got on the beat." He was asking for an adequate number of probation officers. "Now do you see that tight little house down there beyond?" they go on. "Colored people live there and sell booze. That little white girl who's washing them steps goes there all the time. She stays out nights,—away from home. The father works hard and brings home all his money; but the woman,—she don't care. Ain't the juvenile court got no way of catching the mother? She ought to go to the workhouse." He was asking for an enforcement of the adult delinquency law.

The conversation runs on and the patrolman tells more of the affairs of Skunk Hollow. He tells of hang-outs of all kinds, masked under the appearance of small grocery shops. At the foot of those stairs, he says, an Italian interpreter was found dead within the year, struck from behind by an Irish-American. The man smoking there and talking to the little girl over the fence did it, but there was no evidence. Two little children belonging to a colored woman who keeps a hang-out are playing in the dust. The patrolmen are letting them stay home until they can get them in a raid. "Where do you suppose they'll bring up?" one

of them asks. "The mother won't get more than a fine and she can pay it."

"Now watch the boys!" says the other. "Here comes a freight." The train winds slowly into a nest of little boys playing ball. After it has passed there is not a boy to be seen. "Catching rides" says the patrolman with an appreciative chuckle. "They'll go around the hill and come back by way of the main street. Then I'll chase them for playing where they ain't no right, and back they'll come to Skunk Hollow. I wish I had some other place to send them." The playground problem again!

On the skyline around the hollow the church spires stand out blacker than the smoke in which the valley is shrouded. An American flag waves from the school house on the main thoroughfare, and the fanciful towers of Luna Park peer jeeringly into this pest hole of neglect. "Shame, ain't it?" says one of the patrolmen.

2. PAINTER'S ROW

The Company House

F. Elisabeth Crowell

THE United States Steel Corporation owns property on the South Side of Pittsburgh just beyond the Point Bridge. Here in 1907–08 was located the old Painter's Mill, one of the plants of the Carnegie Steel Company, which in turn is one of the constituent companies of the United States Steel Corporation; and here, also, stood what remained of Painter's Row, where the company housed certain of its employes, mostly immigrants. When the Carnegie Steel Company took over Painter's Mill, it renovated the plant so as to turn out the sort and quantity of output which the Carnegie name stands for. When it took over Painter's Row, it did nothing. When, several years after the purchase of the property, I made a detailed investigation of the place, I found half a thousand people living there under conditions that were unbelievable,—back-to-back houses with no through ventilation; cellar kitchens; dark, unsanitary, ill-ventilated, overcrowded sleeping rooms, no drinking water supply on the premises; and a dearth of sanitary accommodations that was shameful.

Painter's Row was originally a succession of six rows, some brick, some frame, built on the side of a hill that slopes from a lofty palisade down to the Ohio. Houses and mills adjoined and tenants were even

housed in an old brick building, in another part of which some of the mill offices were located. Sluggish clouds of thick smoke hung over the roofs and the air was full of soot and fine dust. Noise pressed in from every quarter—from the roaring mill, from the trolley cars clattering and clanging through the narrow street which divided mill and rows into two sections, from the trains on the through tracks above the topmost row, and from the sidings which separated the lowest row from the river bank and which were in constant use for the hauling of freight to and from the mills.

Dirt and noise are inseparable adjuncts to life in a mill district, deplorable, but unavoidable; but workers in the mills need not necessarily be deprived of sufficient light and air, such as it is, and water, and the common decencies of life. In the winter of 1908, I spent several days in Painter's Row. I watched grimy little children at play. I talked with the women, the home makers; I saw men who had been working on the night shift lying like fallen logs, huddled together in small, dark, stuffy rooms, sleeping the sleep of exhaustion that follows in the wake of heavy physical labor. Above all, I sought to learn how the tenants fared in these three things: ventilation, water, and sanitary conveniences.

The two rows nearest the river, in which were 28 houses, were divided from cellar to roof by a party wall, so that the rooms in each house were arranged one above the other; the result was that there was no through ventilation, and consequently the rooms were ill-smelling at all times and stiflingly close in summer. There were in the different rows, 27 cellar and basement kitchens, dark, unsanitary, ill-ventilated. Besides these, there were six cellar rooms more than halfway below the ground level, that were occupied solely as sleeping rooms. The windows of these cellars were small, and the little light and air that could gain admittance under the best of circumstances was obstructed by a row of ramshackle sheds which bordered the narrow area upon which these windows opened. There were many other gloomy rooms which it would be but repetition to describe. But the tale of dark, ill-ventilated sleeping quarters would be incomplete without passing mention of a space under a staircase that had been walled off and that was entered from a kitchen. Into this "hole in the wall" a bed had been squeezed by some hook or crook, and there two boarders stowed their bodies at night.

I found the worst overcrowding in the row at the top of the hill. In one apartment, a man, his wife, and baby and two boarders slept in one room, and five boarders occupied two beds in an adjoining room. In another apartment of three rooms, the man, his wife, and baby slept in the kitchen, their two boarders in a second room; and the third room was

sub-let and occupied as a living and sleeping room by five persons,—a man, his wife and child, and two boarders. This last room was a small one, containing two beds, a stove, table, trunks and chairs. Once inside, there was scarcely room to turn comfortably.

Not one house in the entire settlement had any provision for supplying drinking water to its tenants. Mill water was piped out to the rows,—an ugly, dirty fluid, which, however tired or thirsty they were, the people would not put to their lips. I asked the question at every doorstep and got the same reply. They went to an old pump in the mill yard,—360 steps from the farthest apartment, down 75 stairs. This "town pump" was the sole supply of drinking water within reach of 91 households, comprising 568 persons.

The water pumped from the mill was used for cleansing purposes. When the pressure was low, there was none even of that to be had. In only two cases was this wash water piped directly into the house. Tenants in the other houses carried it from bent pipes that emptied into open drains running between the rows, or into troughs at the end of the buildings, whence it had to be carried up two or three flights of stairs if they happened to live in the upper stories. From these same apartments the waste water had to be carried out and down and emptied into the drains.

The marvel was not that some of the homes were dirty, but that any of them were clean;—for against such obstacles cleanliness was to be secured only at the expense of tired muscles and aching backs. I talked with one mother whose two rooms on the top floor were spotless, and whose children were well looked after. Day after day, and many times a day, she carried the water up and down that her home and her children might be kept decent and clean. I looked at her bent shoulders, gaunt arms, and knotted hands. Work a-plenty,—necessary work,—there was and always will be for her to do, but those shoulders and arms and hands had to strain laboriously over unnecessary work as well. "God! Miss, but them stairs is bad," she said.

As was said at the beginning, when the Carnegie Steel Company took over Painter's Mill, it renovated the equipment of the plant; when it took over Painter's Row, it did nothing.

One row of four houses had waste sinks in the apartments and another row of one-family houses had a curious wooden chute arrangement on the back porches, down which waste water was poured that ran through open wooden drains in the rear yard to the open drain between this row of houses and the next. A similar arrangement had been made for the convenience of six families living in the second story of the row of tenement houses, where two wooden chutes from the porch above carried the waste

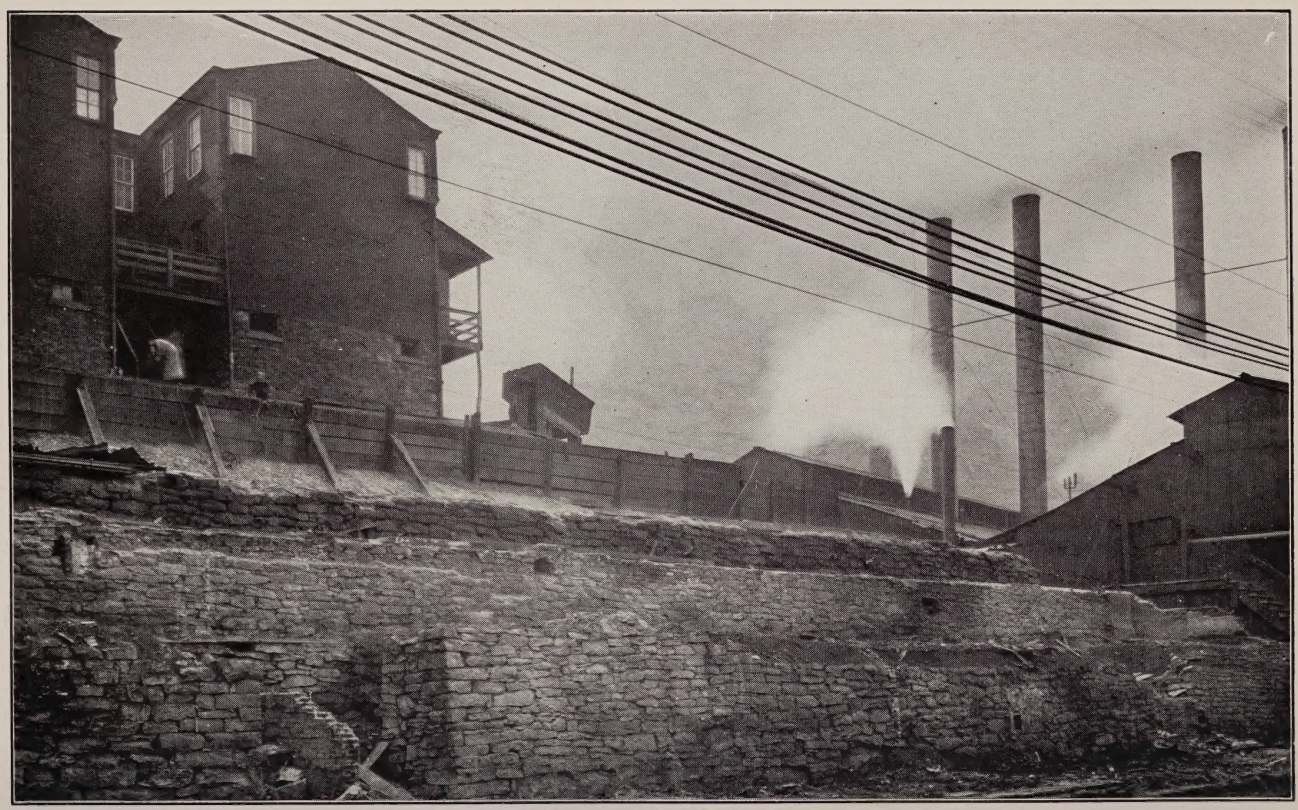
"PROGRESS" PICTURES OF PAINTER'S ROW

[The builders of big engineering projects have a custom of taking panoramic views of the work at different stages, to illustrate how it is going forward.]

THE LOWER ROWS IN 1907

Showing frame two-family dwellings between Carson Street and the river. Open drain between the rows; bad surface drainage. Twelve families at right had no toilets.

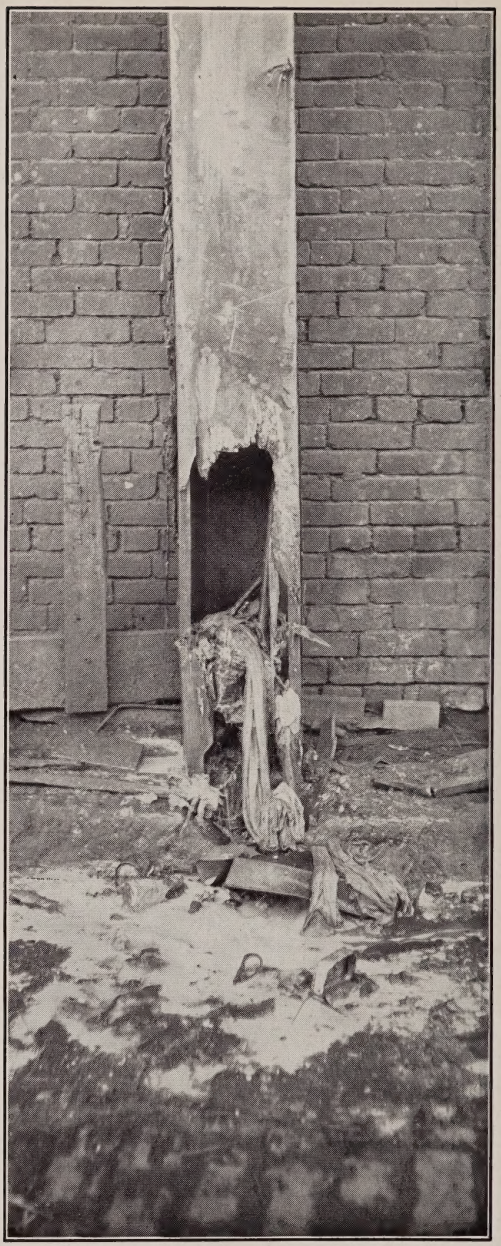
One Year Later: The Rows Torn Down



WHERE THE TENEMENTS WERE TORN DOWN
The tenants in the topmost row had to go 360 steps to get water

THE "TOWN PUMP"

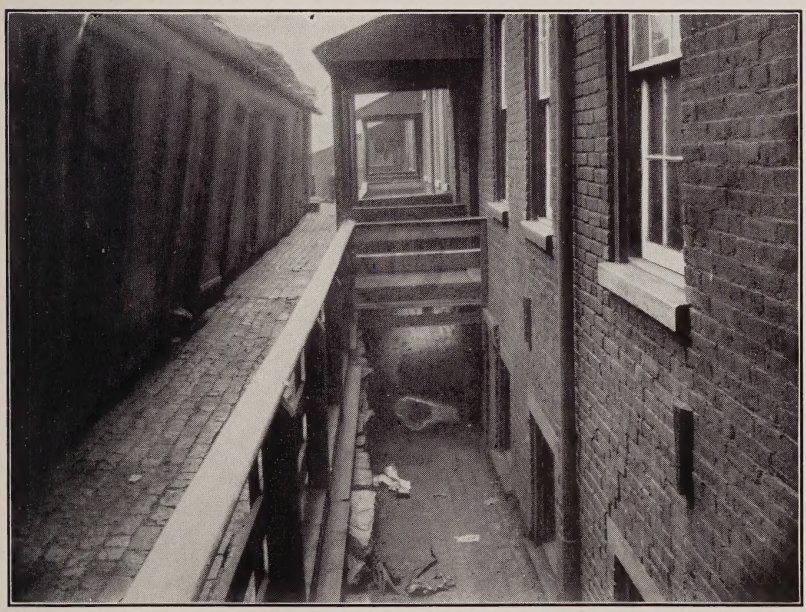
Drinking water supply for the 568 people living in Painter's Row in 1908; and for the operatives in the mill



Wooden Chute from a Second-Story Gallery
Dumping its filth at the curb on Carson Street

A Cellar Bedroom

Windows entirely below passage level, showing how some households maintained standards against difficulties



Passage and Area

Below at the right are the windows of the cellar bedroom shown above

Drawn by Joseph Stella

PAINTER'S ROW AS IT STOOD IN THE SPRING OF 1908

water down to the curb at Carsons Street. They carried other things besides waste water,—filth of every description was emptied down these chutes,—for these six families, and the three below on the first floor, had no water-closet accommodation and were living like animals. Some families disposed of slops and excreta in the way just indicated; others used a bucket containing ashes, which was emptied into a wooden garbage bin on the street at the end of the row of houses.

Officials of the mill company, when this condition of affairs was pointed out to them, replied that the vault in the rear of this row of houses was built for the use of these nine families as well as for the other 19 in these two rows, and that they could secure a key to a closet compartment by applying for it at the offices. As a matter of fact, these people had never been offered keys and they volunteered the statement to the investigator that they had no closets. The vault just mentioned was halfway up the hill between these two rows of houses. To reach it, anyone living in an end apartment in the second story front would have had to walk half the length of the second story porch to where the inside stairs led down to the street, then along the street (for the sidewalk was but two and a half feet wide, and completely covered with old lumber and debris of every description), then up a difficult flight of steep outside stairs with narrow treads, then two or three steps on the level, then more stairs, and so on until one had taken 186 steps, 65 of which were stairs. This, for want of a better term, was called "closet accommodation."

Equally bad conditions prevailed in the row of houses nearest the river. Closets for these houses had formerly been located across the railroad tracks on the edge of the bank. During the flood in the spring of 1907, these were swept away and had never been replaced. The 12 families living in this row also used buckets and emptied the contents into the river. One family in the next row of houses claimed that it had never been given a closet key. In all, 22 of the 91 families were living without the first elementary conveniences that make for sanitation. The full evil of this state of affairs is not really clear until one remembers that these families were occupying two- and three-room apartments, and that nearly all of them had several children and anywhere from two to five boarders each.

It is fair to ask why even immigrant laborers put up with such conditions. To these men, two reasons seemed good and sufficient—the houses were near the mill and rents were cheap. The ledge of land along the foot of Mt. Washington affords few building sites; and the Painter's Mill section was, perhaps, the extreme example of the general housing shortage of the South Side. Men who work in heat ten or

twelve hours a day, and at night alternate fortnights, want to live near the mill. Especially is this true of day laborers who work on repair gangs and cleaning-up work, and who may be called out at any time. This is as true of the working force in a mill town as of that in such a plant as Painter's Mill, in the heart of the city. On the other hand, the mill management wants these men there for emergency calls. The rents in Painter's Row averaged $2.40 a room monthly,—cheaper by far than these laborers could secure accommodations from ordinary landlords in many other sections of Pittsburgh; and that is a dominating consideration to a man with a family, earning day's wages, or a single immigrant whose whole purpose in coming to America is to make money and who will stomach any personal ills to hold on to it. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that these rents aggregated the company over $7,000 a year. Such an item is a bagatelle in the balance sheet of the United States Steel Corporation; and it would be foolish to suppose that the rows were rented out to their employes as a money making scheme. They were rented out on easy terms to keep laborers within call at any hour of the day or night; and the fact that Painter's Mill is an old plant and likely to be abandoned no doubt influenced the management in holding the housing property as it stood without rehabilitation. But the fact remains that these rentals amounted to a sum nearly sufficient to pay the whole taxes on the Painter's Mill property, mill, equipment, land, and houses.

The year 1908 brought swift changes in Painter's Row. Three rows of houses were torn down, and radical improvements made to others. A variety of factors entered into this change and the story is worth the telling. The evolution of social consciousness is interesting, whether in an individual or a corporation. The initial factor in such a development may be one of several—motives of self-interest, the weight of public opinion, or the letting of light into dark places. Motives of self-interest did not suffice to make the Carnegie Steel Company a good landlord in the present instance. In other words, the company had not recognized it to be worth while as a business consideration to house its human machinery with a view of maintaining such machinery at its highest state of efficiency. Its mills, with their equipment, were repaired and improved in order to increase the quality and quantity of their output. But common laborers were too easily replaced for an effort to be made to conserve their health or well-being by repairing or improving these houses in which they lived. If 10 men fell out, 10 more were ready to step in and fill their places.

But Painter's Row was not the only instance of bad housing in

Pittsburgh. Other landlords were equally indifferent, and evil housing conditions were found all over the city. In March, 1908, a preliminary report on general housing conditions in Pittsburgh was published by the Pittsburgh Survey. One paragraph dealt with conditions in Painter's Row. The fact that the responsibility for the situation there could be fixed directly upon one of the great corporations enhanced the news value of the paragraph, and *Collier's Weekly* seized upon it as a text for an editorial. The editorial brought it under the eye of Charles M. Cabot, a New England stockholder whose New England conscience was stirred. His protest at the United States Steel headquarters in New York brought from there a communication so favorable to the company that he felt justified in criticizing the editors of *Collier's* for their apparently unwarranted statements; and they, in turn, called upon *Charities and the Commons*, in which the report had appeared, to substantiate the quotation. In support of this paragraph, which was but a few lines long in the published report, the full details of how things stood at Painter's Row, as I have put them down here, were transmitted by the editors to the inquiring stockholder. He was aroused, convinced, and in position to lodge another protest, this time with the facts behind it. Light had been let in.

Meanwhile, pressure was brought to bear upon the owners of Painter's Row from a second quarter. The health authorities were insistent that all houses occupied by three or more families should be altered so as to conform to the requirements of the tenement house law, thus making mandatory the installation of sinks and water-closets in such houses. This also involved the cutting of windows in half a dozen gloomy cellar rooms in one building, in order to procure the required amount of light and ventilation, a structural change which would have so weakened the supporting walls of the building as to have rendered it unsafe. The windows were not cut, the sinks and closets were not installed; instead, the buildings were razed to the ground—the best possible thing that could have happened. Two other rows of two-family houses were also demolished. They were old, ramshackle, frame buildings, not worth repairing.

Eight months later I inspected Painter's Row for the second time. I found the noise as incessant, the smoke and dust as penetrating, as before. The children were as grimy but they were fewer in number, for as a result of these changes the settlement had been reduced to 28 families. When I reached the topmost row of houses on the hillside, my inspection partook of the nature of a triumphal progress. Some of the tenants remembered me. Gleefully they showed me their sinks with drinking water in every apartment, and told of the closets that had been installed in the basement. Every fixture was clean and in perfect condition—a refuta-

tion of the old argument that such people unaccustomed to these conveniences in the old country will not care for them when supplied.

I found a like state of affairs in another building, formerly occupied as a tenement, now housing but two families. Here also sinks and inside water-closets had been installed.

By so much, then, had life in Painter's Row been made more tolerable. Two rows of one-family brick houses remained untouched. The families living in these houses continued to get along without drinking water on the premises and continued to use outside privy vaults; a few were occupying cellar kitchens. In one row, waste water and garbage were still emptied down wooden chutes leading to open drains through the yards. The result was odorous and unhealthy.

Much had been accomplished; something still remained to be done. The company, which had gone beyond the requirement of the law in some things, still fell short in others. Sooner or later the health authorities would force the removal of the privy vaults. The old pump had served Painter's Row loyally and well, and would continue to serve it as long as the bucket brigade moved back and forth between these remaining houses and the mill yard for their water. Sometimes a little child trudged along with a great pail half filled. Again, it was the man of the family, tired after a hard day, who brought in the ration of water.

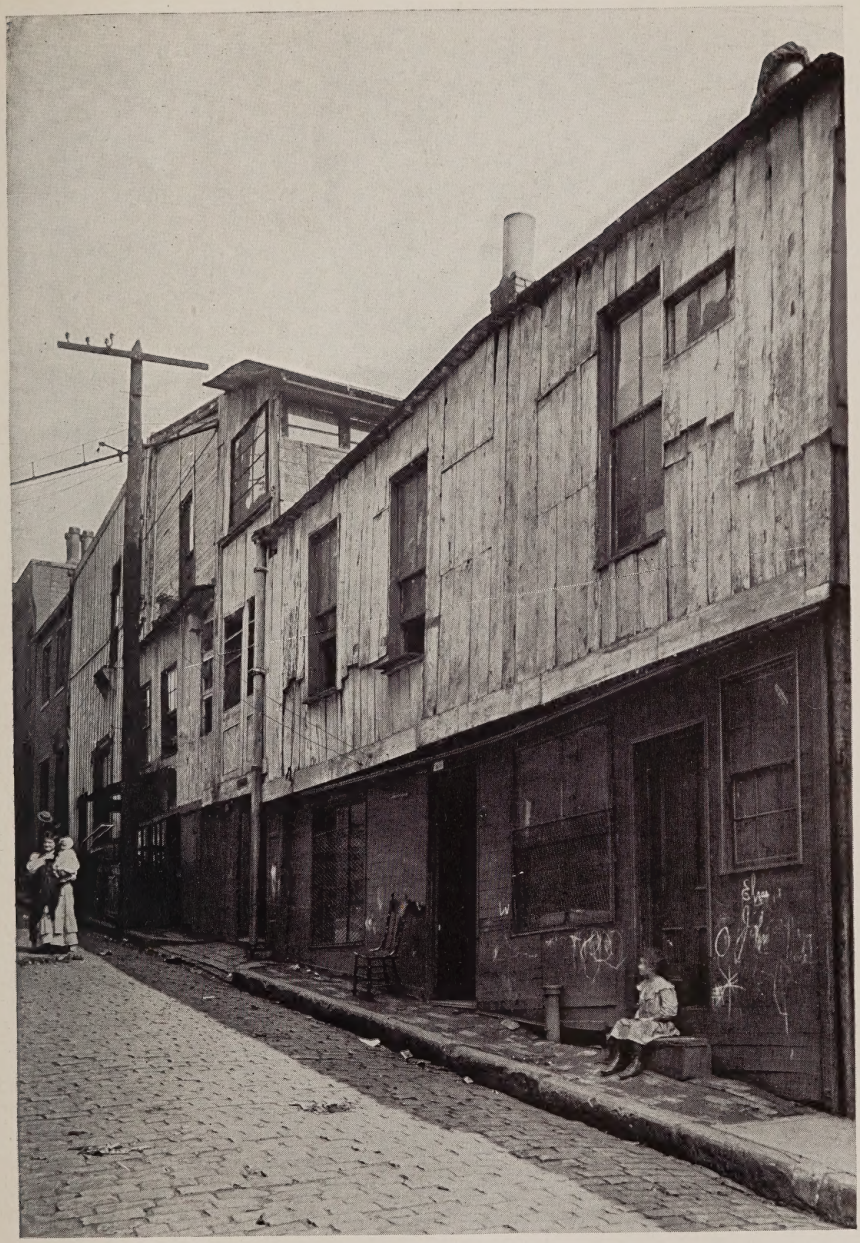
In a way, that big, grimy pump with its old iron handle and primitive spoutings, summed up the Painter's Row situation; namely, that of an industry of great mechanics who could overhaul an old plant and make it pay, but who had not brought water a few paces up the hill, or dropped a sewer a few paces down to the river below, so that men and women and children might live as human beings should live.

3. "TAMMANY HALL"

A Common Rookery

F. Elisabeth Crowell

"TAMMANY HALL" was a planing mill on Basin Alley before it became a tenement. A frame building of the flimsiest possible construction, with every available bit of space partitioned off to make 26 rooms,—a cul-de-sac here, a few steps there, narrow passageways leading off in every direction, with no fire escapes, with a minimum of light and air and a maximum of dirt and foul odors,—it served as "home" for 25 families. To see the place in all its hideousness, a night



TAMMANY HALL IN 1908
The old wooden planing mill which had been turned into a tenement for 25 families

SIX-DOLLARS-A-MONTH ROOM IN TAMMANY HALL
Except for one window opening on a covered passageway, the tenants had only the small sky-light for light and air

visit was advised. Accompanied by the chief of the tenement house bureau, I made a visit of inspection there at 2 o'clock on a Sunday morning in 1907. It was a cold, drizzly, desolate sort of night without, but nothing compared to the desolation within. The air was heavy and malodorous. One passageway was lighted by an electric light in the outside alley; two others by smoking lanterns suspended by ropes from the ceiling. Two passageways were pitch dark. The occupants were sleeping heavily, in some instances the effect of too frequent imbibing a few hours previous, and in others the result of long, weary hours of toil. The fire danger seemed to overshadow every other evil,—a lamp carelessly overturned, a lighted match heedlessly thrown among some rubbish, and the old shell would have burned like a tinder box. A few puffs of smoke would have choked the narrow passageways, a single tongue of flame would have destroyed the ropes by which the lanterns were hanging and plunged the place into darkness. The confusion and the loss of human life that would have ensued can easily be imagined.

The overcrowding was not so great as we expected to find. Indeed, it was to ascertain accurately the facts in this connection that the investigation was timed at the unearthly hour mentioned. The highest number found sleeping in a single room that night was five, but the number of occupants of a room is of course a variable quantity in places like this. A day inspection a few weeks before had elicited the following facts: Three rooms each were occupied by six persons, one room by five persons, and two rooms were each occupied by four. The rents were exorbitant, single rooms renting at from four to seven dollars each per month. Several rooms were lighted by a skylight only and ventilated not at all—although the owner had complied with the letter of the law by cutting windows through into an adjoining passageway. But the fact that the passageway was dark and covered rendered the windows of no use whatever.

The sanitary accommodations were totally inadequate; eight flush closets in the yard, one hydrant in the yard, and one in the rear entry to the second floor represented the sum total of what was offered to the tenants in this respect. There was also a hydrant in the kitchen of a restaurant on the first floor, but this was not accessible to tenants in the other rooms. As for the eight water-closets, they were shared with 18 families in six adjoining houses, all on the same property and owned by the same landlord—43 families in all. In fact, "Tammany Hall" included these six houses as well as the old mill itself. Unsanitary conditions and overcrowding were quite as bad in these houses as in "Tammany Hall" proper. One of the houses was a tenement housing 12 families in 13

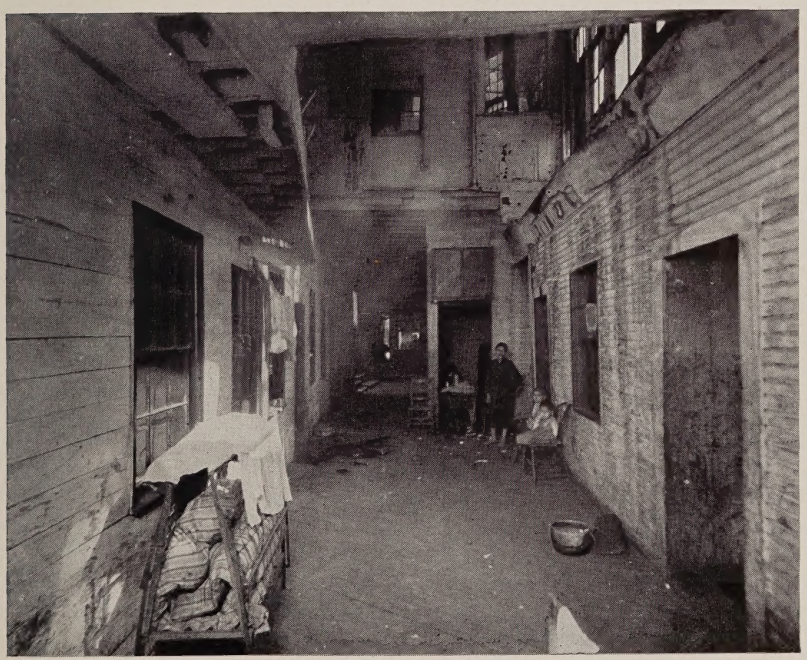
rooms. The water supply for these houses was obtained from one sink, on the second-story porch, and from the common hydrant in the yard. There was also a sink in one of the apartments which, however, was not accessible to tenants in any of the other apartments.

A curious arrangement obtained here concerning the sub-letting of a number of rooms, which is worthy of mention, as a similar situation was found to exist in certain other tenements, especially where Syrians and Arabians predominated. The store room on the first floor was rented by a man who conducted a general merchandise business, and who also leased a number of rooms elsewhere in the building. These rooms he sub-let to peddlers and their families either for a nominal sum of about 50 cents a month, or more often he charged no rent whatever, the understanding being that the peddlers should buy all the supplies for their packs from the stock of wares in his store. The merchant's profits on his goods must have been considerable when he could afford to house his patrons rent free in this manner.

"Tammany Hall" and the six adjoining houses brought their owner a monthly rental of about $430, or more than $5,100 a year. His taxes amounted to $442.71 per annum, leaving an annual income of over $4,700. From this he was obliged to pay his ground lease to the Denny Estate and keep up repairs. The rest stayed in his pocket. Precious little was spent upon repairs. In fact, no repairs could have made "Tammany Hall" fit for human habitation.

Eight months after my visit in 1907, "Tammany Hall," Pittsburgh's classic example of bad housing, was no more. Unable to vacate by process of law the old planing mill which had been converted into a tenement, the health authorities piled violation notice upon notice at such a rate that the owner found the old shack a losing investment, and at last agreed to tear it down.

One of the Passageways in Tammany Hall



Two-Story Passage
Affording the only light and air for some of the rooms. A totally dark passage at the point where the boy stands led off to other rooms

Tammany Hall Torn Down

THE ALDERMEN AND THEIR COURTS

H. V. Blaxter Allen H. Kerr

TO 59 aldermen was taken, up to 1911, practically all the minor civil litigation of the half million persons that make up the Greater City of Pittsburgh. Proceedings for the collection of rent, for distraint, levy, and execution, were almost exclusively in their hands.

To them also the law entrusted all preliminary matters connected with criminal prosecutions. Before them "informations" or the formal charges of crime were made. They issued warrants for arrest, held hearings, and committed the accused to jail, unless bail was allowed. Summary conviction for violation of city ordinances was to be had before them, and the defendant summarily fined or sentenced to imprisonment.

Among the well-to-do public, the courts over which these aldermen presided were little known, perhaps because of the smallness of the amounts involved (sums of $300 or less), or perhaps because they chiefly dealt with petty offenses. But to the majority of Pittsburgh's vast army of alien wage-earners the alderman's office was their only place of contact with American law and judicial procedure. For them it was the court of the people. Here the ignorant and illiterate adjusted their legal differences; here the Slav, Hungarian, or Lithuanian first came if involved in criminal matters.

In 1911 Pittsburgh was given a county court of concurrent jurisdiction, which has brought about a revolution locally in the handling of minor civil cases. The aldermen's courts themselves, however, can not be dislodged save by a constitutional amendment; and while shorn of much of their civil business in Pittsburgh, they ply their activity in criminal matters as of yore. They are still the custodians of law and rights in Philadelphia no less than in the smaller communities of the state. Both as a matter of history, therefore, and an exhibit of the evils to which a "squire's"

office lends itself when an industrial population springs up about its door sill, the system as it has continued into the twentieth century in Pittsburgh will be set forth.

Viewed thus, the aldermanic system of Pennsylvania is lifted from insignificance. It is one of the vital institutions of civil government.

Yet set down in a thronging industrial center it is an anomaly, an institution taken from the middle ages, and only imperfectly altered, cut, and fitted to modern conditions and a free people. The origin of the office is obscured in antiquity. When Edward III, fearing a general uprising, owing to the manner of his accession, sent out writs to all the sheriffs, Parliament strengthened the order by an act (1327) ordaining that a number of "good men and lawful" be assigned to keep the peace. This act established the office, and the conservators later were permanently made justices of the peace. At the foundation of the colony of Pennsylvania, the office of justice of the peace was brought over from England and it became an integral part of the state's institutions. Under successive state constitutions the powers of these justices and aldermen have been gradually enlarged.

Originally their jurisdiction was limited to amounts under 40 shillings, but gradually the sum increased to $300. In cases where the amount involved is less than $5.33, the equivalent of the old 40 shillings, there is no appeal from an alderman's decision—a survival that permits the use of such tribunals for purposes of spite and oppression.

A Pittsburgh landlord, for example, refused to re-let a tenement. An altercation followed which ended in the tenant's saying that he would get even at the squire's office. Thereupon he entered suit against the landlord for an imaginary debt. At the hearing this debt was denied by the landlord and no proof was offered that it existed. Nevertheless the squire promptly awarded a judgment for $5.00, and the amount being less than the old 40 shillings, the landlord had no choice but to pay.

JUDICIAL SHOP-KEEPING

More serious abuse arises from the fact that once an alderman is elected, his jurisdiction properly exercised extends over the

whole county. A case may, therefore, be put into the hands of any alderman whom the plaintiff chooses, and by selecting one in an obscure district, far removed from the residence of the defendant, an additional weapon is given to the plaintiff for dishonesty and oppression.

This breadth of jurisdiction, coupled with the topography of Pittsburgh, influenced the growth and persistence of the aldermanic system locally. The business district being crowded into a small triangle, hemmed in by the two rivers, the aldermen in the four wards which long comprised the business section got a tremendous clientèle. The lucrativeness of such offices, held for a five-year term (some netting $12,000 a year from the fees), could scarcely have been other than a stumbling block to attempts to abolish them.

The typical alderman's office is not prepossessing—a counter flanked by a railing, a few chairs, a safe, and a number of dockets compose the usual furniture. The floor is nearly always bare and generally dirty. Outside, the appearance of the office is much like that of a shop desiring customers; for with few exceptions the aldermen's offices in Pittsburgh in the years of their prime came to occupy the lower floors of buildings opening like a store directly on the street. Often an electric sign or one of gaudy lettering is employed to make the location conspicuous. Where the ward boundaries permit, these offices are situated on the main thoroughfares, sometimes so close together as to be within sight of one another. This proximity natually results in the sharpest kind of competition. Some of the more progressive aldermen indulge in printed advertisements, and it was a common sight to see blotters emblazoned with the name, address, and telephone number of an office distributed among the downtown business houses. Yet these are members of the state judiciary, presiding over subordinate courts!

Each alderman has a constable who is elected at the same time as himself and in such a way as to make the office largely political in complexion. In the downtown districts to which reference has been made there is usually in addition a docket clerk, a writ clerk, and perhaps two deputies. But in most offices the alderman and constable do all the work. The constable is a kind of major domo, and usually the business getter. He it is who

mingles with the people of the neighborhood and steers litigation in the direction of his superior. A flourishing business is to his benefit, because, as with the alderman, his income is derived from fees.

In many of the districts settled largely by foreigners, the constables are also foreigners, sometimes having been but recently naturalized. Lamentable as it may seem, the persecution and defrauding of aliens is largely done by constables of this type. They have been known to make as much as $20 a day; but this has not been the rule in recent years, partly because aliens are less ignorant and partly because of the protection and advice afforded by national, fraternal, and charitable organizations and by the foreign consulates.* In civil cases, it follows from the very organization and jurisdiction of these courts, and from the fact that the litigant may choose his tribunal, that aldermen are often called upon for legal advice and opinions even in advance of actual litigation. Each one knows that if he advises the complainant that he has no case another alderman will be consulted. If the latter advises suit the costs will go to him. As an alderman depends for his living upon fees from litigation instituted in his court, it is not hard to find one who will tell an angry or aggrieved person that he has a good case. And as an alderman is not required to have legal training his advice, as one can readily see would be the case, is often governed by his itching for new business instead of by his knowledge of the law.

Thus a landlady and two boarders—a man and his wife—became involved in a quarrel, during the course of which the landlady pointed a revolver at her boarders. They consulted a squire who advised them to take out an information for surety of the peace. The proceeding under an act of assembly for pointing firearms would perhaps have been proper, but there was clearly no case of surety of the peace. The case came up for hearing and after a long dissertation couched in legal verbiage the squire pronounced judgment that the case be discharged and the costs divided. The plaintiffs, who were represented by an attorney, immediately refused

* In the opinion of the consulate representing one of the European countries which supply a large percentage of our unskilled labor, the aliens under their jurisdiction in the western end of this state are defrauded annually of approximately a million dollars, largely through these constables and dishonest foreign bankers to whom the alien, in his ignorance of American conditions, naturally turns for aid and advice.

to pay and asked the squire what he was going to do about it (by act of assembly execution can not issue for costs alone). The squire was nonplussed, and called in his constable. After a whispered consultation, he announced that he had reconsidered and that his judgment was that the case be discharged and the costs put on the defendant. By this time the defendant had got her cue. She also refused to pay, and likewise asked the squire what he was going to do about it. Another whispered consultation followed, while the squire scratched his head in perplexity. His final judgment was that the case be discharged and the costs put upon the county. Of which, more later.

Not only do aldermen give advice concerning prospective cases, but they solicit business, and it is very common for them to act as collecting agencies for unpaid bills. Some who make a specialty of such work have a printed form reading:

> Claim against you for $——— has been put in my hands for collection. Pay at once and save yourself costs.

If the claim is paid without suit a percentage charge is made for the service; if the defendant ignores the notice the alderman will enter suit. We have here the anomaly of a state judicial officer whose living depends upon the business he can drum up, and who can at will be counsel, judge, and prosecutor. In short, the judge considers himself in the employ of the plaintiff.

At a hearing before an alderman, who was one of the most upright and efficient in the city, the evidence of the plaintiff was very uncertain while that of the defendant was clear and convincing. The squire "reserved judgment," which means that he did not wish to give his decision in the presence of both parties. The case had been conducted by an attorney who controlled considerable aldermanic business, and this attorney not long after reaching his office was called to the telephone by the alderman, who said in substance:

"Now look here, Mr. ————, if you think you ought to get the money in that case of yours I will pay it myself, but I really cannot find for the plaintiff because I honestly think the defendant has a good defense."

Only an incident, but what a flood of light it throws on the whole situation. For few cases are decided otherwise than in favor of the plaintiff,—exactly what proportion can never be known, because the Pennsylvania courts have decided that the

dockets of aldermen are private records and not open to inspection by the public. One judge who has had wide experience on the common pleas bench, when asked if he thought 1 per cent of the cases were decided other than in favor of the plaintiff, replied, "No, not nearly." As a matter of fact, judgment is so universally given for the plaintiff that a defendant who has had any previous experience does not take the trouble to appear at the hearing, but if he desires to contest the matter, takes an appeal from the alderman's decision.

A wise requirement of law compels a plaintiff to make out his case affirmatively, proving all the matters essential to constitute liability on the part of the defendant; but it is a matter of everyday knowledge that aldermen give judgment on evidence of the most meager kind.

A copy of a bill, for instance, its correctness unsworn to, left with the alderman, is a common way of obtaining judgment for goods sold and delivered. Suits may be entered before more than one alderman, and thus, although but one execution may issue, a defendant can be harried by threats and a multiplicity of summonses. Cases have been known where constables, although aware that a levy could not be made, would, nevertheless, frequently visit the house of the defendant, post notices of sale, demand admittance in the middle of the night, and in many other petty ways harass him in the hope of forcing the payment of their costs.

Much hardship was undergone in Pittsburgh through the operations of "loan sharks" until, in recent years, the Legal Aid Society came to exert its restraining influence. It can readily be understood how much such usurers can be assisted by unscrupulous aldermen and constables.

FEES

Of primary importance to the alderman is the problem of getting his costs.

A well-to-do man living in the residential section bought some cider from a huckster and ordered some apples. The cider was left in the barrel and the apples, which were paid for in advance, were to be brought the following day. When they came they were refused be-

cause of their poor quality. The huckster in a rage demanded the barrel in which he had left the cider. He was told he could have it in a day or two, as soon as it could be emptied. He left to seek the advice of a squire who advised him to make an information for larceny by bailee—the technical term meaning larceny of goods temporarily in one's possession. A warrant was issued for the defendant's arrest, and he appeared at the alderman's office with bondsmen. Before the hearing the squire had gone to the defendant's business office and told him that if he would pay the costs the matter could be fixed. Failing in this mission, he now refused bail on one pretext and another, and repeated his offer. Rather than spend a night in jail while new bail was being secured, the victim paid the costs.

This case is, of course, exceptional, and there are many aldermen who never seek business or advise frivolous litigation; but even without such manipulation, so long as litigants had no other court to go to in minor matters, the volume of aldermanic business was incredibly large. Some of the downtown offices in 1908 had as many as 500 civil cases brought in a single month. A compilation of the costs paid in 300 cases showed the average sum in each case to have been $3.74, so that the income from fees was as much as $1,800 a month in such offices, which after allowing amply for office expenses, left a monthly profit of $1,000 in civil suits alone.

Whether or not an appeal is taken from his decision, an alderman is equally sure of his fees. Until recent years costs had, indeed, to be paid before an appeal could be taken. An act which endeavored to remedy this by permitting an appeal if satisfactory bail be given for debt, interests, and costs, works little benefit, as the alderman is the judge of the sufficiency of bail and has it in his power to reject bondsmen, so that it is quicker and easier to pay costs than to bother over the allowance of bail. If the alderman's costs are not paid when the appeal is taken, they become a first lien on the fund realized when the case is disposed of in the higher court, the alderman's transcript being the evidence from which the higher court determines what disposition has already been made. Cases have come to the writer's attention in which although costs were paid at the time of appeal, yet on the transcript has been written "Costs not paid by defendant." If such a transcript is filed without the detection of this error, upon final disposition the alderman is in a position to demand his fees a second time from the prothonotary of the higher court, and thus receive double pay.

PROFITS WITHOUT INDICTMENTS

To form some estimate of the income derived from some aldermanships, to the costs in civil cases should be added those paid in criminal cases. Taking 100 cases chosen at random from the criminal docket of a prominent downtown alderman, the average was $4.15 in each case. These costs the defendant, if guilty, is supposed to pay. But the fact that an alderman entertains a frivolous information does not prevent his being paid for his work. If the case is discharged the county pays. If the prisoner is committed and the case ignored by the grand jury the county pays. The percentage of bills ignored by the grand jury is sometimes as high as 72 per cent. Yet in all such cases the aldermen are secured in their costs. In 1907 the county paid to the various aldermen and justices of the peace the sum of $17,884.40 for costs for discharged criminal cases, and to sundry officers in these cases $8,840.05, or a total of $26,724.45.

In 1909 an even larger sum ($33,120.50) was paid to aldermen and their constables; and the practices of two petty magistrates who harassed the immigrants, Negroes, and other low paid workers of the Hill District, were made the subject of a special investigation and report by William H. Matthews, then head worker of Kingsley House. Information obtained by Mr. Matthews showed that while some aldermen received nothing from discharged cases and others but a few dollars, these two, Louis Alpern and Samuel Frankel, together received over one-fourth of the whole.

In 1906, Frankel was indicted for leasing bawdy houses. The year following he took office as alderman. The Kingsley House report brought out that in that year, 1907, 233 cases were discharged by him, for which the county paid him $760.20. In 1908 he had nearly twice as many discharge cases and collected from the county considerably more than twice as much in fees; namely, $1,741.25. In 1909 he increased his revenue from this source to $1,961.85. Both in 1908 and in 1909 he received more than any other alderman. Alpern's business in discharge cases was also steadily remunerative and second only to Frankel's.

Even more damaging was the comparison made by the report between the records of Alpern and Frankel, and J. V. McMasters, a downtown alderman of standing. The following table is based upon the district attorney's records and the comptroller's annual report for 1909:

CRIMINAL CASES BEFORE THREE ALDERMEN IN 1909

	Alpern	*Frankel*	*McMasters*
Discharged cases	467	512	15
Ignored by grand jury	65	40	33
True bills	84	47	131
Total	616	599	179
Percentage of discharged to whole number of cases	76	85	8
Per cent of cases ignored by grand jury to whole number returned to court	44	46	20
Per cent of discharged and ignored cases to whole number of cases	86	92	26
Amounts paid by the county on account of discharged cases (Comptroller's Report, p. 156)	$1,814.55	$1,961.85	$42.35

To quote the report: "It will be seen that although Alderman McMasters returned to court nearly twice as many cases as Frankel returned, and although Frankel discharged over thirty times as many as McMasters discharged, yet the grand jury ignored more of Frankel's than of McMaster's cases. And Alpern's record is like Frankel's. The action of the grand jury is the more significant in that it is based upon the very same evidence which was supposed to justify the alderman in holding the defendant. Neither alderman nor grand jury hears evidence for the defendant but simply determines whether the prosecution has made out a prima facie case against the accused."

In other words, out of all the criminal prosecutions brought in the offices of these two aldermen but 14 per cent and 8 per cent justified an indictment on the part of the Commonwealth. But in practically the entire remainder of the cases, respectively 86 per cent and 92 per cent, the cost of the alderman's useless work was paid by the county. It may be argued that an alderman is not responsible for the validity of the claims of people who choose to make informations, but this statement is answered by the record of the third alderman—who was doing perhaps the largest business in the city. In his court in the same year, 1909, the percentage of discharged cases to the whole number was 8 per cent, while that of his combined discharged and ignored cases was 26 per cent. He received from the county for costs in such cases the sum of $42.35, as against the $3,776.40 received by his two unscrupulous fellows.

The anomaly thus extends to every branch of the office,—a state judicial officer with an income depending on the volume of

the litigation instituted in his office,—lucrative just in proportion to his ability to get customers in civil cases, and in proportion to the ability of his constables to hale people before him on pretext of committing crimes. Aldermen must, to be sure, pay over to the county all, or sometimes a proportion, of such fines collected, depending on a special act of assembly. These fines are supposed to be voluntarily accounted for, and little attempt was formerly made to test the accuracy of such returns. In 1896, however, the county comptroller inaugurated a system of auditing the criminal dockets of aldermen for the better ascertainment of the county's share of such fines. The returns that year increased 75 per cent and have been increasing steadily ever since, although in 1907 the total amount returned to the comptroller in such cases was but $3,714.20 —an insignificant sum compared to the expenditures to which the county was put by the wasteful methods of the aldermanic system.

GLUTTING OF APPEALS

Every case appealed from an alderman is retried, with costs to be paid over again. Enough has been said, however, to show that it is a wise provision of law which permits appeals by right, rather than by the squire's allowance, if the amount at stake exceeds the old 40 shillings.

Practically, therefore, all cases involving any real controversy are appealed. A defendant is given ten days in which to take his appeal. The procedure is simple; a transcript or copy of the alderman's record is obtained, the costs paid or bail given for debt, interest, and costs, and the transcript is then filed in the higher court. Here the cases are begun over again just as if they had not already been tried.

In 1897 it was estimated that one-sixth of the work of the Common Pleas courts consisted of retrial of appeals taken from aldermanic decisions, and that these cases absorbed an aggregate of $12,000 in costs prior to their determination in the Common Pleas courts. Our examination in 1908 showed that the proportion of time thus consumed was no less extravagant than it had been ten years before; and that the increase in the volume of litigation had swelled the costs. There were in 1908 four such courts. As they were separate and independent, litigation could be begun in any one of them. All were far behind in their work, two being at least four years, the others at least two years, behind. Taking

at random a term—three months' business—in one of the courts which was four years behind, we found 1,342 docket entries. Of these, 322 were cases which had been appealed from aldermen, and represented work already done and paid for, to be done over again. The costs actually paid in these cases counted up to $1,322.08. This in one term of one court; and there were four courts and four terms to each.

Taking four terms, one of each court, we found 667 alderman's appeals in the two courts which were four years behind in 1908, and 105 in the two courts which were two years behind. By law there is required with each appeal an affidavit that it is not taken for delay, but figures speak for themselves.

JAILING WITHOUT CAUSE

So much for civil causes, where only money and time are involved. On the criminal side the aldermanic courts hold a man's liberty in their hands. Summary convictions, or proceedings under special statutes where aldermen can impose a fine and commit to jail on default, and proceedings for the determination of the existence of the essentials of a crime, comprise their criminal jurisdiction. The aldermanic courts thus occupy the threshold of all criminal procedure. The creation of the county court created for Allegheny County in 1911 has to do only with civil matters and in no wise altered the more vital matter of criminal procedure in its relationship to the aldermen's courts. In this respect the office has seen little change since the reign of Edward III in the fourteenth century.

Under the present constitution of the state of Pennsylvania no judges devote their time exclusively to criminal work. Jurisdiction over crimes is vested in two courts, the Court of Quarter Sessions and the Court of Oyer and Terminer. These are presided over in turn by the judges of the Common Pleas courts, and the district attorney acting for the Commonwealth conducts all criminal trials. But before a case can reach the criminal court the machinery of justice must be started. This is set going generally by a plaintiff's making a complaint under oath—known as an "information"—to an alderman. The alderman issues a warrant of arrest and the accused is taken into custody. A hearing must promptly follow and the alderman must decide whether there is sufficient evidence to hold the defendant for court; if so, the latter is held for bail if the offense is bailable, or committed to jail in default. The alderman must within

five days send a transcript of the proceeding to a clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions, which is the criminal court of the county. The alderman acts in this respect only as a committing magistrate, yet on his decision rests whether the prisoner be committed to jail; for although the offense may be bailable the question of bail in the case of poor people is very material. The writer has known cases where bail has been set at $1,000 on an information for assault and battery! Considerable hardship may be inflicted, also, by the failure of the alderman to return his record within the five days required by law. Cases have been known where through neglect prisoners have been kept in jail a month before the matter was brought to the attention of the district attorney's office and the alderman made to produce his papers.

After the accused is held for court by an alderman, the latter's commitment is turned over to the grand jury, which hears the evidence for the plaintiff, and if a prima facie case is shown, returns a true bill on which the district attorney prepares an indictment for trial in the criminal court. If, on the contrary, the grand jury decides that a prima facie case has not been made out, the commitment of the alderman is ignored.

The percentage of commitments so ignored is a measure of the effort of these petty magistrates to comply with the duties of their office. Sometimes this percentage, as already noted, has been as high as 72 per cent. This means that 72 per cent of persons brought before the alderman were either put in jail or held for bail on insufficient evidence. Take the case of the two aldermen cited who had offices in districts largely settled by poor people. On the same basis of facts the grand jury in 1909 decided that nearly half of the cases they held for court had been wrongfully held, while more than four out of five of all prosecutions instituted before them were too unsubstantiated to become a basis for indictment.

Obviously, the power to arrest should under any circumstances be exercised only with sound discretion. It is not likely that instances such as the following are common, but their occurrence indicates the possibilities of abuse in a system which provides for no form of supervision of the aldermen themselves, much less of their constables.

One constable in Pittsburgh arrested a foreigner at night. Having no warrant he took him to an alderman's office, and as the alderman was not in, the constable pretentiously used the telephone to find him, with

no results. Then substantially the following conversation took place:

"Now, ——— you, I will be the squire myself," and the constable took his place behind the railing. "How much money have you?" The prisoner was found to have a few dollars on his person. "Well, you are fined $ ——— (the exact amount the prisoner had with him) and discharged. Now get out."

The fine was pocketed and the prisoner permitted to go. The fact that the constable probably was drunk does not lessen the seriousness of his violation of the common rights of citizens.

In another case an educated German was studying manufacturing methods in this country and had spent much time in the neighborhood of the steel mills. One evening he saw an alderman's constable, whom he knew by sight, on a street car handcuffed to a prisoner. With Teutonic curiosity he asked the details of the case. The constable, who was under the influence of liquor, beckoned the German over to him and deftly handcuffed him also. The German thought the affair a joke. He was, however, taken to jail, but was refused by the warden because there was no warrant for his confinement. The constable then took his prisoner outside, and when they reached Diamond Street asked him how much money he had. The German really had $600 or $700 on his person, but replied that he had only a few dollars, producing some bills and small change. The constable told him he would release him for $3.50. This the former paid and got his liberty. He was leaving the city the next day and, as he was a steel expert representing a foreign government, could not possibly remain to prosecute the constable.

The following case is quoted from the Kingsley House report:

"In June, 1909, Joe Jeffitch, a Croatian, was arrested on a charge of criminal fraud, under a warrant issued by Alderman Samuel Frankel. A relative of the prosecutor claimed that a relative of the defendant owed him seventy dollars, so that this was not only an attempt to collect a civil debt by criminal process but the debt was one for which the defendant was in no way liable. He was planning to visit his home in the old country—had in fact bought his ticket and was on the point of leaving. After he was arrested he was told that if he would pay the seventy dollars and costs they would let him off; otherwise he would go to jail. He went to jail and sent for an attorney, giving up his trip abroad. The attorney defended him at the hearing and did his best to show the alderman that there was nothing in the charge. Frankel, however, reserved his decision. The attorney tried again and again to persuade him either to discharge the case or to hold it for court, and finally, Frankel, finding that he could not

wear out the patience of the defendant or his attorney, held the defendant for court. The attorney himself signed the bail bond, paid a small fee, and saw the entry made in the alderman's docket. He thought that was the end of the matter for he felt sure that the grand jury would not find a true bill. Shortly afterward, however, while the attorney was out of the city, Frankel called at his office and wanted to settle the case. He was afraid he would lose his costs. When the attorney returned from his vacation he looked up the case in the proper office, but found that it had not been returned by Frankel. Upon further inquiry he found that Frankel had discharged the case and collected his costs from the county. Before collecting them he had to swear that his claim against the county of Allegheny was 'correct, just and true in every particular' and 'authorized by legal authority.'"

STATUS AS CRIMINAL COURTS

We are thus driven to three conclusions: that the aldermanic system as found in Pittsburgh is always extravagant, that it is generally inefficient, that it is often corrupt. It should have been abandoned long ago, but through the indifference of the public and the political influence of the aldermen, it has remained to flourish behind its special wall of privilege. Aldermen are constitutional officers and as such can be abolished only by an amendment to the constitution. Such an amendment must be approved by two successive legislatures (which sit only every two years) and then advertised in all the counties of the state and submitted to the people for ratification. An act must then be passed by the next succeeding legislature in order to create a court to absorb the judicial matters now vested in the aldermen. Such an amendment has been submitted to the Pennsylvania legislature, but failed to pass two successive sessions.

What it has thus been impossible to accomplish directly, has been attempted in Pittsburgh in roundabout ways. On the criminal side, police magistrates' courts,* presided over by men appointed by the mayor, have shared in the ups and downs of reform in the general city administration. Drunks, vagrants and the like are comparatively unprofitable from the standpoint of the fee system and are generally tried in the magistrates' courts. Nevertheless, the original jurisdiction of the aldermen persists

* See Forbes, James: The Reverse Side. Wage-earning Pittsburgh, p. 305.

in any criminal case where a preliminary hearing is required, and this hybrid situation has led to special abuse.

Thus, Squire Alpern, to whom reference has been made, was in 1909 both an alderman and a city magistrate. How he played both ends against the middle in his dual capacity was brought out in the Kingsley House report to which reference has been made: He was caught sending in informations bearing the name of the constable who served him in his capacity as squire, although the arrests had been made, the defendants jailed, and the witnesses brought into court by police officers who came before him as magistrate.

In one case cited, the defendant was accused of sodomy, a crime in which an alderman is not permitted to accept bail. Alpern, however, not only admitted him to bail, but went on the bail bond himself. When the case came on for trial the defendant was not in court and the authorities had to call on Alpern to bring his man into court. The defendant was convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary, but the alderman continued to hold office.

In criminal matters, the position of the aldermen remains today as strong as ever. The need for reform is as great as when the Pittsburgh Survey report of 1908 was published, or the Kingsley House report of 1910 was published.

CIVIL REFORM BY SUBSTITUTION

Real progress has been made on the civil side.

Here Pittsburgh has not been alone in its problem. In bringing out our review of conditions in 1908 we could cite the experience of the new Chicago municipal court that in its first six months disposed of 40,610 cases, of which but 92 were appealed. The Illinois justice of the peace system had for long outgrown its justification and had become corrupt and woefully inefficient. For long, likewise, nothing had been done to improve matters because of the political power of the justices, and the necessity for an amendment to the state constitution. When at length the people set about a solution, they amended the state constitution, and organized a municipal court of distinctive type, with a chief justice co-ordinating the work of 27 salaried associate justices, sitting in branches in the chief centers of the city and in special courts devoted to particular classes of cases, such as those involving domestic relations. Pittsburgh's immediate problem and opportunity lay in transferring

minor litigation to such an efficient tribunal, which would serve the city as well or better, restore respect for the law among the poor and uninformed, relieve the Common Pleas courts of a considerable portion of their work, enable them to clear their crowded calendars, and save the public thousands of dollars. This, at one stroke, it was urged, would remedy an abuse and solve a problem which occupied the attention of the whole bench.

The redistricting of the city in 1909 brought down the number of aldermen from 59 to 27, one for each of the new wards; but this in one sense accentuated the situation, throwing the heart of the business district into two bailiwicks. The public generally became so aroused concerning the aldermanic courts in 1911, that various civil bodies were able to secure an act creating a new county court for Allegheny County having jurisdiction over amounts up to $600 and presided over by five judges, learned in the law, who hold offices for ten years each. The success of this county court led in 1913 to the passage of an act of the legislature giving it jurisdiction over amounts up to $1,500 and in other ways solidifying and widening its power. While these acts did not abolish the aldermen; while they left the grave problems of abuse in criminal matters just as they found them; yet there was provided a court of concurrent civil jurisdiction and the necessity of honest litigants employing aldermen in civil cases was removed. In expedition and economy the work of the new court is of a far different caliber and has brought much relief. Appeals from aldermen which before were taken directly to the Common Pleas court and awaited their turn, now go to the new county court and are disposed of within six weeks. The new court has taken over from the Common Pleas court all desertion and non-support cases. The net result is that whereas it used to take from two to four years to get a case tried in the Common Pleas court, it now takes from one year to eighteen months, and the period is daily becoming shorter. The reform has been less satisfactory than in Chicago in proportion as it has been less sweeping, the constitutional limitations remaining intact and making it impossible to give the new court all the jurisdiction theretofore exercised by the squires.

DEFECTS OF THE ALDERMANIC SYSTEM

The prime defects of the aldermanic system in so far as it persists in Pittsburgh and as it continues to serve other industrial communities of the state, are these:

First, we have a system with appalling power for oppression through its antiquated and unsupervised connection with the institution of criminal proceedings, fines, and imprisonment.

Second, we have the almost ludicrous case of judicial officers who, with noteworthy exceptions, are not versed in the statutes, are sometimes uncouth and generally ignorant, and whose mistakes not only in grammar but in law have been a source of constant lampooning.

Third, we have the transfusion of a judicial system with politics,—too well illustrated by the sudden death at the state capital of movements to abolish it. A judiciary so steeped in politics that the squire's office as a campaign center rivals the saloon.

Finally, at the bottom of its disability and corruption is its fee system,—a relic of the days when the public purse was too lean to permit paying salaries to minor judicial officers. Dictated in the beginning by a wise public economy, this system has now with industrial growth become not only a source of injustice but a great expense to the public. Plaintiffs are customers, disinterestedness is impossible, and nothing so runs at cross purposes with the whole system as decision on merits.

THE DISPROPORTION OF TAXATION IN PITTSBURGH*

SHELBY M. HARRISON

I

THE PROBLEM

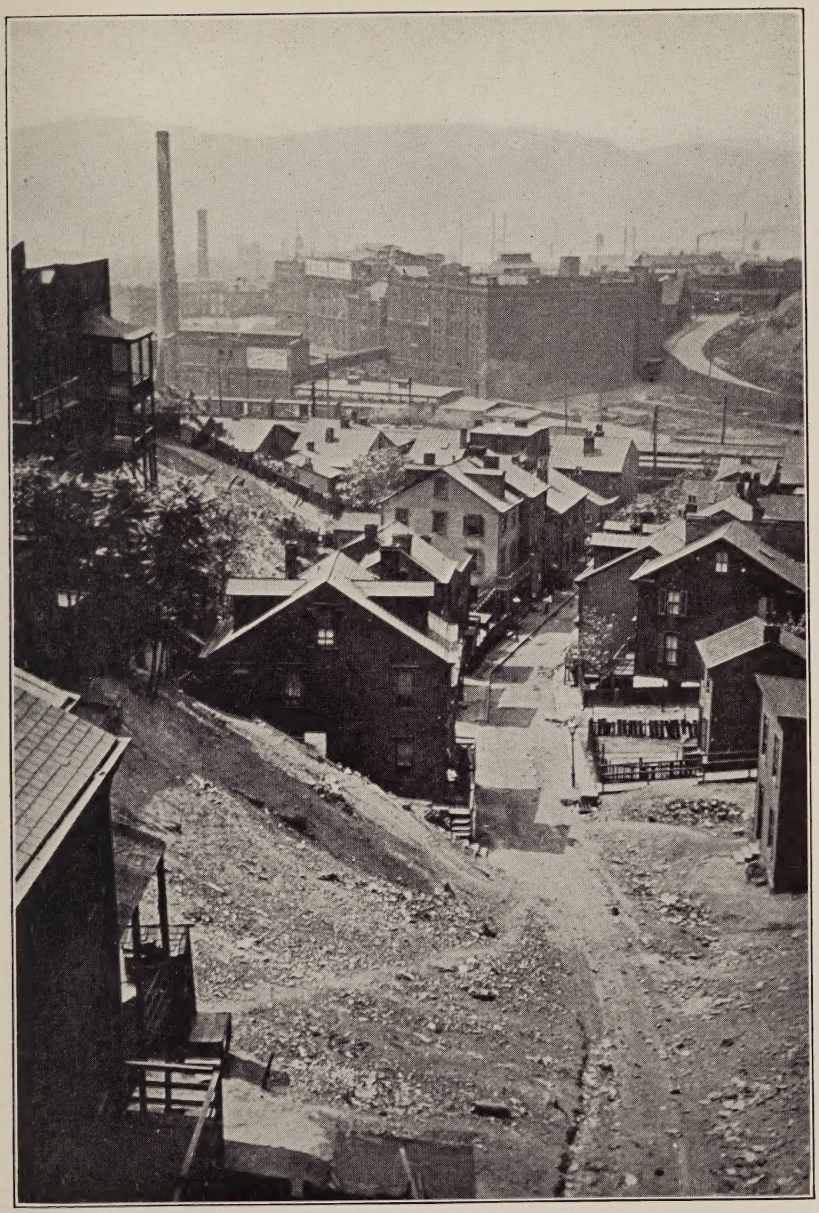
ASAVICH† lives in a small house in the river bottom near Forty-eighth Street. His house fronts on Plum Alley, which is not paved and has no street lights. The air is the muddy gray that hovers in the lee of giant smokestacks in action. Houses in the block crowd together and not a cricket's

*The investigation for this report was made in the summer of 1910, and generous co-operation was had from the Pittsburgh board of assessors, the city comptroller, the civic commission, chamber of commerce, board of trade, other civic and commercial bodies, and many public spirited individuals who had been interested in tax reform in Pittsburgh. In 1909 the Pittsburgh board of trade had started a movement to abolish the system of classifying real estate for local taxation. The report here presented was drafted at the end of 1910, was immediately placed before local bodies, and was of use in the legislative campaign of 1911, which resulted in the enactment of the Halferty bill abolishing the tax classification of real estate, and in the adoption of a new school code which did away with the separate sub-district school tax levies—enactments taking effect with the 1912 assessment of taxes and thereby eliminating two most prolific sources of injustice in Pittsburgh public finance.

These new laws were backed by the Pittsburgh civic commission, the committee on real estate and taxation of the chamber of commerce, the Pittsburgh board of trade, the allied boards of trade, the Pittsburgh Teachers' Association, Pittsburgh Principals' Association, Schoolmasters' Club of western Pennsylvania, Federation of Women's Clubs, and Junior Order of American Mechanics. Among the individuals who contributed to the movement were Mayor Magee, Thomas J. Hawkins, and Thomas C. McMahon, president and secretary respectively of the city assessors, Allen T. Burns, James R. Park, David B. Oliver, Thomas O'Shell, and, in marked degree, W. D. George.

The tax reform forces returned to the attack in the legislature of 1913 and secured the passage of a law which will gradually fix the tax rate on buildings at 50 per cent of that on land. Thus, after forty years during which Pittsburgh has suffered under a taxation system discriminating in favor of large land holdings it becomes in 1914 the first large city of the United States to enter upon the experiment of halving the tax rate of buildings.—Editor.

† Case including figures is actual but name fictitious.



HOMES OF THE TAX BURDEN BEARERS

Property along this congested street where work people live was classed full up to 1912, paying the highest rate assessed in the ward

TAXED AS RURAL FOR MANY YEARS
Some of the best residence property in the city. Schenley Farms and Squirrel Hill in the distance

TAXED AS "FARM" LAND
More than 100 acres which long paid only one-half the tax rate while it dammed the city's growth

grasp of green weeds grows in the cindery back yards. School advantages of the district are poor. Savich owns the house and lot where he lives. In 1910 the city assessors valued the lot, which is 25 by 50 feet square, at $550 and the house at $400, a total of $950. His total city tax was $15.15 which was at a rate slightly less than $1.60 on each $100 of valuation.

A spacious, substantial residence surrounded by several acres of land, owned and occupied by John Brown,* a local millionaire, stands on North Highland Avenue. The lawn, with its shrubbery, trees, and flowers, is a balm for weary eyes; its generous size keeps neighboring houses at a distance and adds privacy to the home. The air is as free from smoke as any in Pittsburgh, and public school advantages in the district are as good as any in the city. North Highland Avenue is a paved street, well lighted and well cared for. Brown's land was valued by the assessors in 1910 at $202,500, and his residence at $54,400, a total of $256,900. His total city tax on this property was $2,688.89, or $1.05 on each $100.

Standing on splendid high ground overlooking the Allegheny River valley is a large, rambling, old-fashioned, brick dwelling house. It is surrounded by 105 acres of good land, and the whole homestead has been in the possession of the same family since before the Revolutionary War. Its ownership at present is held by a wealthy estate, the only heirs being non-residents of Pittsburgh, living across the Atlantic and drawing a heavy and constant revenue from large local holdings. The city has built up around this homestead on practically all sides, making the land especially valuable. A crop or two of hay is harvested each summer and several cows graze through the year. This 105 acres of so-called "agricultural" land lies almost exactly between two densely populated districts and falls more than two miles inside the eastern boundary of the city. The assessor's books in 1910 recorded the land at $252,000, and the house, together with several cottages, barns, a greenhouse, and outbuildings, at $10,600, a total of $262,600. The total tax was $2,192.71, or 83½ cents on each $100 of assessed value.

The above are three actual cases from the assessor's books

* Case including figures is actual but name fictitious.

for 1910, illustrating the results of separating real estate into three classes which for thirty-four years had determined its taxation in Pittsburgh. How typical they were we shall see in what follows. Savich lived on the so-called "full city" land, Brown on "rural," and the 105-acre estate passed as "agricultural." Savich paid taxes at the rate of $1.60 on each $100 of assessed value, Brown at the rate of $1.05, and the estate at 83½ cents. Savich, on the alley, paid a rate over 50 per cent higher than Brown, on the avenue, and nearly 100 per cent higher than the homestead on the hill. Included in the total tax amount in each case was an item for district school equipment and building maintenance, and the rate of this levy was affected by land classification also. Using the assessors' appraisals before being modified by the classification scheme, which will be described later, Savich, in 1910, paid $2.14 sub-district school tax, or 23 cents per $100 of valuation; Brown paid $342.53, or 13 cents; and the estate's payment was $393.90, or 15 cents, Savich's rate being over 50 per cent higher than either of the others.

Over on the South Side is the Beltzhoover school district comprising the old thirty-eighth ward. The district is made up very largely of the more provident class of working people. Barring the occasional exception, of course, here are found the skilled mechanics and skilled mill workers, the northern European immigrant, and the $3.00 to $5.00 a day man with a family, who either owns or is gradually buying his own home. Except for their immediate wants, such as groceries and meats, these people go downtown for most of their trading; that is, they spend their money somewhere on the Point. In 1909 the total assessed valuation of taxable property in the district was $2,000,176. It was slightly higher for 1910, approximately $2,100,000.* On that valuation in 1910 was paid $21,000 in sub-district school taxes alone, which meant a sub-district school rate of $1.00 on each $100 of realty in the ward.

Across the river in the old third ward on the Point is a modern twenty-story office building, standing on land fronting

* The figures for old wards were not available for 1910 except where old and new wards coincide.

on Fifth Avenue and Grant Street—land made valuable to a large extent by the growth of just such districts as Beltzhoover; that is, by the growth of the whole Pittsburgh District. The general movement of society; greater congestion in community life, whatever its causes; and the spread of all kinds of education, have done much not only to make such a modern colossus possible, but profitable. In 1910 the property was assessed at $2,350,000, and it paid a sub-district school tax amounting to $399.50. This was at the rate of 1.7 cents (less than 2 cents) on each $100 of assessed value.

In these two illustrations we have chosen the whole of old ward 38, houses, yards and little stores, to set against the twenty-story Grant Street property, because the total valuations of the two were approximately equal. The rate paid by the neighborhood was more than 50 times as high as that paid by the office building. It is an instance of the wide variation in sub-district school taxes which for many years were levied in the city of Pittsburgh, a municipal unit created supposedly for purposes of economy and justice in local government.

Again, downtown in the old third ward stands another large steel office building. It is owned by one of the important public service corporations of the city; it produces a revenue, and receives the same privileges and advantages as other downtown business property, such as street lighting, street cleaning, paving, sewage removal, fire, police, and health protection. In 1910 the assessors valued the land, most of which fronts on Sixth Avenue, at $220,450, and the building at $307,500, a total of $527,950. The total of all city taxes, both general and school, levied against the property in 1910, was $3,661.68, which was at a rate of 69 cents on each $100 of the total assessed valuation of the property as against a total rate of $1.05 paid by Brown and $1.60 paid by Savich. This rate was so low because one-half of the property was exempt from local taxation as part of corporation property held to be necessary to the operation of its franchise; that is, the company used that half of it for its own offices.

Moreover, in 1910 the same company controlled and operated property in the old fourteenth ward, consisting of over 11 acres of land,—much of it especially desirable because it fronts on

the river; brick and frame office buildings; a brick shop; refining, retort, engine, and purifying houses, and so forth, to the assessed value of $888,600. In the old ninth ward, the same company had 40,000 square feet of land, a brick warehouse, foundry, boiler house, and office building, power station, and so forth, with an assessed value of $187,750. On this valuation total of over a million dollars, the company, because of the corporation exemption, was not paying a cent of local taxes, whether for expenses of the general city government, for its separate indebtedness, or for general or sub-district schools.

From these six tax-paying types it would seem that the land classification system in vogue in Pittsburgh well into the twentieth century, enabled big real estate holdings to get out from under the full share of their local responsibilities. By the separate school district rates, big business property seems to have been getting out of part of its share of the cost of popular education. Under the local exemption provisions, public service corporations were relieved of much of their share in city expenses. If these big interests profited by the system, who was making good what they escaped? Was the burden falling on the small man, on the small householder, on the man who conducts a small business, or on the business in which the small man trades?

This was the problem as seen from the point of view of the Pittsburgh Survey in carrying on its general investigations in 1907–08. Hence this supplementary inquiry into taxation facts in 1910, which in turn has played its part in remedying the most glaring of these evils.

II

THE THREEFOLD CLASSIFICATION OF REAL ESTATE

Pittsburgh had long been divided into three parts not only, as Mr. Burns points out,* as a river city, but as a tax area. These divisions constituted a classification of real estate, for taxing purposes, into "agricultural" property paying one-half the tax rate prevailing in the ward in which it is located, "rural or suburban" paying two-thirds, and "full city" property paying the full tax rate. Under the Pennsylvania laws in force up to 1912, cities of

* Burns, op. cit. P. 44 of this volume.

the first and second classes were permitted to classify their real estate for the purposes of assessments, the cities being Philadelphia in the first class, and Pittsburgh and Scranton in the second. The classification plan started with only two divisions—"rural" and "full." In 1854, when Philadelphia was first enlarged, making the city and county limits co-terminous, an act* provided for a discrimination in tax rate in favor of the rural districts as against the built up sections. An act of 1855 provided that "the councils shall not impose taxes upon rural portions of the city, for policemen and watchmen, for lighting and paving, and cleaning streets, and shall make an allowance therefor, of at least one-third of the whole city tax, in favor of such section."† An act of 1868 created the third or "farm" classification. These acts were passed before the time of electric street cars, telephones, electric lights, and before it was thought necessary or possible to honeycomb the city with sewer burrows, water mains, and gas pipes, or to distribute other municipal services over a very large urban area. The 60's saw the twofold system of taxation applied to Pittsburgh, and the 70's the threefold system.‡

The laws were both brief and thoroughly indefinite regarding what should constitute "farm" land, what "rural," or "suburban," and what "built up" or "full" real estate. Fixing the boundaries of the three classes was left largely to the discretion of the city assessors. It appears that the act of 1876§ which provided for the three tax classes was tested as far as the assessors' discretionary powers were concerned in a decision handed down by Judge Stowe of the Common Pleas court in 1893, which, until the new law went into effect in 1912, was used by the Pittsburgh board of assessors as its stated basis for real estate classification. The court defined classes of real estate as follows:

"(1) *Agricultural lands:* Tracts of several acres either untillable or used mainly for growing agricultural products.

"(2) *Rural:* Districts occupied as residences, mainly by business men of the city, not divided into small lots, but large and of unequal size, ornamented with lawns, trees, shrubbery, flowers, etc.

* Act consolidating the city of Philadelphia, 1854. Section 39.

† Laws of Pennsylvania, 1855, Section 13, p. 264. ‡ See Appendix B, I, p. 455.

§ Act of May 5, 1876. Section 3.

"(3) *City:* Either compactly built up as places of business or residences, or localities contiguous to the built up portions laid out into small city lots, partly built upon, and rapidly being sold or improved." *

Thus this three-class system seems to have developed from the 50's on as a result of two things: one, the mania among American cities for extending their corporate limits to great lengths; the other, the theory that taxes are payments for definite benefit bestowed by government upon particular individuals, and its corollary—that in the absence of any part or all of the benefits, the individuals concerned should be relieved of a part of their tax charge. Although the succeeding decades witnessed the development of power, and the spread of transit, lighting, sanitation, and other city services outside of the downtown districts, the tax discrimination dating from the time of an earlier and more restricted equipment was not for a full half century readjusted to changing conditions. It was a case of new wine in old bottles, and the result which the parable forecasts was as certain in public finance as in physics.

With this system of land classification laid down by the law and the court, let us see how it was worked out. Basing the "rural" class on picturesque grounds and shrubbery, and the agricultural class on the presence of woods or large open tracts used in reality or ostensibly for farm purposes, the Pittsburgh assessors returned the real estate valuations for 1909 and 1910 given in the table opposite.

* Other defining phrases in the opinion are as follows:

"Outlying districts to be taxed as 'city' should be of considerable size, something like a village with small lots rather compactly built up with residences and business houses."

"The term 'built up property' should, it seems to me, be construed to mean, not only such part of the city as is compactly built together, but also to include such land as is within those parts of the city generally and used for the purpose of business. Therefore, taking the term 'built up' and 'city' in connection, the most reasonable interpretation of the statute would seem to be that they were intended to mean all such portions of the city as are generally devoted to business purposes (including, of course, residences) and falling within the generally 'built up' part within the city limits."

"Without reference to its technical meaning (the word 'city') I think the thickly populated part of a town where the business is carried on, and where houses and buildings of whatever kind are comparatively close together, with open spaces generally used as adjuncts for business purposes although they may be of considerable extent, and not for mere purposes of ornament or enjoyment, may be properly called 'built up' or city property within the meaning of the Act of Assembly."

TABLE I.—REAL ESTATE VALUATIONS OF PITTSBURGH IN 1909 AND 1910, BY PROPERTY CLASSIFICATION

Classification	Valuation in	
	1909	*1910*
Full	$450,568,356	$534,642,310
Rural	246,912,074	208,224,892
Agricultural	8,252,453	4,674,748
Total	$705,732,883	$747,541,950

In 1910, real estate to the value of $212,900,000, or 28 per cent of all,* was classed in the rural and agricultural groups and escaped with paying only two-thirds or less of the current rate of the wards where located. Let us state this in another way. In making out their tax records for such property, instead of applying two-thirds or one-half the tax rates to the assessed valuations in each case, the assessors found it more convenient to enter as their base amount two-thirds of the assessed value in the case of rural, and one-half in the case of agricultural, property; and then to apply the full tax rates to all three classes. The results, of course, were the same. The incidental effect of this latter method of figuring was to obscure the fact that because of land classification there were wide differences in the tax rates, the full rates which appeared on the published schedule being applied, of course, to bases grossly distorted. The amount of valuation thus obtained, against which rates were applied, was called *taxable value*. Thus in 1910 the taxable value† of real estate in Pittsburgh was reported by the assessors to be $675,480,238, as against a total cash valuation (that is, valuation before one-third and one-half deductions were made) of $747,541,950. That is, practically 10 per cent of the total cash values brought in no tax revenue whatever to the city.

* The excess to which the system was carried in Pittsburgh is illustrated by comparing with Philadelphia, where the 1910 assessment showed the "rural" and "farm" valuations combined to be only 5 per cent of the total city valuations.

† After deducting $3,685,015, taxable personal property, from the total taxable value.

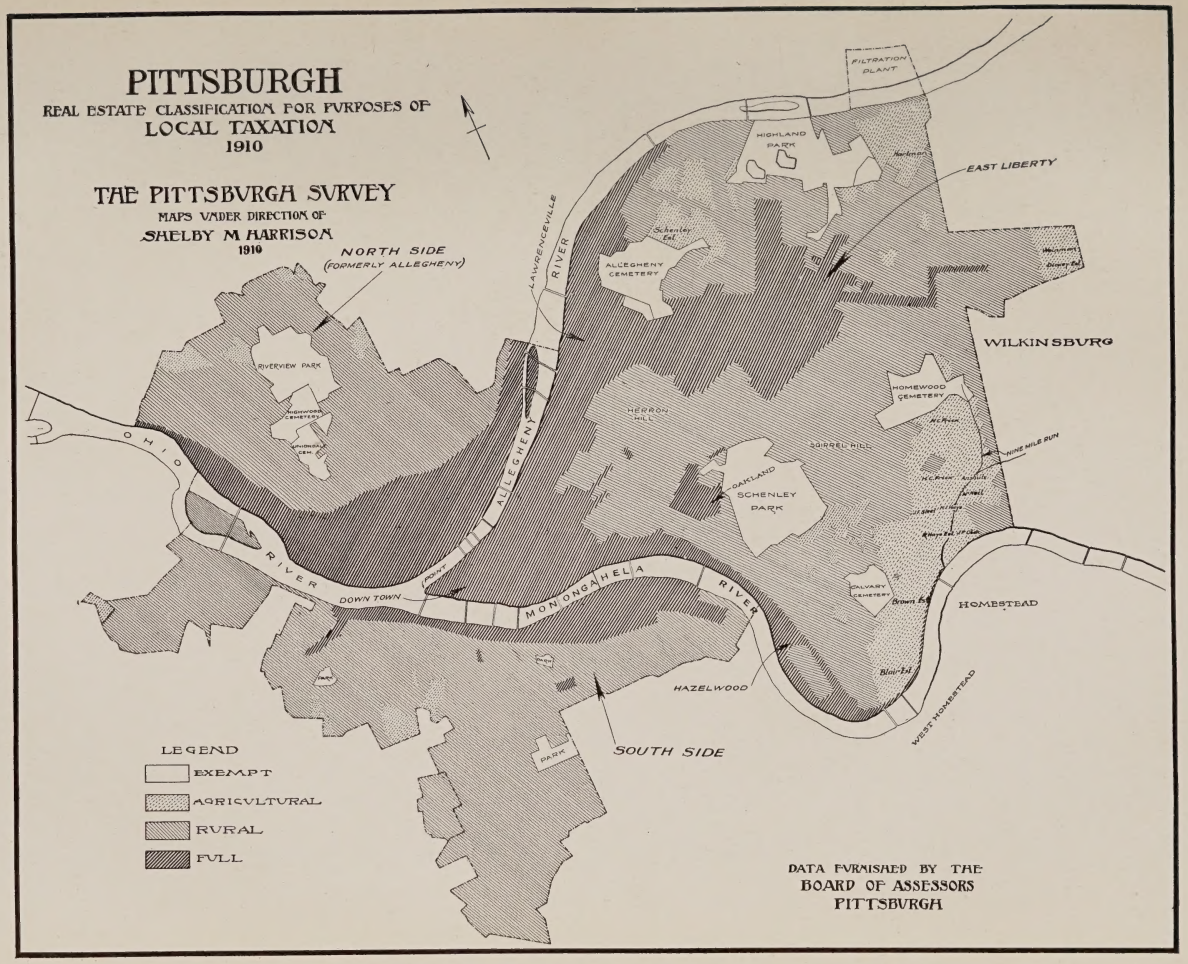
This percentage represented one-half and one-third deductions made to persons who were able to own property adorned with flower beds and shrubbery, and able to hold intact and out of the market large areas of unplotted city land.

In dollars and cents, therefore, in 1910, as result of this system of classification, over one-fourth of the real estate of Pittsburgh was relieved of one-third or more* of its tax rates; or, stated another way, over $70,000,000 worth of real estate values were completely wiped off the assessment books that year. The proportions had been higher and not lower in previous years.

Turning to the geographical working out of the classification program, we find that a map showing full city property throughout a decade would follow much the same general outlines as that part of a geological relief map locating the bottom lands of the city; or, again, with a few additions, as the parts of a weather map showing the city lowlands over which river mists occasionally hover. Finally, in a map showing density of population, a very general correspondence would be found between "full" property and the most congested wards of the city. The "full" area throughout this period included roughly the lower half of the North Side (formerly Allegheny) lying between the hills and the river; the level bottom lands on both sides of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers used principally as factory, mill, and tenement sites; all the triangular downtown business district lying between the rivers; all the congested tenement district up the hill from the business triangle, and many outlying small business patches. Except for the East End table land and Oakland,† which had just been added, the real estate which paid full rates in 1910 was made up almost entirely of business holdings and of family and lodging house neighborhoods of which Woods Run, Hazelwood, Soho, the Hill District, Bloomfield, and Lawrenceville are types. This, of course, was not a mere coincidence, since statutes and courts had defined full city property as closely

* One-half in case of agricultural land.

† The section of small residences known as Oakland, the East End business district and adjacent residence neighborhoods centering around East Liberty, and most of the broad table land used almost entirely for residence, which stretches west from East Liberty to the Allegheny River, were thrown into the "full" classification in 1909.


PITTSBURGH
REAL ESTATE CLASSIFICATION FOR PURPOSES OF LOCAL TAXATION
1910
THE PITTSBURGH SURVEY
MAPS UNDER DIRECTION OF
SHELBY M HARRISON
1910
NORTH SIDE
(FORMERLY ALLEGHENY)
FILTRATION PLANT
HIGHLAND PARK
EAST LIBERTY
LAWRENCEVILLE
RIVER
ALLEGHENY CEMETERY
WILKINSBURG
RIVERVIEW PARK
HOMEWOOD CEMETERY
HERRON HILL
SQUIRREL HILL
NINE MILE RUN
OHIO
RIVER
ALLEGHENY
SCHENLEY PARK
DOWN TOWN
MONONGAHELA
RIVER
CALVARY CEMETERY
HOMESTEAD
HAZELWOOD
WEST HOMESTEAD
SOUTH SIDE
LEGEND
EXEMPT
AGRICULTURAL
RURAL
FULL
DATA FURNISHED BY THE
BOARD OF ASSESSORS
PITTSBURGH

built up property, and since classification and congestion, in some measure, as will be shown later, bore the relations to each other of cause and effect.

Land classed as agricultural formed a smaller part of the city's area than that in either of the other classes. It consisted in 1910 mainly of a number of hillside and valley tracts scattered along the North and South Side borders of the city, the Stanton Heights Golf Links, the high hill overlooking the Allegheny, opposite the filtration plant, and an oblong tract of over 800 acres stretching southwest from Homewood Cemetery to the Monongahela River. A large portion of this latter area was made up of the wooded hills edging on Homewood Cemetery; the golf links and open ground surrounding the Country Club; and the hillsides across the river from Homestead and West Homestead,—all of this land, with the exception of that immediately ruffling Nine Mile Run, being well suited for plotting into residence sites, well within reach of work and business, and adjacent to utilized land.

The so-called rural land made up the remainder of the city. It comprised, excepting the patches of agricultural land here and there, principally the high-lying half of old Allegheny; the hills of the South Side; the three high areas, Herron Hill, Hazelwood, and Squirrel Hill, which wall in Schenley Park; much of the land immediately adjacent to Highland Park; and the extreme east central part of the city. The dominant type of property holdings in all these neighborhoods is the well-to-do residence.

This cutting up of the city into the three classes resulted in curious, not to say inexcusable, incongruities and inconsistencies. As far back as 1877 inequalities were observed by Thomas H. Phelps, then chief assessor, who on July 30, in Spencerian hand, made the following note in the assessor's "book of rates":

"One of the most radical changes effected with the advent of this Board was that in regard to the *Classification* of real estate. Under the old system (see 1872) all property comprehended within certain arbitrary geographical limits were designated as 'rural' and an abatement of one-third made in the rate of taxation thereon without consideration of the intrinsic character of the property itself, presenting the anomaly of the entire 1st precinct of the 14th ward, for instance, being assessed at rural rates while property of precisely similar character contiguous in the 6th ward bore the full rate of taxation.

"Likewise considerable property in the old districts similar and contiguous to property in rural districts were assessed full rate, but were equally entitled to a discount with the rural districts as far as municipal benefits were concerned."

Thirty years and more of experience in administering this fiscal anachronism failed to eliminate all of what Mr. Phelps called anomalies. Two classes of incongruities stamped the assessment books in 1910, those affecting large areas and those affecting small:

Extensive property on the north side of Centre Avenue, from Millvale Avenue out to Liberty Avenue, was classed as full in 1910, while that lying just across the avenue, very similar in character—more built up if anything—had the benefit of rural rates. Similarly, all that part of the new seventh ward east of St. James was classed as full, while just across Fifth Avenue all of the expensive Squirrel Hill property came in for rural rates. Again, the properties on Jones Street, which clutch the steep hillside running down from Grant Boulevard to the Pennsylvania Railroad, were under full classification, while across the boulevard and a little further up the hill, much the same kind of real estate enjoyed the two-thirds rate.

Further, a great deal of land fronting on the East Side of Beechwood Boulevard and Saline Avenue in the eastern part of the city, and other land lying very close to these streets and extending east beyond Nine Mile Run, was classed as agricultural. Except for the land closely contiguous to the Run, the greater part of this land would make precisely as good building sites as that just across, and on the west side of the boulevard, which latter was classed as rural and paid two-thirds the tax rate as against one-half the rate paid in the section east of the boulevard.

Similar instances affecting whole districts might be cited at considerable length. Looking next at individual pieces of property:

On North Highland Avenue was a block, bounded by Stanton Avenue, Beatty, and Hays Streets. This in 1910 exhibited two taxation classes. The property fronting on North Highland and Stanton Avenues was classed as rural, while just across Supreme Alley, which runs through the block and parallel to North Highland Avenue and Beatty Street, the properties fronting on Beatty Street were classed as full. North Highland has the street car line, giving it that full city character, but the Beatty Street properties, while they do have some yard space, are closely built up.

The block described is on the north side of Hays Street and on the

west side of North Highland Avenue. Coming south of Hays Street on the same side of North Highland, the next block, owned clear through to Beatty Street by one person, in 1910 was classed as rural. Coming south again, the next block on the same side of North Highland is between Black and Margaretta Streets, and property in it fronting on North Highland was classed as rural, whereas south again from Margaretta, properties all the way down to Rippey Street were classed as full.

Again, in Hazelwood is a block bounded by the following: Blair, Tecumseh, and Lafayette Streets, and Hazelwood Avenue. Blair Street on one side and Lafayette on the other run the long way of the block. Properties fronting on both sides of Blair Street in this block and across the street were classed in 1910 as full. Real estate on the opposite side of this block from Blair Street was classed as rural. Thus we have the anomaly of several individual lots running through from Blair Street to Lafayette, and subjected to full classification on Blair Street, and to rural on Lafayette Street. When the assessment was first made, most of these lots were assessed as fronting on Blair Street only, and thus classed as full. Later, a number of owners succeeded in getting their property assessed as fronting on Lafayette Street, and thereby thrown into the rural class. As the block stood in 1910 it presented four pieces of property fronting on Lafayette Street classed as rural, and six pieces fronting on Hazelwood Avenue classed as full,—the anomaly extended to its n^{th} power.

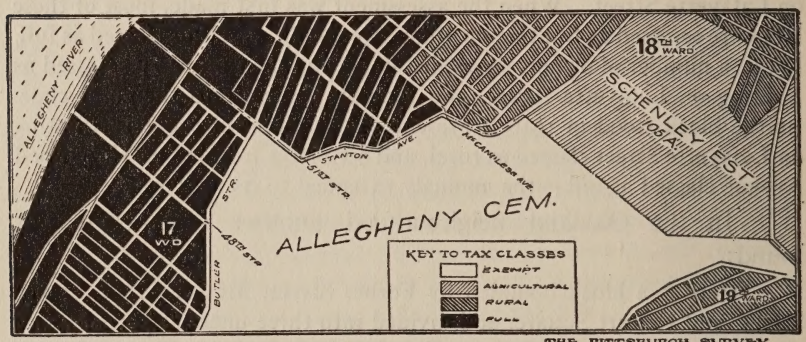
In the Oakland neighborhood another illustration was found:

Here is a block bounded by Forbes Street, McKee Place, Louisa Street, and Coltart Square, and divided into three unequal parts by two alleys meeting at right angles. The first part fronts on Forbes Street, which is one of the main arteries running through the city, and contains four lots that are only 23 feet wide, one larger lot with a large residence upon it, and three double houses built close together. And although property just across McKee Place, fronting on Forbes and not more closely built up, in 1910 was classed as full, still for some reason this particular cluster of lots got off in the same year with the two-thirds rate. The second part of the block fronts on McKee Place. Lots in it are 180 feet deep and range from 45 to 50 feet in width. They were adjacent on two sides to "rural" property; at least half of this rectangle had no buildings whatever on it; and yet these 10 lots fell victims to a full classification in 1910. The third part of the block fronts on Coltart Square, and contains 14 lots which have only half the depth of the adjacent "full" lots in part two. None of the 14 are over 35 feet wide,—some are less. And each lot has a house; yet this built up property was classed as rural. So also were

all the lots which make up the narrow parallelogram across Coltart Square, extending from Louisa Street through to Forbes Avenue.

But why multiply instances? These were found casually, while searching for other data. A deliberate ferret for inequalities would have unearthed many others. Waiving for the moment any question as to the system itself, its application was evidently peculiarly open to discrepancies at the hands of a conscientious assessor or to deliberate favoritism at the hands of others.

Next let us look at injustices that were more inherent in the system itself. Up from the Allegheny Cemetery and Highland Park are the 105 acres of good high-lying land suitable for plotting into city lots described in one of the illustrative paragraphs with which this study opened. These have been owned by the late

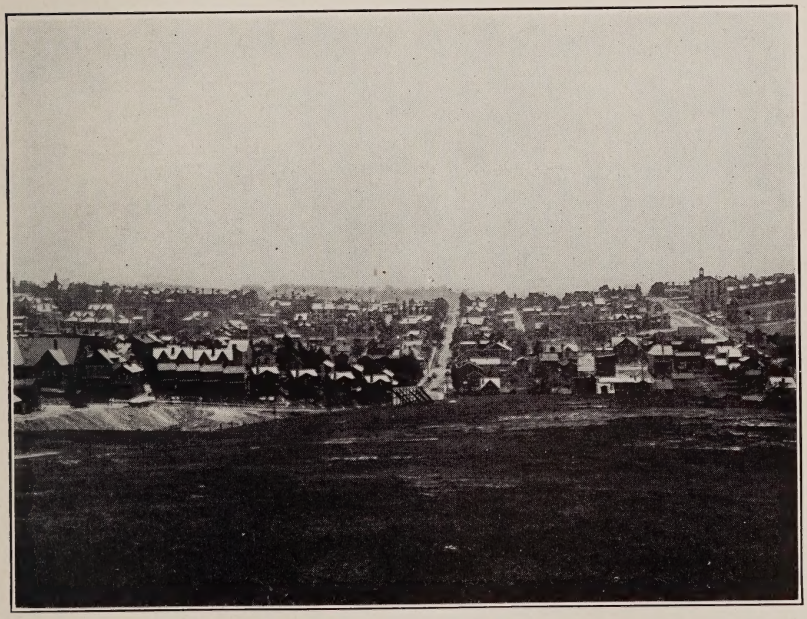


THE PITTSBURGH SURVEY

Mary E. Schenley, her antecedents, or her heirs, since before the Revolutionary War. Except for the cemetery side, this land is almost entirely surrounded by populous neighborhoods. On the east is the growing district centering in East Liberty, and on the west is the congested tenement region which is literally dammed up against the fences of the farm—a part of Lawrenceville shoved up the river.

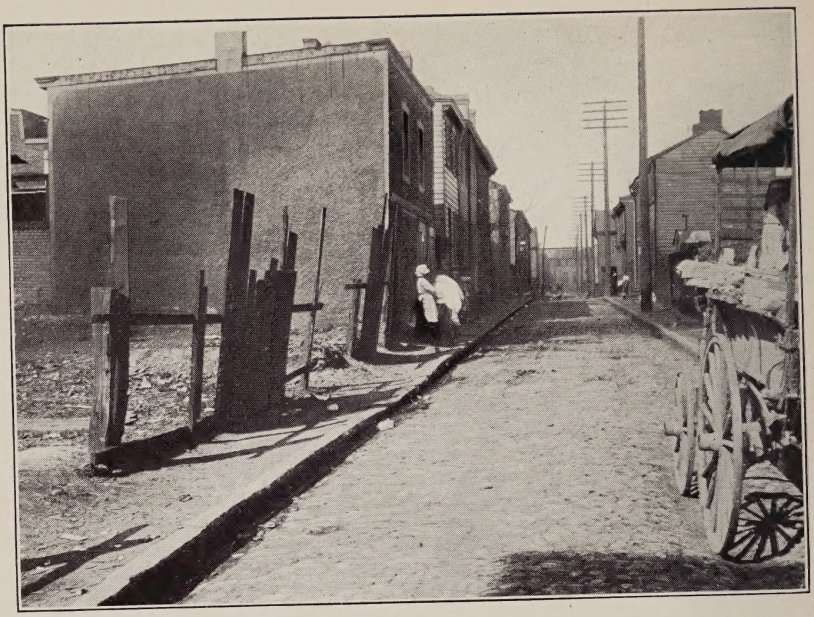
This land was put through only the motions of farming, hay being the only crop that amounted to anything, and yet until 1912 it never paid more than the agricultural one-half rate. Within 300 yards of the Schenley property is the large district around McCandless Avenue and Wycliffe Street, where many

TAXED ONE-HALF—

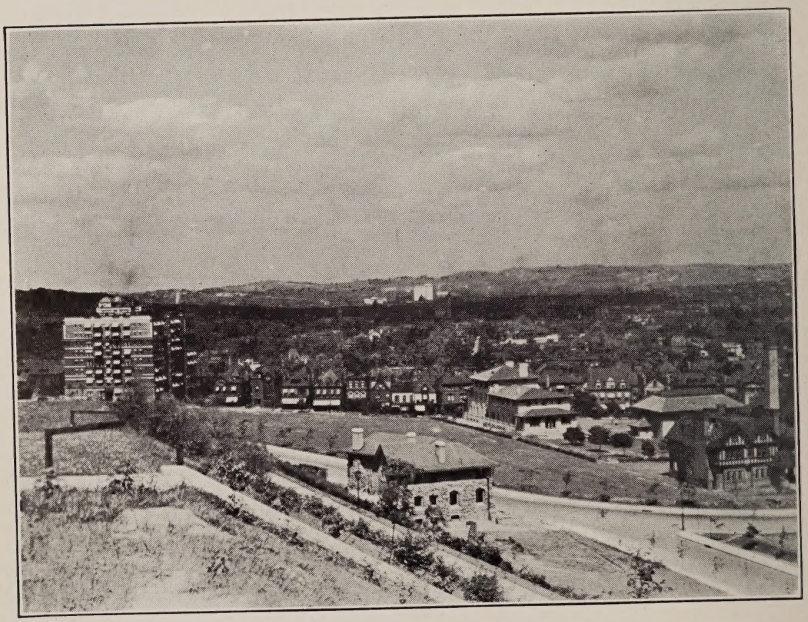


—AND HELD OUT OF THE MARKET FOR YEARS

The open space in the foreground of the above [adjoining sections of one plot] was classified as "agricultural," paying only one-half the tax rate applied to other real estate in the ward. The reader in looking at the pictures looks toward the outskirts of the city. The denser part of the city is behind him—showing how the city completely encircled this large plot.



TAXED "FULL"
West side of Plum Alley, between 48th and 49th Streets



BELLEFIELD AND "RURAL" EAST END
Built up almost solidly to the tall white building in the distance

work people live close together on real estate which has paid full rates for years.

In the Bellefield district of the old fourteenth ward (new fourth), lying between Center and Fifth Avenues, is another tract of very nearly the same area, owned by Mrs. Schenley* or her estate until 1905, and in 1910 still mortgaged to her heirs. This tract has come to be known as the Schenley Farms. It has been accessible for years by three street car lines, and is less than twenty minutes from the Point. Despite its availability, for twenty-five years and more this land, located strategically between the growing downtown and Hill districts on the west and the East End and the Squirrel Hill districts on the east, was held intact. The explanation lay in the fact that it paid a tax rate of not over two-thirds, and for most of the time not over half, of the rate assessed against other property in the same ward.

In 1886 the property (103 acres) was classed as agricultural. It continued in this class until 1889 when 14 acres were changed to rural. The remaining 89 acres continued in the agricultural class until 1892 when the area was split into three sections and the total acreage was reduced to 93. Two of these sections, comprising 90 acres or 97 per cent of the whole, were classed as agricultural, thus leaving three acres classed as rural. From 1892 this classification continued until 1898. From 1898 to 1901 all 93 acres were rural. In 1901 again a division was made, one-third being classed rural and the remaining two-thirds of it being thrown back into the agricultural class. This classification held until 1904 when the whole area was again given the benefit of the agricultural half rate, a complete reversal of the logical and proper development of classification changes. No change in the classification or valuation appears from 1904 until 1907, although on April 15, 1905, the land was deeded by the Schenley trustees to Frank F. Nicola, *et ux.*, the consideration

* Mrs. Schenley's maternal grandfather was General James O'Hara, an Indian trader and an American officer in the Revolutionary War. Her paternal grandfather was Major William Groghan, captain of the Fourth Virginia Regiment in the Revolutionary War. While attending a seminary on Staten Island, the young heiress became acquainted with Captain Schenley, a relative of the head of the school. The captain was forty-five years of age and twice a widower; Miss Groghan was fourteen. Their marriage was an elopement due to the objection raised by her father to his daughter's union with an English army officer. From her marriage to her death in 1904, Mrs. Schenley spent most of her life in England. The Allegheny County register of wills shows regular remittances to Schenley heirs in England averaging over $175,000 annually as net income, and remittances of capital which, because of the great appreciation in value of the holdings, are in reality net income, averaging over $200,000 annually for a number of recent years.

being $2,500,000,—almost three times the assessor's valuation to which the agricultural one-half tax rate had been and was being applied. On May 3, 1905, this property was deeded by Frank F. Nicola, *et ux.*, to the Schenley Farms Company, consideration $2,500,000. In 1907 Schenley Farms, including the same acreage as in 1904, was recorded on the assessors' books at a valuation of $1,694,200, and under rural classification, paid a two-thirds rate on that amount; the equivalent of a full rate on 45 per cent of the sales price. This classification and valuation held until 1910 when land valued at about one-seventh of the total taxable valuation was classed as full, the remainder continuing rural. This highly favored area was spoken of in the columns of the Pittsburgh *Gazette* on November 7, 1903, as follows:

"Today the most conspicuous example of Schenley property that is holding back the growth of the city is the farm in the 14th ward, occupying the Herron Hill slope and extending down to and out Fifth Avenue. Visitors to the city are prone to express their amazement at the old farm house and dairy barn that stand near the middle of the plot in the very heart of one of the best residence districts of the city. Here is room for hundreds of high class houses, which no doubt would have been built long ago if the property had been released. If this were graded and put on the market today it would make the most notable addition to Pittsburgh residence sites ever opened."

Similarly, on the South Side hilltop known as Grandview is a tract of more than 100 acres of land which for years, as the Bailey Farm, was held intact. It stretches south from the crest of the bluff which is just across the Monongahela River from the business district on the Point. It was advertised by the real estate company which purchased it and cut it into building lots as being within a seven-minute street car ride (via the Washington tunnel) from the heart of the city—not an exaggeration. While this land remained unimproved for several decades, the city kept crowding in upon it from all sides, increasing its value. Yet in the local taxation jargon it was "farm" land.

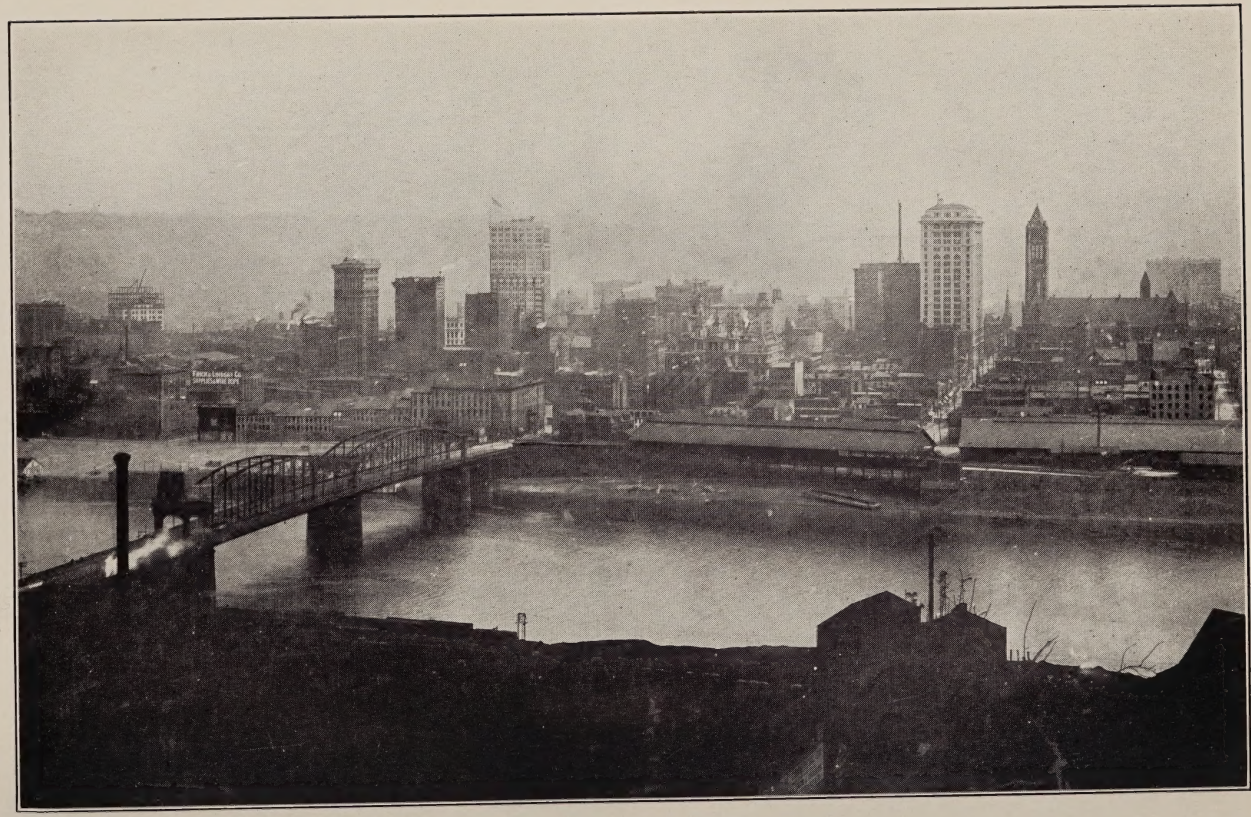
Look at twenty-five years of its tax history. From 1886 until 1892 the property in one lump was classed as agricultural. In 1892 five acres of the farm were changed to rural, but the remaining acreage remained in the agricultural class until the triennial assessment year, 1901. This classification continued until the transfer of the land was made to Wood, Harmon and Company, in 1902. The property thus came into the hands of an outside real estate firm which had no traditional standing in

TAXED "FULL"

Taken from Jones Street, looking toward Thirty-third Street. Just beyond and above Union Station

TAXED ONE-THIRD OFF

A private road running through one of the expensive districts. This property paid only two-thirds of the rate paid by more congested property in the ward



High Hills and Low Taxes

A view showing the nearness of the Grandview unimproved (one-half taxed) property to the heart of downtown Pittsburgh

the community, or local connections, whether personal, political, or what-not, and immediately thereafter the land was classed as rural; incidentally, the taxable valuation being increased by a generous percentage. The discriminating rate had enabled its former owners to keep it out of the market both easily and profitably. The statements made by the developing company in an advertising pamphlet gotten out soon after the land came into their hands are decidedly in point:

GRANDVIEW

Our Twelfth Pittsburgh property is in the Thirty-second Ward of Pittsburgh, easily and quickly reached by four lines of transportation (see last page of this booklet), and within a mile and in plain sight of the Post Office.

For over half a century this magnificent property was held practically intact as a single estate by one family. Perhaps a dozen lots or so were parted with out of the entire tract during all these years, but this is all, and this too, in the face of constant clamorings on the part of real estate dealers and capitalists and the natural demand of the general public because of its immensely desirable points as residential and business property.

The holding of this property by one family for over fifty years while the city built up to it on all sides, created a condition absolutely unique and placed in our hands an opportunity for you to make money seldom if ever heard of in real estate circles for

Grandview is the Last Property within a mile of the Skyscraper District

To fully appreciate it and the opportunity for a home or investment, or both, that it affords, *you must realize that it is city property in every sense* and that it is not only the last undeveloped tract of acreage within a radius of one mile from the Pittsburgh Post Office, but that practically all of the vacant lots within the one-mile circle are embraced in GRANDVIEW. The territory within the one-mile radius (outside of GRANDVIEW) is built solidly, with the exception of some few scattered lots which are held at enormous prices, and had GRANDVIEW been put upon the market ten years ago, it would today be as solidly built upon as the city blocks entirely surrounding it.

Other examples of this phase of the local tax scheme, such

as the Ewart "farm" on Center Avenue and Iowa Street, long given the half rate, the Kaufmann and other lands in the Calvary Cemetery neighborhood, could be cited.

Although some of this "agricultural" land was in 1910 under cultivation, only a small part of it, if any at all, was bona fide farm land; much of it had known neither the plowshare nor scythe, but had got its rusticity either by standing heavily wooded or by pasturing a few cows and horses. Far the greater portion was valued by the assessors in 1910 at over $2,000 an acre. Some was valued as high as $9,000 per acre. The average value of farm land in the great farming states of the Mississippi Valley will not exceed $150 per acre; and no one considers the surplus, which the farmer makes, above what might be regarded as wages from his own labor, to be at all inordinate.

It is doubtful whether land worth $900 or $1,000 an acre, located as favorably to the market and cultivated intensively in truck gardens, would pay average investment returns from tillage alone. How, then, could two, five, or ten-thousand-dollar land do that, when hardly cultivated at all? The balance, of course, was made up by the increase of land value. The land was in reality being held by wealthy individuals or estates for the rise in values, and this is the class of real estate which paid only one-half the tax rate. Its owners were such persons as are particularly able to pay taxes in the support of government.* Scarcely less able to pay were the owners of the detached houses, with yards ranging from a mere ribbon of grass to broad belts a block or two in width in the districts classed as rural. They ranged from the modestly prosperous, say those buying their own homes, to the very rich. Parts of the North Side, South Side, and the Herron Hill rural districts were the exceptions.

It was therefore the system itself rather than any or all inconsistencies in its application which was most open to criticism. We have seen that the territory classed as full comprised in the main all business districts, including manufacturing sites and railroad properties, and the congested residence districts

* It may be objected that the classification system was never intended to be in accordance with the theory of taxation based on ability to pay. Discussion of this is deferred to page 181, where the subject of justice in taxation is considered.

where the mass of the work people live. Of these it was the latter, and the small storekeepers who served them, that suffered.

For the former, the situation was mitigated in various ways. Sixty-six feet of right of way, as well as a considerable amount of other real estate owned by railroads operating in the city, was exempt from local taxes, and therefore did not suffer from the full classification. Manufacturing properties, as is pointed out later, by certain exemptions and tendencies toward leniency in valuations, got off with a much diluted full rate. Other downtown business property, through the system of separate sub-district school taxes, which will be discussed later, had a low rate compared with small shops in the working class neighborhoods. The greatest anomaly of all, therefore, was that those financially least able were subject to full classification and therefore to the maximum city rates.

Agricultural land, of course, had few, if any, buildings upon it which were used as dwellings. The connection between this classification of land and the undersupply and overcrowding of workingmen's houses found in many neighborhoods by the Pittsburgh Survey was direct. For a generation Pittsburgh had been entangled with a taxation scheme which, because of discriminations, made it easy for individuals and estates to hold great areas of unimproved land, but which, on the other hand, went gunning for the man who bought and improved a small tract, and leveled at him what was in effect a double tax rate. The first was rewarded for doing nothing further than hold the land while the community grew and made it valuable, but the second was penalized for doing something which directly increased not only his own but all land values.

The local tax system, moreover, included features other than classification which led to inequalities of burden. Of these, the unequal tax rate due to the separate sub-district school tax was as great an anachronism.

III

PITTSBURGH SEPARATE TAX RATES

The two most distinctive features of Pittsburgh's tax system operating up to 1912 were the classification of real estate and the varying tax rates prevailing in 63 separate tax districts within

the city limits. Although the classification system already described modified the working of the separate ward rates, the latter can be best taken up at this point as a thing by itself.

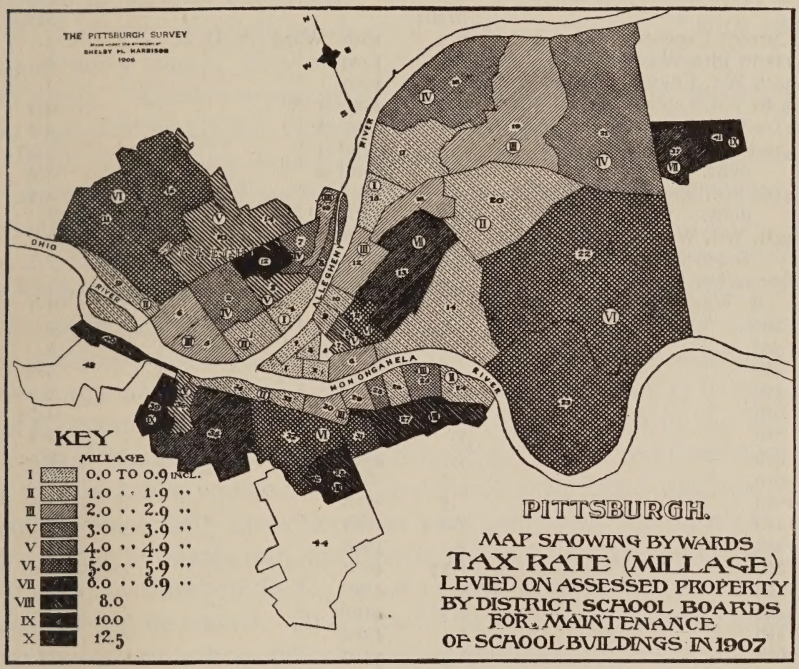
It argues little or nothing as to the relative tax burdens borne by two persons to say that the cash payment by one is ten, twenty, or a hundred times greater than that paid by another; for the one may be ten, twenty, or a hundred times more able to pay. In such a case the larger amounts represent sacrifices only equal to, not greater than, those made by the less able. The heaviest tax strain, therefore, is not necessarily felt where the sum paid is largest, but where the rate of payment, based upon ability, is the highest. Tax rates, therefore, as the economists put it, are better measures of the pressure of taxation than absolute amounts in taxes.

One of the heaviest burdens of modern city dwellers is the cost of the school system. The Pittsburgh scheme of tax rates was until 1912 such that it was possible to gauge where and how that pressure bore down. While current city expenses were met out of a general rate, the erection and maintenance of school buildings was met by separate levies in the 63 tax districts referred to. The North Side paid a tax for general school purposes which was not assessed in other parts of the city. Another factor which led to further differences as between tax districts was the variation in the rates for meeting special indebtednesses.

When the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny were consolidated in December, 1907, and the consolidated city was then newly subdivided, making 27 new wards out of what had previously formed 59,—44 in Pittsburgh and 15 in Allegheny,—no provision was made for levying taxes on the new ward basis. At the triennial assessment of property made in 1910, therefore, the descriptions of property were recorded in the assessor's books on the new ward basis,—a mere matter of bookkeeping,—but the rates were applied according to the old ward divisions, as had been the case for years past. Thus, in the consolidated re-districted Greater City the assessors necessarily went on applying 63* separate tax rates, practically all different from one another.

* In 1910 there were 60 old wards, one having been added since consolidation, and three of these were divided into two taxing districts each, thus making 63 in all within the city borders.

The re-districting, if anything, added to the confusion with respect to taxation in the mind of the average citizen. For example, the new eighteenth ward was made up of the old thirty-first, thirty-eighth, forty-second, and a part of the forty-fourth, the thirtieth, and the thirty-second. Six different city tax rates applied to real estate within its borders. The only saving grace of the situation lay in the fact that it threw to the surface some of its most glaring inequalities and by thus condemning it,



helped pave the way for change. Thus, in this eighteenth ward, property on the south side of McKinley Park was paying 13.3 mills,* while just across on the north side of the narrow park the rate was 28.7 mills,—over twice as much; property on the south side of Washington Avenue was bearing 23.9 mills at one place and 28.7 mills at another, while that across the avenue from both

* Whereas in the earlier sections of this report tax rates have been given in terms of dollars per $100 of tax valuation, from this point the rates will be given in mills on the dollar, since the latter is the method used in the Pittsburgh rate schedules. It is obvious that 13.3 mills on the dollar is equal to $1.33 on $1,000.

of these bore 18.7 mills; property east of Beltzhoover Avenue was carrying a millage of 19.2, while that contiguous and west of the avenue carried a rate of 18.7 at some places and 28.7 in others.

The schedule of these tax rates is given below in the exact form used by the assessors in 1910.

TABLE 2.—SCHEDULE OF TAX RATES USED BY THE PITTSBURGH ASSESSORS IN 1910

PITTSBURGH

	Mills		*Mills*
Current Expense	7.5	18th Ward S. D. S.	3.
1st to 38th Wds. Sept. Indebt.	6.2	19th " "	2.
39th Wd. Elliott Sept. Indebt.	5.6	20th " "	1.
40th Wd. Esplen Sept. Indebt.	4.6	21st–1 " "	4.5
41st Wd. Sterrett Sept. Indebt.	4.2	21st–2 " "	2.5
42nd Wd. Montooth Sept. Indebt.	9.4	22nd–1 " "	3.33
43rd Wd. Sheraden Sept. Indebt.	4.9	22nd–2 " "	4.4
44th Wd. West Liberty Sept. Indebt.	2.8	23rd " "	4.5
Beechview Boro Sept. Indebt.	8.9	24th " "	2.
1st Ward S. D. S.	.5	25th " "	3.
2nd " "	.4	26th " "	2.5
3rd " "	.1–6	27th " "	5.25
4th " "	.25	28th " "	1.5
5th " "	.75	29th " "	2.
6th " "	.75	30th " "	2.
7th " "	5.	31st " "	5.5
8th " "	5.	32nd " "	5.
9th " "	.5	33rd " "	1.75
10th " "	.5	34th " "	2.5
11th " "	7.5	35th " "	6.
12th–1 " "	2.	36th " "	6.
12th–2 " "	1.75	37th " "	5.5
13th " "	5.	38th " "	15.
14th " "	2.5	39th " "	7.
15th " "	1.3	40th " "	8.
16th " "	2.3	41st " "	9.
17th " "	2.25	42nd " "	7.
		43rd " "	10.
		44th " "	3.
		Beechview	4.

NORTH SIDE, FORMERLY ALLEGHENY

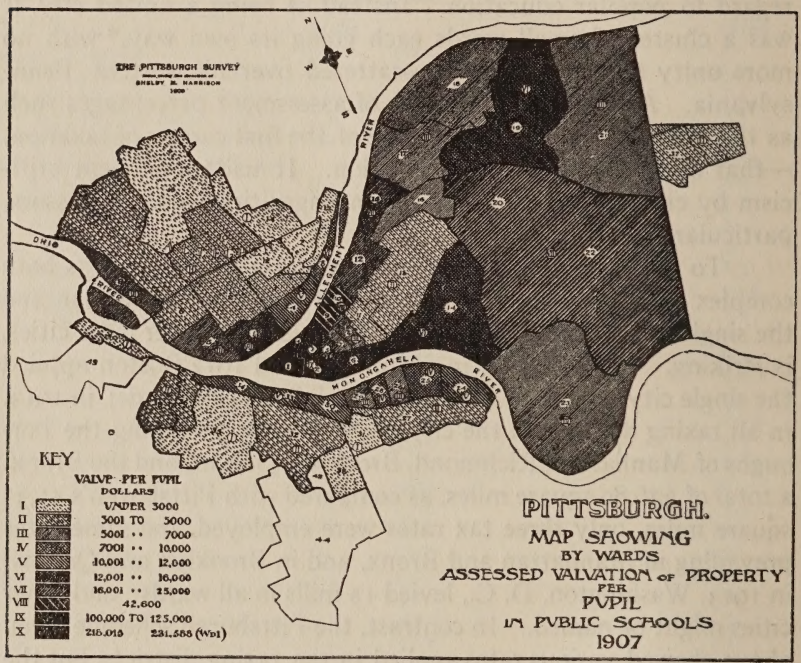
	Mills		*Mills*
Current Expense	7.5	7th Ward S. D. S.	8.
1st to 15th Wards Sept. Indebt.	6.	8th " "	2.
General School Tax	3.5	9th " "	1.5
1st Ward S. D. S.	1.	10th " "	10.
2nd " "	3.5	11th " "	5.
3rd " "	4.5	12th " "	9.
4th " "	1.	13th " "	2.8
5th " "	5.	14th " "	3.5
6th " "	2.5	15th " "	6.5

A city may be defined as a large settlement of people living close to each other, who, for economy, through the savings due to large scale production, have bound themselves together into a local government whose business it is to furnish such services as shall be for the greatest good to the largest number. It therefore furnishes protection to property, life, and health; it provides public thoroughfares, public parks, public education, and so on. Not so, however, in Pittsburgh before 1912, with regard to popular education. Instead of being a united city, it was a cluster of small wards each going its own way,* with no more unity than if they were scattered over all western Pennsylvania. A bewildering mixture of assessment percentages such as this plan embodied, violates one of the first canons of taxation, —that of simplicity of administration. It made intelligent criticism by citizens and correction of incongruities by the assessors, particularly difficult.

To the average tax payer this wilderness of rates was both complex and unsolvable. The contrast between such a plan and the single rate for a whole municipality, used by other large cities, is striking. For instance, in 1910, 1911, and 1912,Boston applied the single city rate of 16.4 mills on the dollar to all wards; in 1913, in all taxing districts in the city of New York, including the boroughs of Manhattan, Richmond, Brooklyn, Queens, and the Bronx, a total of 326.89 square miles, as compared with Pittsburgh's 41.35 square miles, only three tax rates were employed, the same rates prevailing in Manhattan and Bronx, and in Brooklyn and Queens; in 1913, Washington, D. C., levied 15 mills in all wards; and other cities might be named. In contrast, the Pittsburgh schedule given above showed various rates applied in the taxing districts, but the total rate applied in each of the 48 areas was not set forth. For the old city, a citizen had, in figuring his ward rate, to add together the millage rates set down for current city expenses at the top of the table, plus the rate for separate indebtedness, if any, which applied to his ward (of these there were eight district rates), plus the rate for sub-district school expenses in his particular school district. On the North Side he could figure it out by adding four entries: current expense, separate indebtedness, general school expenses, and his sub-district school expenses.

* See North, op. cit. P. 217 of this volume.

The exact content of each of these items is defined in Appendix II* wherein the total rates for each ward, and the three or four district factors which enter into it, are set forth. That no less than 41 differing rates were found to have resulted from these combinations, further illustrates the fiscal jugglery which the system involved. But, bad as was its confusion, the human and civic bearings of this hodge-podge of rate pressure more deeply concerned us. These were to be found by a study of the rates through



which each sub-district shouldered its own expenses, salaries excepted, for erecting and maintaining schools.

These rates in 1910 were as low as one-sixth and one-fourth of a mill in downtown business wards, the third and fourth, that were no longer used for residence neighborhoods, and where the maintaining of district schools was practically a farce;† and they

* See Appendix B, II, p. 456.

† Miss North's article, already referred to, describes downtown schools and shows the inducements made pupils in order to keep the enrollment up.

ran as high as 15 mills in the old thirty-eighth ward (Beltzhoover) where, as we saw in our introduction, the cash value of the whole ward was less than that of single real estate holdings downtown.* Thus the sub-district rate as it stood in Beltzhoover was 90 times larger than the rate in the old third ward, and 60 times the size of the rate in the old fourth ward.† These, of course, were the extreme cases, but they showed the trend of difference between rates levied in the valuable business wards and those in the residence districts, which resulted under the system.

A better comparative estimate of the sub-district rates as between the downtown wards on one hand and the outlying wards on the other, however, was to be had by averaging the rates in the 10 old wards which made up the downtown business portions of the old Pittsburgh and of the North Side,‡ and by standing this rate up beside the average of all rates in the belt of residence wards which, north, south, and east, border the boundaries of the city.§ In the first case the average sub-district rate equaled fifty-eight hundredths of a mill, a little more than half of one mill, while in the second it amounts to 6.05 mills. It is seen from this that the remoter districts of the city which are occupied principally by householders were assessed an average sub-district school millage over ten times as high as that levied upon property used entirely for business. The people in the residential wards, where naturally there is a greater demand for schools and where valuations are relatively small, are the ones who make most of the downtown values through their downtown trading and by increasing the general demand for the best real estate sites; yet these people were getting no share in those benefits as far as their sub-district schools were concerned, but had to go on paying their high mil-

* See table of sub-district school rates arranged in the order of their increase, Appendix B, III, p. 459.

† Allowing for the rural classification in Beltzhoover which brought the real millage down to 10, Beltzhoover still paid 60 times as high a sub-district school rate as was paid in old ward three. In 1909 all the real estate in Beltzhoover was valued at $2,000,176 and at something over $2,100,000 in 1910. In 1910 the Frick building was valued at $2,350,000—that is, at more than the whole thirty-eighth ward. The sub-district school tax levied against the third ward office building was $399.50; small home owners in Beltzhoover paid $21,000, S.D.S.—a sum 53 times as large.

‡ As follows: Wards 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 1 N. S. and 4 N. S.

§ As follows: 7 N. S., 14 N. S., 15 N. S., 11 N. S., 43, 39, 35, 32, 44, 38, 31, 27, 22, 37, 41 and 21.

lages as if they formed no integral part of the city as a whole.

Nor were these differences in school millage mere bagatelles, of a sort to be lost in the general tax rates. They dominated the final rates as they spread out over the city to such an extent that had we made a contour map of Pittsburgh on the basis of its tax rates, it would have presented almost as uneven a surface as do the real hills and valleys that make up the town's site. The shadings in the map of separate tax districts illustrate this to a degree. The total rates, ranging from 13.3 mills to 28.7, follow:

TABLE 3.—PITTSBURGH (NOMINAL) TAX RATES, BY WARDS, IN ORDER OF SIZE OF RATE. 1910

Rates stated in mills on the dollar of valuation

Ward [a]	*Total Rate in Mills*	*Ward*	*Total Rate in Mills*
44	13.30	23	18.20
3	13.87	9 North Side	18.50
4	13.95	7	18.70
2	14.10	8	18.70
1	14.20	13	18.70
9	14.20	32	18.70
10	14.20	27	18.95
5	14.45	8 North Side	19.00
6	14.45	31	19.20
20	14.70	37	19.20
15	15.00	6 North Side	19.50
28	15.20	35	19.70
12^2	15.45	36	19.70
33	15.45	13 North Side	19.80
12^1	15.70	39 Elliott	20.10
19	15.70	40 Esplen	20.10
24	15.70	Beechview Borough	20.40
29	15.70	2 North Side	20.50
30	15.70	14 North Side	20.50
17	15.95	41 Sterrett	20.70
16	16.00	11	21.20
14	16.20	3 North Side	21.50
21^2	16.20	5 North Side	22.00
26	16.20	11 North Side	22.00
34	16.20	43 Sheraden	22.40
18	16.70	15 North Side	23.50
25	16.70	42 Montooth	23.90
22^1	17.03	7 North Side	25.00
1 North Side	18.00	12 North Side	26.00
4 North Side	18.00	10 North Side	27.00
22^2	18.10	38	28.70
21^1	18.20		

[a] Where a ward consists of two tax districts, the divisions are indicated by the superior numbers 1 and 2.

The first nine districts listed in the table had rates in 1910 under 14½ mills. An inspection of the map shows* that they represented practically all of the valuable holdings in the business triangle up from the Point, and included no other holdings. At the other end of the list there are 17 tax sections which carried rates of over 20 mills, and a glance at the map shows, excepting parts of the second, third, and fifth North Side wards, that these districts were almost exclusively residence districts. They made up a very large proportion of the residence area of the city. Moreover, with a few exceptions, these high rate areas did not represent or include the most expensive residence districts, those most able to bear taxation. They were mainly small home-owning or congested renting neighborhoods. The old nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-first, and twenty-second wards—all of them large wards made up for the most part of residence properties which would be classed among the more expensive in the city—were conspicuously absent from the 19 districts with highest rates.

Considered quite independently of the classification system —described under Section II—the ward rates indicated that the heaviest tax burdens in Pittsburgh in 1910 were not felt by owners of downtown business holdings or expensive residence property, but by owners and renters of small houses and tenements.

IV

RESULTS OF THE COMBINATION OF CLASSIFICATION AND SEPARATE WARD RATES

It has been seen that land classification when considered alone, resulted in the full tax rates being levied mainly upon real estate used for business sites, large and small stores, and upon that occupied by the great mass of the working population in the city. It has been seen that the separate ward rates, when considered alone, tended to throw the highest rates upon the congested residential districts and also upon the North and South Side areas built up for the most part in small homes. These factors did not work independently of each other. What was their result, working

* The exception is the forty-fourth ward which has a special reason for its low rate. See Appendix B, II, p. 457.

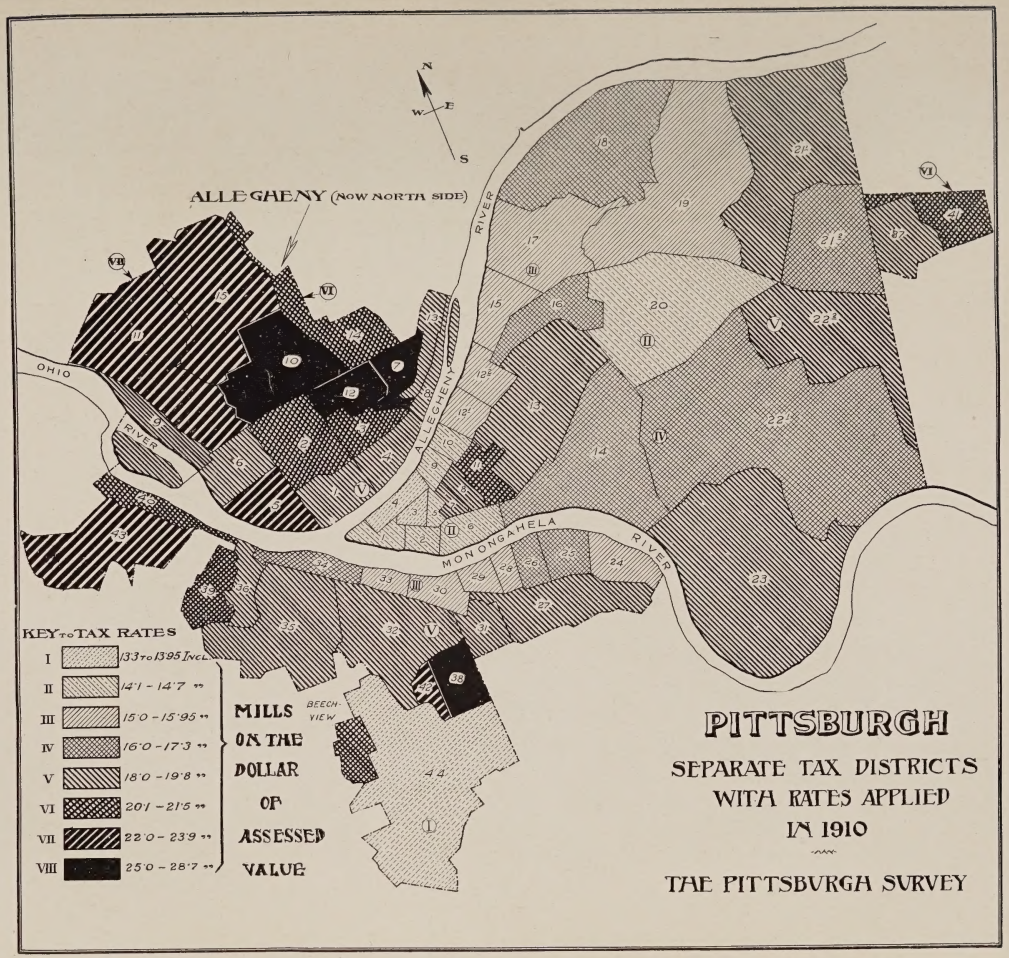
together? Did the inequalities of one offset the inequalities of the other in such a way as to make the system comparatively equal throughout? Or did they together tend to double up inconsistencies and injustice?

To determine this, let us take the map showing the nominal tax rates in each of the 63 different tax districts, and superimpose the map showing land classification. In other words, using the various separate tax rates as bases, let us go over the city and shave off one-half the ward rate, whatever that rate may be, wherever we find land classed as agricultural, and shave off one-third the ward rate where it is classed as rural. This leaves full rates only where land was classed as full. The result is that our combined map shows graphically what the *actual* tax rates were which the assessor levied according to the law against real estate valuations.* Given the confusing nominal rates, citizens of Pittsburgh who wished to compare the burdens borne by realty in the different parts of the city had had to match up as best they could realty which paid say 14.7 mills on a rural two-thirds valuation—like that in Shadyside, for example—and realty paying 21.2 mills on full valuation—like that in the populous eleventh ward.

The combined map enables us to compare the *actual* rates applied to the cash valuations appraised by the assessors, regardless of classification. Thus, for instance, in the cases just mentioned, Shadyside property in 1910 bore an *actual* rate of only 9.8 mills, while old ward eleven stood at 21.2 mills—over twice as much. Comparisons are thus brought into terms of the same things.

When this combination is made, it is seen that actual rates in the different localities varied from 7.85 mills paid upon a triangular piece of agricultural property in the old nineteenth ward, to 25 mills, over three times as much, paid by the full property situated in the southwestern part of ward seven, North Side. The whole schedule resulting from the combination of rates and classes is as follows:

* It should be remembered that the map showing classifications does not show the very small exceptions to the general class divisions of land. Therefore, of course, when the maps are combined these small exceptional patches of realty do not show up.


N
W
E
S
ALLEGHENY (NOW NORTH SIDE)
OHIO RIVER
ALLEGHENY RIVER
MONONGAHELA RIVER
BEECH VIEW
KEY TO TAX RATES
I 13·3 TO 13·95 INCL.
II 14·1 – 14·7 "
III 15·0 – 15·95 "
IV 16·0 – 17·3 "
V 18·0 – 19·8 "
VI 20·1 – 21·5 "
VII 22·0 – 23·9 "
VIII 25·0 – 28·7 "
MILLS ON THE DOLLAR OF ASSESSED VALUE
PITTSBURGH
SEPARATE TAX DISTRICTS WITH RATES APPLIED IN 1910
THE PITTSBURGH SURVEY

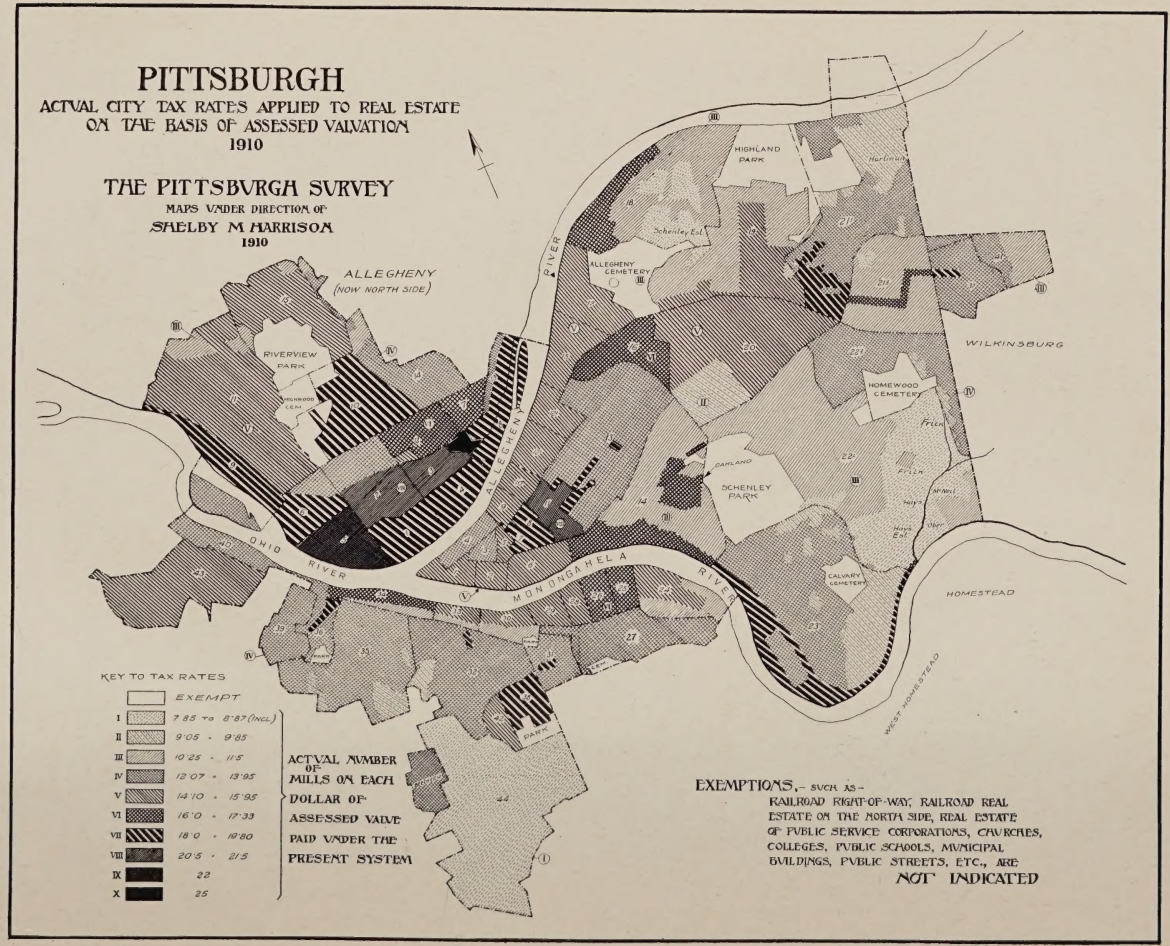

PITTSBURGH
ACTUAL CITY TAX RATES APPLIED TO REAL ESTATE
ON THE BASIS OF ASSESSED VALUATION
1910
THE PITTSBURGH SURVEY
MAPS UNDER DIRECTION OF
SHELBY M HARRISON
1910
ALLEGHENY
(NOW NORTH SIDE)
RIVERVIEW PARK
ALLEGHENY CEMETERY
HIGHLAND PARK
Schenley Est.
WILKINSBURG
HOMEWOOD CEMETERY
OAKLAND
SCHENLEY PARK
CALVARY CEMETERY
HOMESTEAD
WEST HOMESTEAD
ALLEGHENY RIVER
OHIO RIVER
MONONGAHELA RIVER
KEY TO TAX RATES
EXEMPT
I 7·85 to 8·87 (incl.)
II 9·05 - 9·85
III 10·25 - 11·5
IV 12·07 - 13·95
V 14·10 - 15·95
VI 16·0 - 17·33
VII 18·0 - 19·80
VIII 20·5 - 21·5
IX 22
X 25
ACTUAL NUMBER OF MILLS ON EACH DOLLAR OF ASSESSED VALUE PAID UNDER THE PRESENT SYSTEM
EXEMPTIONS,- SUCH AS- RAILROAD RIGHT-OF-WAY, RAILROAD REAL ESTATE ON THE NORTH SIDE, REAL ESTATE OF PUBLIC SERVICE CORPORATIONS, CHURCHES, COLLEGES, PUBLIC SCHOOLS, MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS, PUBLIC STREETS, ETC., ARE NOT INDICATED

TABLE 4.—ACTUAL TAX RATES IN DIFFERENT LOCALITIES OF PITTSBURGH IN ORDER OF SIZE OF RATE. 1910

Rates stated in mills on the dollar of valuation

Ward[a]	*Location of Property*	*Classification*[b]	*Total Rate in Mills*
19	Small triangle rear Allegheny Cemetery	A	7.85
18	Schenley Homestead and two adjacent triangles	A	8.35
22[1]	Southeastern part of district	A	8.52
44	Whole of West Liberty	R	8.87
21[1]	Extreme northeastern part	A	9.10
23	Slope opposite Homestead and West Homestead	A	9.10
32	Hallock and Woodville Streets, southwest corner	A	9.35
20	Shadyside; including Bidwell and Morewood Sts.	R	9.80
35	Southern plots; Whitman Bigham Property, *et al.*	A	9.85
14 North Side	Upper western part	A	10.25
33	Hillside along southern ward line	R	10.30
41	Eastern three-fifths	A	10.35
19	Practically all except middle section	R	10.47
24	Southern half back from the river	R	10.47
30	Grandview and hilltop, southern half	R	10.47
14	Schenley farms—Bellefield, etc., except Oakland	R	10.80
21[2]	Practically all the ward, except Frankstown Avenue	R	10.80
34	Hillside along southern ward line	R	10.80
11 North Side	Northwest corner	A	11.00
18	Hillside and corner near Highland Park	R	11.13
22[1]	Northwest half; also southeast corner	R	11.35
22[2]	Practically all	R	12.07
21[1]	Northwest corner and southern part—except Liberty business section	R	12.13
23	Hilltop—between Hazelwood & Calvary Cemetery	R	12.13
9 North Side	Brunot's Island	R	12.33
13	All except several small business patches	R	12.46
32	All except near Hallock and Woodville Streets	R	12.46
27	Whole ward	R	12.63
31	All except small business district	R	12.80
37	All except business district	R	12.80
6 North Side	Upper northeast fourth of ward	R	13.00
35	All except property along southern boundary	R	13.13
36	All except Steuben Street business district	R	13.13
13 North Side	Northwest strip along city line	R	13.20
39	Whole ward (Elliott)	R	13.40
40	Whole ward (Esplen)	R	13.40
Beechview	All	R	13.60
2 North Side	North two-fifths, above Jefferson Street	R	13.67
14 North Side	All of the ward except north corners	R	13.67
41	Western two-fifths of ward	R	13.80
3	Downtown, whole ward	F	13.87
4	Downtown, whole ward	F	13.95

[a] Where a ward consists of two tax districts, the divisions are indicated by the superior numbers 1 and 2. [b] A = Agricultural; R = Rural; F = Full.

TABLE 4 (*continued*).—ACTUAL TAX RATES IN DIFFERENT LOCALITIES OF PITTSBURGH IN ORDER OF SIZE OF RATE. 1910

Rates stated in mills on the dollar of valuation

Ward	*Location of Property*	*Classification*[a]	*Total Rate in Mills*
2	Downtown, whole ward	F	14.10
1	Downtown, whole ward	F	14.20
9	Whole ward	F	14.20
10	Whole ward	F	14.20
3 North Side	Corner above Fountain Street	R	14.33
5	Whole ward	F	14.45
6	Whole ward	F	14.45
11 North Side	All except northwest corner	R	14.67
20	East Liberty and all of ward except Shadyside	F	14.70
43	Whole ward	R	14.93
15	Lawrenceville, whole ward	F	15.00
28	South Side, whole ward	F	15.20
12[2]	Whole ward	F	15.45
33	River front	F	15.45
15 North Side	Practically all	R	15.67
12[1]	Whole ward	F	15.70
19	Middle and southern section (East Liberty)	F	15.70
24	River front, north half of ward	F	15.70
29	Whole ward	F	15.70
30	River front, north half of ward	F	15.70
42	Whole ward	R	15.93
17	Whole ward, Lawrenceville	F	15.95
16	Whole ward, Bloomfield	F	16.00
14	Soho and River Front	F	16.20
14	Oakland, and business district	F	16.20
21[2]	Frankstown Avenue business district	F	16.20
26	South Side river front, whole ward	F	16.20
34	River front, north three-fourths of ward	F	16.20
7 North Side	North four-fifths of ward	R	16.67
18	Hillside and river front	F	16.70
25	Whole ward	F	16.70
12 North Side	Whole ward	R	17.33
1 North Side	Whole ward	F	18.00
4 North Side	Whole ward	F	18.00
10 North Side	Whole ward	R	18.00
21[1]	Southwest part, East Liberty business district	F	18.20
23	River front, and hill slopes	F	18.20
9 North Side	Whole ward except Brunot's Island	F	18.50
7	Whole ward	F	18.70
8	Whole ward	F	81.70
13	Small business districts, Wylie and Center Avenues, etc.	F	18.70
8 North Side	Whole ward	F	19.00
38	Beltzhoover, whole ward	R	19.13

[a] R = Rural; F = Full.

TABLE 4 (*concluded*).—ACTUAL TAX RATES IN DIFFERENT LOCALITIES OF PITTSBURGH IN ORDER OF SIZE OF RATE. 1910

Rates stated in mills on the dollar of valuation

Ward	*Location of Property*	*Classification*[a]	*Total Rate in Mills*
31	Small business district of Allentown	F	19.20
37	Frankstown Avenue business district	F	19.20
6 North Side	Lower three-fourths of ward	F	19.50
36	Steuben Street business district	F	19.70
13 North Side	Southeast three-fourths of ward	F	19.80
2 North Side	South three-fifths, below Jefferson Street	F	20.50
11	Whole ward	F	21.20
3 North Side	Practically whole ward	F	21.50
5 North Side	Whole ward	F	22.00
7 North Side	Southwestern, one-fifth of ward	F	25.00

[a] F = Full.

Stripped of confusing qualifications, the rates in this combined table show the gross inequalities of a scheme of taxation long outgrown. In drafting our report these inequalities were brought out en masse by dividing all the localities named into three large groups, placing all realty paying under 12 mills in the first, all paying above 12 and under 16 mills in the second, and in the third all property paying 16 mills and over.

We found that the first and low rate group, with the exception of West Liberty and the small hilltop section in the thirtieth ward, was made up almost entirely of the large unimproved agricultural holdings scattered throughout the city, of the property in the Schenley Farms and Bellefield neighborhoods, and the expensive residence properties in the Shadyside, South Highland Park, and Squirrel Hill localities.

The middle group, with rates above 12 and under 16 mills, included principally the downtown business wards, several manufacturing wards, most of the hilltop territory in the South Side, Herron Hill, and Calvary Cemetery neighborhoods, much of upper Allegheny, and a large amount of East End residence property.

The third and high rate group, paying 16 mills and over, represented, mainly, small business realty, residence property

located in lower Allegheny and Oakland, the congested Bloomfield, Soho, South Side, and Woods Run vicinities, and the dense tenement wards just above the downtown business district.

The conclusion from this grouping was inevitable. The inequalities of the land classification and of the separate school rates did not offset each other. Rather, they tended to accentuate the disproportions of each other. Notice, for example, the case of West Liberty, where a low ward millage was still further reduced by rural classification; note the Schenley and other eighteenth ward "agricultural" land, where a moderate ward rate was cut in two by the land class scheme; and notice practically all small properties, where a high ward rate was kept high by a full classification. The apparent exception was the downtown business district where the full classification was offset by a low millage. But this exception merely served to point the further fact that not only did the two schemes not equalize each other, but their superimposed inequalities bore heaviest upon the great bulk of the population. The commercial center, congested with buildings but not children, escaped the weight of the school tax; while the well-to-do residence district, with its broad lawns or speculative holdings, escaped the weight of the full land tax. What they escaped "came down" on the small property holdings, which had to carry the unequal weight of both systems.

Note, if you will, the downtown wards where, in spite of full classification, the rates were hardly more than two-thirds of those assessed against small business properties along Wylie and Center Avenues in the old thirteenth ward; note, again, the rate of 8.52 mills assessed upon the large unimproved holdings in the southeastern part of the old twenty-second ward, as compared with the rate of 18.7 mills paid in the dense tenement house districts up the hill from the business section of the Point. Still again, note the expensive residence quarter northeast of Schenley Park which paid two-thirds the rate paid by small home owners in the Oakland, Bloomfield, and Lawrenceville neighborhoods.

Table 5 (pages 188–191) exhibits the system as it actually worked out in individual properties in a score or more of different city blocks, selected so as to typify property owned by different economic groups of the city's population.

The last column to the right tells the story in terms of typical neighborhoods familiar to the average Pittsburgher. For example, the highest tax rate on the representative downtown business holdings is almost 15 per cent lower than the lowest tax rate on the small business property in 15 adjoining blocks. Similar contrasts are found in comparing the household groups. In other words, the Pittsburgh plan for meeting public expenses was to put it on the shoulders of small home owners, the army of work people, and renters living on congested streets and alleys, tenants in the slum districts, and keepers of small stores where these work people trade.

It may be objected that such conclusions as to the injustice of the tax burdens can not be drawn until the tax is followed a step farther; that the ultimate payers of the tax, not alone the property taxed, must be located. The answer is found in two theories of the incidence of taxation.

The first is the one held by the average business man, and is that the whole tax, both on land and on buildings, is shifted to the shoulders of the tenant. The second, that held by the economists, is that in the main, when both house and ground are occupied by the owner, the real estate tax can not be shifted, but is borne by the owner. When the owner rents the property to another, the owner still bears the tax on the land. The tax on the house, however, is shifted to the occupier or tenant. When, however, tax rates throughout a city are very unequal, as is the case in Pittsburgh, and when the people tend to congregate in certain quarters of the city and seem unwilling to move out to the suburbs, as is usually the case with immigrants, a part at least of the taxes on land that is rented, and all the tax on the buildings, tend to be shifted upon the tenants.* So on the theory of the business man and of the economist, the conclusion that the bulk of the local real estate taxes fell upon the renting population, the small home owners, the working people, and the small storekeepers they deal with is not changed.

Professor Seligman's generalization,† based upon taxes in

* For a thorough discussion of the incidence of taxes levied upon urban real estate, see Seligman, E. R. A.: Incidence of Taxation. New York, Macmillan, 1899.

† Ibid., p. 246.

TABLE 5.—ACTUAL AND NOMINAL TAX RATES IN DIFFERENT LOCALITIES OF PITTSBURGH BY PROPERTY GROUPS. 1910

Rates stated in mills on the dollar of valuation

Group	*Property Location; Street Boundaries*	*Ward*[a]	*Assessed Value, Land and Buildings*	*Classification*[b]	Rates in Mills	
					Nominal	*Actual*
I. Downtown Business Property.	a. Liberty Ave., Sixth St., Penn Ave., and Seventh St. . .	4	$5,954,325	F	13.95	13.95
	b. Smithfield St., Fifth Ave., Wood St., and Diamond St. .	3	7,732,556	F	13.87	13.87
	Both blocks present a variety of business enterprises. The first block has several modern office buildings, one of them a skyscraper, retail and wholesale stores, hotels, theaters, a life insurance company's head office, and a number of warehouses. The second block represents theater property, small and large retail stores, office and bank buildings, five and ten-cent stores, nickelodeons, saloons, etc. The two blocks show a fair range of enterprises carried on in the downtown section of the city.					
II. Large Unimproved Holdings.	a. One piece of land comprising over 100 acres	18	262,600	A	16.70	8.35
	b. One piece of land comprising over 100 acres	22[1]	387,455	A	17.03	8.52
	These are among the most important large holdings of this character in the city. Much the greater part of these areas is suitable for plotting into city lots—very little, for instance, being rough, or abrupt hillsides.					
III. Small Business Property.	a. Along Center Avenue	8	(Valuations	F	18.70	18.70
	b. Along Wylie Avenue	11	omitted be-	F	21.20	21.20
	c. Along Frankstown Avenue	21[2]	cause of wide	F	16.20	16.20
	d. Allentown business district	31	variations in	F	19.20	19.20

	e. Along Steuben Street	36	size of districts)	F	19.70	19.70
	f. East Liberty business center	21[1]		F	18.20	18.20
	g. North Side business streets (Allegheny)	1 N. S.		F	18.00	18.00
	h. Oakland business district	14		F	16.20	16.20
	The selections include most of the small stores, shops and other business places which are scattered about the city outside of the downtown business triangle. Excepting parts of East Liberty and Allegheny, here are represented mainly small one- and two-room stores and shops, competing with large downtown stores, which are located in other tax districts. In one of the districts indicated, for instance, are small proprietors engaged in the following lines of business: upholstery, tailoring, haberdashery, hardware, groceries, meats, plumbing supplies, bakery, fruit, barbering, dry goods, shoes, and tobacco. In another district are a general store (stove polish to oysters), restaurant, milk depot, hardware, barbering, saloon, paper-hanging, notions, tailoring, clothes cleaning and pressing, shoe repairing, meats, delicatessen, and dry goods.					
IV. Wealthy Residential Property.	a. Fifth, Shady, Fairoaks and Murray Aves.	22[1]	2,348,052	R	17.03	11.35
	b. Bidwell St., Fifth, Morewood and Willsworth Aves.	20	1,249,370	R	14.70	9.80
	c. Baum, Fairmont, Harriett and Rebecca Sts. (two blocks)	20	884,848	F	14.70	14.70
	d. Both sides of North Negley, from Wellesley to Black St.	19	953,898	R	15.70	10.47
	The four blocks represent property on Squirrel Hill, in Shadyside, on the table land half way out from Herron Hill to East Liberty, and along the southern fringes of Highland Park. Splendid residences are surrounded by picturesque lawns, all remote enough from the business sections to be undisturbed by the mills or traffic, yet near enough for metropolitian conveniences. The houses are expensive. These four blocks, of course, do not embrace all of the expensive residence property in Pittsburgh, but represent the type.					

[a] Where a ward consists of two tax districts, the divisions are indicated by the superior numbers 1 and 2.

[b] A = Agricultural; R = Rural; F = Full.

TABLE 5 (*Continued*).—ACTUAL AND NOMINAL TAX RATES IN DIFFERENT LOCALITIES OF PITTSBURGH BY PROPERTY GROUPS. 1910

Rates stated in mills on the dollar of valuation

Group	*Property Location; Street Boundaries*	*Ward*[a]	*Assessed Value, Land and Buildings*	*Classification*[b]	Rates in Mills	
					Nominal	*Actual*
V. Prosperous Residential Property.	a. Homewood Ave., Race St., Lang Ave. and Monticello St. (Belmar)	21[2]	$215,278	R	16.20	10.80
	b. Both sides Perrysville Ave.—Charles St. to Kennedy Ave.	10N.S.	292,755	R	27.00	18.00
	c. Maryland Ave., Elmer, Summerlea and Elwood Sts. The first block is just north of the Homewood Cemetery and east of the East Liberty business squares; the second is in the up-hill part of the North Side, near Riverview Park; and the third, just beyond Shadyside toward East Liberty. These properties typify those owned by the moderately well-to-do, professional people, probably owning good homes, and renters able to pay from $40 to $75 rent per month.	20	103,579	F	14.70	14.70
VI. Residential Property Occupied by Skilled Workers. "Middle Class People."	a. Ella, Minerva, Taylor and Isabella Sts. (Bloomfield)	16	103,434	F	16.00	16.00
	b. Both sides Leland Ave., and Norwood St. from Roscoe Ave. to Hawkins Ave. (N. S.)	10N.S.	156,230	R	27.00	18.00
	c. Blair, Elizabeth, Ledora and Courtland Sts. (Hazelwood).	23	85,843	F	18.20	18.20
	d. 52nd St., Stanton Ave., McCandless and Wycliffe Sts.	18	105,883	F	16.70	16.70
	e. California St., Estella Ave., Sylvania St., and Curtin Ave. (Beltzhoover)	38	58,775	R	28.70	19.13
	f. 15th St., 16th St., 17th St., Sarah to Manor St. (South Side)	28	259,301	F	15.20	15.20
	g. Howard St. from Rising Main St. to Hay's Alley (N. S.) The individuals, owners of small homes and small renters, represent more nearly than any of the others the so-called "middle class." Among them are skilled workers, Anglo-	12N.S.	83,889	F	26.00	26.00

	Saxon mill workers, railroad men, etc. They are more widely scattered than those in the other groups. The first is a block in Bloomfield; the second is in the hill district of the North Side; the third is in the lower part of Hazelwood, a community made up largely of railroad men; the fourth, on a South Side hilltop where are found many German small-home owners; the fifth, on the hillside between the Allegheny cemetery and the river; the sixth, on the broad bottom land on the South Side, and the seventh, just above the business section of the North Side.					
VII. Residential Property Occupied by Unskilled Workers.	a. 48th, Hatfield, 49th and Harrison Sts. (Lawrenceville).	17[1]	83,820	F	15.95	15.95
	b. 38th St., Mineral Ave., 39th St. and Allegheny Valley R.R. (Lawrenceville)	15	262,425	F	15.00	15.00
	c. Petrel St., between Hanover and Kerr Sts. (Woods Run).	9 N.S.	81,486	F	18.50	18.50
	d. West Carson St., near Point Bridge (Painter's Row).	34	20,000	F	16.20	16.20
	e. Fulton, Franklin, Townsend, Clark Sts. (Hill District)	8	242,152	F	18.70	18.70
	Five localities were selected to typify those occupied by the unskilled workers. The first four represent mill laborers, and the fifth represents the large number of day laborers who work only intermittently, as they are able to get jobs. As a rule, people in this group live very close to their work; that is, close to the mills, and therefore on expensive land where housing is congested in order to justify, financially, using the land for residence sites.					

[a] Where a ward consists of two tax districts, the divisions are indicated by the superior numbers 1 and 2.

[b] A = Agricultural; R = Rural; F = Full.

New York City, applies with double force to Pittsburgh. "When we reflect that in the city of New York over three-quarters of the population live in tenement houses, we are thus forced to the conclusion that in the great cities a great share of American local taxation is today borne by those least able to pay."

To say that the big end of taxes in Pittsburgh was saddled on the least able is a sufficient indictment of the tax scheme under which this, one of the richest cities of America, paid its way. But what of the magnitude of the disproportions? If all people in the city in 1910 had paid taxes at the rate enjoyed by many of the wealthy residence owners (11 mills or less) the city's income, at a conservative estimate, would have been reduced by over $2,700,000, a reduction so great that if applied to those departments it would have wiped out the bureau of fire, the bureau of police, the municipal hospital, and the department of health.* Or, if all had paid at the rate levied against large unimproved holdings (approximately 8.5 mills on the dollar) it would have been necessary in addition to all these, to dispense also with the bureau of light, costing $559,994.21. On the other hand, if the wealthy, the prosperous, the owners of large unimproved holdings and all others had been required to pay the same rate as the small storekeepers, small home owners, and the tenement dwellers, the city's revenues would have been increased by $3,000,000, an amount enabling the city's playground expenditures for 1909,† for instance, to be multiplied by 10; an amount that in addition would have allowed the city department of health to spend a half-million annually in disease prevention; that would have duplicated the million a year spent by the bureau of fire with another million for developing a system of fire prevention; and that, beyond this, would have furnished still another million a year for helping in the development

* The cost of maintenance for these departments in 1910 was as follows:

Bureau of police	$1,085,019.32
Bureau of fire	1,034,016.00
General office of public safety	75,654.20
Municipal hospital	28,275.03
Department of health	406,862.16
	$2,629,826.71

† From city appropriation No. 200, for year ending January 30, 1910, $58,087.20.

of such an efficient system of industrial education as Pittsburgh offers exceptional facilities for, and richly deserves.

V

ANY MITIGATING ELEMENTS IN THE SYSTEM

Were there any other elements in the system of laying the municipal tax burden in Pittsburgh which tended to minimize these results of land classes and ward rates, or to aggravate them; elements which the public needed to reckon with in ironing out the inequalities of what was so long a warped and uneven system?*

Three phases of assessment deserved attention:

I. It is proverbial that the small man carries the heavy end of assessed valuations; and the lack of publicity in Pittsburgh had no other effect than to aggravate this condition.

In discussing under-valuations and their effect upon the equality of the tax burden, it hardly need be stated that given two men who own property as like as two peas, and given a uniform tax rate, A will get off with paying a 40 per cent lighter load than B if the assessors appraise A's property at 60 per cent of its market worth while they appraise B's at what it will sell for.

Market value is generally regarded as the best basis of assessment. Much property, however, changes hands but seldom. In the absence of sale prices to go by, assessed valuations are the result of the best judgment of the assessors, but best judgments vary as widely as the individuals who may make them.† Values are largely subjective, depending to some

* The failure of the personal property tax, licenses, county or state taxes to materially affect the situation with respect to the inequalities in the general property tax, is taken up briefly in Appendix B, IV, p. 460.

† The New York charter was amended in 1903 with regard to a separate statement of the value of land in real estate assessments. Concerning this requirement, Mr. Lawson Purdy, president of the New York department of taxes and assessments, has said:

"All the advantages which were expected to follow from this change in the law have been realized. Both the tax department and the owners of property are benefited. Assessors are obliged to exercise more care and thought than when they are permitted to set down the total value of the property without showing the mental process by which the result was reached. The requirement that the value of land must be set down separately renders it easier to require assessor to determine the value of land per front foot, or per lot, for the customary depth, and insert those figures on the field books. He is then obliged to determine separately whether the building is suitable for the site, and by how much the value of the parcel is increased by the presence of the buildings, etc."—Report of Advisory Committee on Taxation and Revenue submitted to the Mayor of Baltimore, 1908.

extent upon the experience of the appraiser. The average assessor knows a $5,000 house, for instance, when he sees it, but is much at sea in making an accurate valuation, say, of a building worth $100,000, $150,000, or $200,000. He prefers to err on the safe side.

A number of Pittsburgh property owners familiar with local taxation were free to admit the local working of this tendency. In support of the accuracy of the Pittsburgh assessments, it should be noted that the assessors appraise buildings and grounds separately, a procedure which is more likely to get at correct market values than by lumping them together. On the other hand, the difficulty of estimating values in a city subject to such revolutionary growth as Pittsburgh was illustrated when we chose a number of districts typifying expensive residence property, small homes, tenements, small business property, downtown business property, and so forth, and had them appraised by several leading real estate men of the city. Their figures varied as much from each other, however, as they did from those of the assessors. Moreover, the transfer books in the assessors' office showed that out of 56 transfers in the new first ward in 1910, 34, or 60 per cent, were for considerations of $1.00 or other nominal amounts; 25 out of 41 in the second ward, 26 out of 66 in the third ward, and so on. It was impossible, therefore, to any large extent, to compare sale prices with assessments, or determine the percentage of valuation assessed against various kinds of property. With such disparity in estimated values and with the actual considerations concealed in so large a proportion of sales, the extent to which under-valuations were likely to favor the big property owners rather than the small owners depended very largely upon the personnel of the assessing staff,* and the publicity given their work.

In regard to publicity, very little was done beyond keeping the assessors' books open to public inspection. In 1881, the Assembly passed an act providing for the publication of a descriptive list of all real property assessed for city taxation, giving location, size of real estate, buildings, the amounts assessed and the prices paid at the last recorded sale.†

* The Pittsburgh staff in 1910 was made up of nine men each receiving a salary of $2,700, except the chief assessor who received $3,000, the salary in every case, considering the importance of the work to be done, being too low. Although the men had comparatively little real estate experience before taking office, one having been a clergyman, another a skilled mill worker, another the director of public safety in Allegheny, and so forth, the sentiment toward them among business men was one of confidence.

† O. B. 6 227 24.

At the next triennial assessment year the complete list as prescribed was published. Three years later the details in the publication were much abbreviated; three years after that Pittsburgh Councils refused to appropriate funds for printing the lists, publication was suspended and has never been resumed.

The absence of taxation publicity in Pittsburgh presented a noteworthy contrast to the procedure in other large cities. Not even an annual report was published by the assessors. The only published statements bearing on city tax matters that could be found in 1910 were: a brief summary of ward valuations which appeared in the Manual of City Councils, a handy vest pocket book for city officers; the figures showing taxes collected, ward assessments, and delinquent taxes, which appear in the comptroller's report; and the assessors' table of tax rates.* Many small towns do better than this; and as for the large cities, the majority follow one or another plan of letting the public know how this part of the public's own business, the revenue side of the city budget, is administered.† New York, for instance, has adopted an excellent and elaborate system of maps, over 90 in number, each one nearly two feet square, bound into one large volume, showing footfront assessments in all blocks throughout the city.

II. While the privilege of appeal for revision of assessments is open to all persons alike, it is always the large property owner who, in actual practice, benefits by it.

The board of assessors in Pittsburgh is also the board of tax revision. At certain times each year the revision board gives notice that it will hear

* After the assessment was made up for 1910, Thomas McMahon, a member of the board of assessors, prepared tables showing total assessed and taxable valuations by wards, for twenty-six of the years between 1875 and 1909, and these were printed in one of the newspapers. Mr. McMahon furnished the data also for the classification map which we publish, the first map of the kind ever published for Pittsburgh.

Since 1910, the Department of Assessors has published an annual report, showing in condensed tables the valuation of taxable property by wards; exempted property (eleemosynary institutions, public utility corporations, and city property); numbers of assessments, transfers, new buildings, total buildings, parcels of land taxable and exempt by wards.

† The first step toward effective publicity on the expenditure side of the city budget was taken in July, 1910, when the budget conference of the Pittsburgh allied boards of trade requested the mayor to have the departmental estimates for the fiscal year commencing February 1, 1911, ready for public distribution not later than November preceding. The year before the estimates were not published until January,—too late for intelligent or thorough discussion. The request was ignored.

appeals for changing appraisals; and the number of responses to the notice is large. By leafing through the assessors' books, in which the revisions are recorded in red ink, we could see that a goodly number of appeals had succeeded, the revision being downward, of course; and that in the great majority of cases the properties affected were those held by the well-to-do and rich,—large and valuable holdings. This impression was corroborated by the statements of several members of the board. The explanation is not necessarily that such tax payers have greater influence. Few, if any, of the small property owners ever appear before the board to ask for revision. The average citizen thinks of his taxes as he does of death and the judgment, as sure and unescapable. He does not know that, even if he can not cut his whole tax, he has a chance to appeal for a scaling down of a part of it. If he does know it, the individual reduction he might hope to get may be too small a sum by itself to warrant the bother. On the other hand, it pays the big owners to appeal; real estate men, agents, and attorneys for owners scrutinize the assessments closely, watch the papers for notices of hearings, present their cases in the best form, and meet with some success in their appeals, almost as a matter of business.

III. Under the triennial assessment plan, in vogue for years in Pittsburgh, tax rates tend to rise in the second and third years after assessments. Where, as was the case in Pittsburgh, tax burdens are unequally carried, such increases in the tax rate add new burdens to be borne in the same old unequal ratios.

Until 1909, assessments oftener than every three years were illegal. The new act, however, provided for new assessments in any ward where they should be deemed necessary in any subsequent year. Thus the assessors were armed with full power to make annual valuations throughout the city, as is done in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis, and other large cities.*

City expenses in Pittsburgh, as elsewhere, show a gradual annual increase when considered for a long period of years. The result under the disproportionate land classification when city expenses increased annually and the bases against which taxes were levied increased only triennially, may be illustrated by taking a ward where the tax rate was 18 mills. Full property in the ward paid the full 18 mills, and property classed as rural paid two-thirds the rate, or 12 mills. Suppose, now, in order to meet the

* The department did not make a new assessment for 1911, however, nor for 1912 in a thoroughgoing way as was done for the triennial year, 1910. In the 1913 triennial assessment, every individual piece of property was examined. But while the law permits change of assessments to be made any year, the triennial system stands with little modification except as to new buildings and changes made through changes of ownership, and so forth.

expenses of the growing city,* the tax rate had been increased three points. Full property would have paid 21 mills; rural, two-thirds of that, or 14 mills. Full property would have contributed $3.00 toward the needed city revenue to every $2.00 paid by the privileged holders of rural property of equal value.

We found, therefore, that none of these elements in the assessment system of Pittsburgh mitigated the unequal burdens caused by land classification and ward rates. Rather, these inequalities were aggravated by the tendency, observable in all cities, toward undervaluing large properties and toward scaling down the assessments of such properties on appeal. And these unequal burdens were further aggravated by the lack of publicity and the triennial assessment plan characteristic of the Pittsburgh system.

No relief being forthcoming in the methods of laying the tax load, it remained to be seen if there were any other features which added to or subtracted from the share of municipal costs shouldered by what might be called the small men of the community.

VI

LEAKAGES IN THE REVENUE

Through the door of the city collector's office under this old Pittsburgh system went an annual procession of tax payers. Among the large realty owners, as we have seen, some paid large amounts and some small; but the payment, even when large, meant relatively small sacrifices to them. On the other hand, the great majority in the line of march paid small sums, which in the aggregate meant much to the city, and which in sacrifice meant much to the individuals. Every addition to the tax rates forced additional payments in the same disproportions. And the high rate which fell heaviest on the financially small of stature was made still higher in order to make up for leakages and exemptions.

Of the leakages, a dual board of assessors, county and city, added perhaps $30,000 annually to the community's running

* Land which is rising in value fastest will escape some part of its full share of burden in the second and third years; thus leading to further inequalities but not necessarily such as will offset existing ones. What is clear, however, is that the city loses any share in these increased values in the interval.

expenses, while the fee system for delinquent tax collections, a system obsolete in the principal cities, transferred at least that amount from the public treasury to the strong box of the political party machine. Moreover, the scheme of discount has been to the advantage of the large property holder, who thinks in terms of capital and interest, and prefers accordingly either to make advance payment on his taxes, or to defer payment until long overdue. In 1908, which was, if anything, below the average year, discounts for so-called advance payments were allowed upon roughly $3,345,000 in taxes, or about one-third of all taxes collected during the year. This meant that Pittsburgh paid over $167,000 in that year as a bonus to part of its tax payers for doing what might very properly have been made a duty of all. The drain due to tardy tax collections was equally serious. Local custom had dealt so leniently with delinquent taxables as to offer inducements to delay. It amounted to the city engaging in the business of loaning money to large real estate holders at less rates than they would have paid had they borrowed at the banks. This incentive toward delay tended to raise the delinquent collector's fees by increasing the amount of delinquency. The desire for high fees on the rebound, furnished the collector with an incentive for further leniency toward dilatory payers. The two worked together, therefore, to the financial disadvantage of the city, one through loss of interest and the other through excess collection fees. And for city we have come to mean the bulk of small tax payers, who were thus mulcted coming and going in this matter of collections.

Duplicate Assessing Boards. Since the bulk of both county and municipal taxes is assessed against real estate, most city valuations against which county rates are also applied, are made in duplicate for county use by city boards of assessors. This is not the case, however, in Pittsburgh. The same real estate here is appraised by two separate and independent boards of assessors, the city board for city taxes, and the county board for county taxes, when one could do the work equally well. This has fastened an unnecessary charge upon all tax payers.

The city board is made up of men who have been residents of the city for at least ten years, and who are supposed to be familiar with city values. The county board consisted in 1910 of three members at $4,000

a year each, two of whom were over seventy years of age—one being seventy-eight. In 1909 the office of the county assessors cost a little more than $50,000, of which the city paid over 60 per cent.*

Discounts. Up to 1911, it was the custom for Pittsburgh taxes to be paid in two instalments. The first instalment was due on or before April 30, the second on or before September 30. If both instalments were paid in March a discount of 5 per cent was allowed on the September half. In other words, the tax payer was given 2½ per cent discount on his total tax for paying it seven months in advance. A 2½ per cent discount for seven months is equivalent to an interest rate of about 4⅓ per cent for a year. †

Delinquents. Up to 1911, if the two instalments of taxes were not paid on the dates noted above, 5 per cent of the total tax (not 5 per cent per annum) was added as a penalty for delinquency. As a rule, the property was not advertised until the August following, or even as late as December—an interval of a year to a year and a half. If not paid by January, a lien was usually filed with the prothonotary, the percentage of owners who allow such filing of liens being small.

In every case where the period of delinquency was allowed to stretch over more than one year, the interest rate was reduced proportionately below 5 per cent per annum. One real estate man stated he had been able to have his taxes carried by the city when money was scarce at as low a rate as 3 per cent.‡

Collection Fees. Up to October, 1909, the delinquent tax collector received fees on a basis that, in 1909 for instance, gave him 2 per cent on taxes due in 1907, 1908, and 1909, 3 per cent on taxes due in the period from 1896 to 1907, and 5 per cent on taxes due back of 1896. In 1909 the rate was reduced to 1½ per cent on all collections. The gross annual commission in the preceding years had run about

* The legislation of 1911 placed the appointing of the county board for assessment and revision of taxes in the hands of the county commissioners, and a new board of better caliber was appointed in 1912.

† The law of 1911 makes local taxes payable during the months of March, April, and May, and allows 2 per cent discount, if paid in March; that is, if paid two months before the date they would become delinquent. This is a gain in so far as it brings forward the delinquent date, but the discount for paying sixty days in advance is equivalent to an interest rate of 12 per cent per annum.

‡ The act of 1911 improves this situation. A penalty of 3 per cent of the total tax is added when the taxes become delinquent, at the end of May; and in addition, one-half per cent is added for each month or part of a month that the delinquency continues. The penalty for the first year's delinquency is thus 9 per cent per annum, and 6 per cent on each succeeding year.

$60,000, conservative estimates being that the incumbent cleared at least $25,000. The general understanding was, however, that the collectors got their appointments on condition that they turned over all above say $7,500 into the party organization.*

VII

EXEMPTIONS

Pittsburgh's exemptions of real estate from local taxation may be divided into two groups, commercial property and non-commercial. Non-commercial property includes the long list generally exempted in all cities, such as churches, synagogues, Christian and benevolent associations, schools, colleges, libraries, hospitals, asylums, cemeteries; also city property, such as fire department buildings, city halls, parks, bath houses, police stations, and markets; and county, state, and federal property, including court houses, jails, penitentiaries, armories, and post offices.† In addition, of course, all public streets and alleys are not subject to tax levies. The city markets and the post offices are grouped here although they are commercial in character. They are owned by the government, however, and their profits do not go to individuals.

A more or less unique feature of local exemptions is found in the commercial group. In 1910, Pittsburgh exempted $22,774,903 of real estate owned by railroad companies, street car companies, gas companies, telephone, incline plane, water, light, and heating companies. This amount is split up among the different kinds of companies, as follows:

* In 1907–08 Mayor Guthrie endeavored to take the delinquent tax collectorship off a commission basis and place it on a salary ($6,000 and no fees). At the end of the second year, however, the collector refused to turn over to the city the amount which on the old basis would have represented his commission. The city brought suit to recover the excess over his salary, but lost.

The delinquent collector's office was kept on the fee basis by Mayor Magee who succeeded Mayor Guthrie. Early in 1912 City Council passed an ordinance placing the collector upon a salary basis. The collector refused to acknowledge the new plan and the comptroller brought suit to recover the excess funds over the collector's salary. While the suit was lost, the fee system has been abolished, and the city treasurer is now collector of delinquent taxes, drawing no salary for this work. Comptroller Morrow estimated that the change has brought an increased net revenue of $20,000 a year to the city.

† The total valuation of these exemptions had never in 1910 been computed by the assessors. For 1913, see Appendix B, V, p. 465.

TABLE 6.—EXEMPT COMMERCIAL PROPERTY IN PITTSBURGH IN 1907[a]

Kind of Property	*Land*	*Buildings*	*Total*
Railroad	$17,106,701	$1,805,150	$18,911,851
Incline planes	56,973	..	56,973
Telephone and telegraph	449,918	345,700	795,618
Light, gas, heating, etc.	988,205	1,952,675	2,940,880
Water companies	11,425	..	11,425
Miscellaneous	58,110	..	58,110
Total	$18,671,332	$4,103,525	$22,774,857[b]

[a] For a more detailed analysis, see Appendix B, V, p. 461.

[b] The figures of the table are used in the text; although the assessors' report for 1913 sets down the total at $22,286,143. [See Appendix B, VIII, p. 468.] In the opinion of the writer they were even in 1910 considerably under current values.

These amounts are taken from the assessors' book of exemptions for 1907, as the 1910 book had not at the time of this inquiry been written up. New exemptions had been added and property recently taken out of the exempt list subtracted; but a careful appraisal of exempt properties was evidently not regarded as of importance, some of the valuations going far back of 1907. The figures, therefore, are considerably under present values.

Sixty-six feet of right-of-way of all railroads operating within the city limits is not subject to local rates. The total of railroad land exempted amounts to $17,106,701, or 75 per cent of the total commercial exemptions. Practically all is right-of-way.

The other 25 per cent of total commercial exemptions is mainly buildings and equipment of railroads and building sites and buildings of the other companies indicated. Of these, railroad property, other than land, in turn represents almost one-third.

The Pennsylvania Railroad owns the largest amount of this exempt property—64 per cent of the grand total. Thirteen million dollars in land and over one and a half million dollars' worth of buildings, sheds, and so forth, belonging to it, pay no local taxes. The buildings are situated almost entirely on the North Side and include the Fort Wayne depot valued at $145,000, a number of freight buildings, machine shops, storage houses, offices, and over $900,000 in tracks.

In the group furnishing municipal service, the Philadelphia Company, which with its subsidiary companies supplies traction, gas, and electricity, is favored most, enjoying an exemption of over two and a quarter million dollars. The eight-story office building on Sixth Avenue, and the ground on which it stands, which were valued in 1910 at $527,950, paid a tax upon only half this value, $263,975 being exempt. The large power house and 22.5 acres of land in the old ninth ward North Side, worth $458,000; the 11 or more acres of land with refining, purifying, retort, and engine houses, and office buildings, in the old fourteenth ward, worth $888,600; and other property in the old fifteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first wards, most of this being Consolidated Gas Company property, is totally exempt from city taxation. Exemptions for property of Allegheny County Light Company, Allegheny Heating Company, and Pittsburgh and Castle Shannon Railroad constituent companies are also of considerable size.

Telephone companies are favored also, thirteen-sixteenths of the Central District and Printing Telephone Company's three-story telephone exchange property on Fourth Avenue, valued at $193,200, being exempt; and all of its eight-story brick office property on Seventh Avenue and Montour Way, valued at $313,-200, besides smaller holdings throughout the city. The Pitts-burgh and Allegheny Telephone Company pays no local taxes on $114,525 of property, mainly office buildings. Incline plane companies, water and miscellaneous companies own exempted property to the amount of $126,508.

Why these exemptions? The answer takes us back first to the general fiscal policy of Pennsylvania. The state has prac-tically withdrawn from the field of general property taxation, and draws a considerable part of its revenue from the operations of public service corporations.* Local taxing bodies, in turn, do not tax the business of the railroads which run through them, nor to any large extent that of local service corporations. This has been a matter of legislation. When we go deeper and ask why real estate and buildings owned by such corporations are lifted, along with their franchises, out of reach of the municipal

* See description of state tax, Appendix B, VI, p. 464.

tax department, we come into a realm not of legislation but of judge-made law.

Briefly, the rule was first laid down by the courts that real and personal property necessary for the exercise of franchises of quasi-public service corporations loses its character as buildings, lands, and so forth, and is exempt from local taxation.* By a special act of Assembly in the 50's, however, all Pittsburgh railroad property was made subject to city taxation. But when half a century later Pittsburgh attempted to assess not only buildings but right-of-way under this act, the supreme court decided that it did not apply to right-of-way. Further, the act of 1859 did not include Allegheny (North Side), and when the two cities were consolidated the supreme court, reversing a lower court, held that the Allegheny freight yards, stations, and so forth, could not be taxed by the Greater City for the purpose of liquidating its floating and bonded indebtedness at the time of annexation. Nor has this North Side railroad property paid taxes to meet the current expenses of the Greater City up to 1914. Thus it is that at the time of consolidation all of the quasi-public service corporation property on the North Side continued exempt; and in the old city, railroad right-of-way was exempt and so continues. Street railways and incline planes are classed with railroads and are entirely exempt on the North Side,† and in the old city the road bed is not taxed. Light, gas, heating, water, and telephone companies come under the general rule exempting property necessary for the exercise of their franchises.

It may be contended that the exemption from local taxes of stations, warehouses, power plants, and other improvements is justified in that it is an encouragement to the extension of transportation facilities. This contention would seem justified only in a city and state where the public control of public service corporations is such that citizens would receive better service for the same cost or the same service at less cost because of the exemption. Such a principle would lead far afield, moreover. The large

* See statement of legal basis for exemptions, Appendix B, V, p. 462.

† The Pittsburgh Railways Company pays a relatively small gross receipts tax and tax on cars on the North Side. In 1909 the former was $38,416.99; the latter, $1,871.24.

distributors of milk, for example—a necessity fully as important as gas or transportation—might well argue that they should be let off from paying taxes on the buildings which house their refrigerating and bottling plants. But whatever the attitude toward not taxing buildings, the scot-freedom from land taxes of these commercial corporations does not seem justifiable. Land values are very largely, if not entirely, created by the community. If there is any agreement at all among taxation authorities it is that real estate should bear an important part of local taxes; and yet Pittsburgh makes an exception in the case of over $18,000,000 in land values and absolves them from carrying their part of the city's expenses. The amount is as great as if the city exempted all real estate in the old thirty-eighth, thirty-ninth, and fortieth wards, four times over.

To sum up, then, we found that the dual system of discriminations by land classes on one hand and ward rates on the other, in vogue at the time of the Pittsburgh Survey and for years preceding, saddled the heaviest burden of local taxation upon the man of small means, the small householder, the small renter, and the small business man. We found also that important features of the assessment system, having to do with revision, undervaluations, customs, and triennial assessments, aggravated rather than mitigated these inequalities.*

In addition, in order to make good flagrant leakages—which were turned to account by the larger property holders, and unjustifiable exemptions—which were to the benefit of public service holdings, a higher rate had to be imposed upon all tax payers; every such increase in the rate coming down on the small man in the same unequal ratios in which he was already bearing the burden of the dual system of land classes and ward rates. It was a system of disproportion aggravating disproportion, leading to but one conclusion; namely, that while the community was progressing industrially and economically, Pittsburgh held to a tax system out of joint with the best principles of modern public finance—a

* The personal property tax, licenses, and fines—other elements in local revenues, did not, as shown in Appendix B, IV, p. 460, appreciably modify this situation.

system which gave inducements for holding large tracts of land unimproved, which made it easier for the downtown department store to squeeze out the small merchant, which added a tax discrimination equivalent to a public bounty to the other good fortunes of the rich, and which placed the heaviest burden of taxation upon the shoulders of those least able to bear it.

VIII

THE MODERN VIEW OF TAXATION

As already stated, the local tax system which in our day resulted in these inequalities, dated back to a time when facilities for distributing municipal services were meager, and also to a time when a theory that taxes are payments for definite services rendered to individuals as such, was much more widely accepted than now. This was the principle at the bottom of the ward system through which, as the modern city grew out of what had been a small compact community, the childless downtown business districts came to pay but a trifle toward popular education, while neighborhoods meager in wealth but prolific in children staggered under the school load.

This was the principle at the bottom of the land classification system through which, as suburban homes were brought within the sphere of municipal housekeeping, working people came to pay a half more for fire and police protection, sewerage, lighting, paving, and street cleaning, than their prosperous neighbors. Now, even if it had been possible to make adjustments that would have overcome these abuses, the taxing principle involved would still have been open to question. Since the 50's the trend among taxation experts has been away from the payment-for-benefit theory. Its fallacy is apparent in the light of the more recent definition of taxes. To attempt to define taxes for the tax payer, to be sure, is almost like giving a man with a jumping molar a theoretical description of toothache. Everybody knows taxes by practical experience. Despite experience, however, hazy ideas abound, and scarcely anything is as helpful in clearing them up as clean-cut definitions.

In the older conception, as we have said, taxes were payments

for definite services such as protection, security, justice, education; and there was a measurable connection between the charge and the benefit conferred. Taxes were a form of insurance, according to Montesquieu, who, a century and more ago, defined the revenues of the state as "part of the property of each citizen which he surrenders in order to insure the remainder." The more accepted current view, however, does not acknowledge a tax to be a payment for protection or other service. No contract for protection exists between the state and the individual. The state can not be called upon to pay damages for failure to protect property. Besides, protection, justice, or education can not be measured or paid for like sugar or coffee. If there were a direct and ascertainable connection between the tax and the benefit conferred, then childless parents would not be taxed for school purposes; then the halt, the lame, and the blind who need protection most, would be taxed heaviest; and then the man whose life is saved by the fireman or policeman, would be taxed an infinite sum for the infinite service rendered.

The view of taxes more in tune with modern community life is well stated in a recent United States government publication, thus: "Taxes are compulsory contributions of wealth, levied and collected in the general interest of the community from individuals and corporations without reference to special benefits which the individual contributors may derive from the public purposes for which the revenue is required or to which it is applied."* Professor Bastable puts the same definition more briefly thus: "A tax is a compulsory contribution of the wealth of a person or body of persons for the service of the public powers."† The idea of an exchange of services, a barter of benefits, between the state and the individual is absent. The government is expected, however, to use the contributions made by the individual for the benefit of all; that is, so as to advance the interests of all, regardless of who pays heaviest or who benefits most. This idea was undoubtedly in Adam Smith's mind when he laid down his first canon of taxation, which holds good today: "The subjects of every State ought to

* United States Census, Bulletin 105, Abstract of Annual Report, 1907. Statistics of Cities, p. 8.

† Bastable, Charles Francis: Public Finance. Third edition, p. 263. New York, Macmillan.

contribute toward the support of the government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities."*

Taxation according to ability to pay, proportional taxation, has long appealed to the spirit of fairness in this country. "It is not the truth that the rich men should be penalized because they are rich, or the poor escape because they are poor. The economic conception is that the rich should pay much because it means little to them, and the poor should pay little because a little means a great deal to them. In short, the canon of general taxation is equality of sacrifices."† But with *ability*, or equality of sacrifice, accepted as a basis, what is the test of tax-bearing ability? One and another form of taxes have been tried until almost every evidence of ability, from the number of windows in peasant cottages or the amount of salt therein consumed, to the princely incomes of modern times, have been catalogued for government revenues.

In the early colonies, determining tax-bearing ability was relatively simple. Land being plenty and to be had for the taking, and the wealth of all colonists thus being practically equal, their tax-bearing abilities were equal. A poll tax taking from each a uniform amount was just. Later, as population increased and commerce grew, some land was preferred over others; and the owners of the more favored sites had an advantage. Wealth distinctions arose and the flat poll tax was supplemented by a land tax which took account of the greater ability of the owners of the more valuable land. With differences in land wealth came differences in tangible personal property, such as horses, cattle, and household goods. A personal property tax, therefore, proportional to the amount of such property, came into use. Later, intangible personal property in the form of stocks, bonds, notes, and mortgages, assumed appreciable size, and ownership in these became an important evidence of ability to shoulder government expenses, and this class of personal property was taxed.

Thus from early to late the principle that justice in taxation is obtained through contribution to the support of government in

* Smith, Adam: Inquiry into Nature and Causes of Wealth of Nations. London, Routledge, 1892.

† Smart, William: Taxation of Land Values, p. 20. New York, Macmillan, 1900.

accordance with individual ability, has been generally recognized. Much of Pittsburgh's system proved to be an exception, as we have seen, to this general trend. Longer than any other great American city it taxed on a plan which claimed a basis in the benefit theory, but which violated the tenets of that theory; a plan which, when all was said and done, cut the wealthy man's taxes down because of his flowers, his shrubbery, the open spaces about his house, and the other evidences of his greater tax-paying ability; and which called upon the people of moderate means and less to make up what the wealthy escaped.

The scope of this study properly closed with its demonstration of how a worn out taxation scheme was thus working social injustice in Pittsburgh. The report as it was drafted for practical use concluded with three major recommendations by which to remedy that injustice; namely, to abolish the land classification, abolish the ward rates, and abolish them both together. The tax law of 1911 eliminated the land classification; a new state code created a united school budget for the municipality,—and both were passed by the same legislature.

Space should be given, however, to outlining a further reconstructive program promoted by some of the tax reform forces whose initial campaign proved thus successful. Their scrutiny of the distorted equilibrium which had existed in Pittsburgh between land and building taxes led them naturally enough to propose that the balance should be struck the other way.

In a report made in December, 1911, the committee on housing of the Pittsburgh Civic Commission recommended that the legislature enact a law fixing the tax rate on buildings in Pittsburgh at 50 per cent of that on land, the reduction in the building tax to be made up by increases in the land tax. In order that the change might be made gradually and not occasion hardship, the plan in its final form provided that the 50 per cent reduction should be spread over thirteen years, the rate on buildings being reduced to 90 per cent of that on land the first year, 80 per cent the fourth year, and so on, making a 10 per cent reduction at the first of every cycle of three years. The proposal was thus not to stop at eliminating the classification plan, but to turn it inside out; from a policy discriminating in favor of land to go to one of discriminating against land.

Taxed at Two-thirds Rate

Tax-saving Shrubs and Lawns

These costly residence properties in 1910 enjoyed a rate one-third lower than homes in the congested, unsanitary districts of the city

High Taxes and Few Improvements

Property Along Poe Alley
Without sidewalks, street lights, etc., paying the highest rates in the ward

Keil's Row—Plum Alley
A congested district where the tax burden was levied at the full rate

These civic bodies were successful in securing the passage of this legislation in 1913 with the qualification, however, that it should not apply to the school tax. With 1914, Pittsburgh becomes the first large city in the United States to enter upon the experiment of halving the tax rate on buildings—a point which by the gradual stages set in the law will be reached in 1926.

As has already been seen, the higher tax which for forty years had been levied on built up property in Pittsburgh tended to encourage the speculative holding of land out of use; to augment the sales price of available land, and thus discourage the location of industries in the city; to discourage building enterprises and thus perpetuate the ramshackle dwellings which hold their tenants when workmen's homes are hard to buy or high to rent. High land cost and excess building tax have been the lot of householder and factory builder in Pittsburgh. The new plan does more than take the penalty off building houses and factories; it rewards that kind of enterprise by a lower tax the same way that Pennsylvania rewards industrial capital in exempting machinery from taxation. It will cut the tax on improvements in half and spread one part out as an additional penalty for holding land out of the market.

In pointing out that the price of land in Pittsburgh is high in comparison with prices in many other American cities of about the same size, the Civic Commission cited two causes in addition to the peculiar topography. One-third of the city's acreage is, to be sure, made up of hillsides too steep to be built upon, but the two aggravating causes have their roots in the tax classification system which has been described, one being the over-speculation in the years when large fortunes were to be quickly made in Pittsburgh land, the other, the ownership of great tracts by a few individuals.

On the latter point the report stated:

"In this city as a whole, five families possess land assessed for 7.4 per cent of all the assessed land values in the city, but their assessed building values are only 36 per cent of their land values. These families own land assessed for 11 per cent of the assessed land values in the first and second wards, or in the retail, wholesale, and manufacturing district most in demand. Yet in these two wards the five families own land assessed for 12.7 per cent of the assessed valuation of the land. The sixth and twenty-third wards are the two with most area for residences. In the

former, two families own 30 per cent and in the latter, one family owns 31 per cent of the assessed valuation of land.

"Thus to natural tendency have been added unusual human forces which have placed the price of Pittsburgh land at a figure which is prohibitive to prospective industries and residents. A few individuals have been enabled by circumstances to place and hold land prices at a figure which prevents the profitable use of the land by others."

Here, then, we have the extreme consequences of the old scheme of discrimination, which let real estate off with a half or two-thirds tax rate, and here also an argument which has large popular appeal in favor of the new scheme of land discrimination, which would make the land rate double. In so far as, in the case of rented houses, taxes on buildings can be shifted to the tenants while taxes on the land stay with the owner, the advocates of the measure claim for it that it will lower rents and the cost of living, and is socially desirable. In so far as city land values are the creation of the community about them, they regard it as socially just. The reaction upon the city's prosperity was prophesied by the Commission in these glowing terms:

"Manufacturers can be induced to come to Pittsburgh by exemption from taxes. This has often been urged. The tax plan of this report offers a practical method for offering low taxes as an inducement. This plan would appeal only to those who will actually build industrial plants. The low tax is given only when buildings are put up; that is, only to actual benefactors of the city.

"The higher taxes on land would induce owners to place land on the market by making it harder to hold land vacant. As owners become more anxious to sell, the price of land would tend to decrease. Thus prospective industries could secure sites at more attractive prices, decreasing the interest item in fixed charges. All this would tend to a great development of the city.

"Rents would be decreased by both the lower price of land and the lower taxes on buildings. How would this happen? A premium would be placed on putting capital in buildings and a penalty for putting it in vacant land. Therefore capital as rapidly as possible would shift from land to buildings and buildings would be erected to pay the increased taxes on land and to secure for capital the advantage of investment in buildings instead of land. Thus the law of supply and demand would bring down the price of land. As rent consists of interest on land value, plus interest

and taxes in building value, the cheaper land and the lower taxes on building would decrease rents. All this would stimulate building, and building means labor well employed.

"Here is the solution of the housing problem. New houses at reasonable rents would be built on land vacant at present. The present most undesirable houses would be vacated. Their sites are those most convenient for industries. These sites would have to be improved to pay taxes or be sold at low enough figures to enable industries to use them profitably. So the two obstacles to Pittsburgh's progress would be largely overcome, bad housing would be almost abolished, and factories no longer kept away by high price of land.

"Precedents for such taxation are many. Great Britain has recently levied new land taxes to force vacant land into use. The German cities of Hamburg, Frankfurt, and Cologne, followed by most large cities, have adopted this method of securing better housing; in some cities workingmen's homes are entirely exempt. The cities of Australia and New Zealand generally tax buildings at less than full rate. In America, the cities of western Canada have this plan of taxation. In no case has a city adopting this system gone back to the old one."

As a proposal, showing the swing of the pendulum away from the entrenched evils disclosed by this investigation, the tax prospectus of the Civic Commission finds place in these pages. In the estimation of the writer the adoption of this second change in the tax system will work for the good of the whole community.

To Hamburg, Frankfurt, and Cologne, and, in America, to Vancouver and other of the cities of the British Northwest which have adopted this plan of taxation, one would have to go for an inductive study of its results. Neither those results, nor a discussion of the taxation theories they involve, but the objective conditions to be found in taxes laid and collected in the city of Pittsburgh, were the subject matter of this inquiry, and the resulting findings have been set forth deliberately, opportunely, and to constructive purpose.

There remain to be noted certain changes in public administration, which, apart from whatever general tax policy is followed, are equally demanded by the conditions disclosed.

X

CONCLUDING NOTE

Of the minor evils brought out in the course of our inquiry, several have been removed in the interval between the field work and the publication of this volume. The movement to put the delinquent tax collector on a salary basis might well culminate in abolishing the office altogether, holding the city treasurer responsible for collecting delinquent taxes as well as other taxes. The dual system of city valuations should be eliminated and the members of the city board should be paid sufficient salaries to hold men of caliber. The bringing forward of penalties to be charged against delinquent tax payers, so as to make these penalties effective, should be followed logically by the elimination of discounts to those who pay on time. The provision which went into effect January 1, 1913, for placing tax funds in the banks offering the highest bid with satisfactory guarantees (the old rate had been 2 per cent) blocks another leakage large enough in its time to have fairly wrecked the municipal government in graft.

But these changes in staff and methods of collecting, handling, and conserving tax moneys, important as they are, are not so vital as four functional reforms which would make for greater simplicity, up-to-dateness, publicity, and inclusiveness in the system of assessment; that is, in the actual laying of the tax burden. These are as follows:

First: The schedule of tax rates, untangled to a great extent by the abolition of the district school taxes, should be further simplified and should be kept simple.

There are individual cases, principally of new additions to the city, where it is a fair question as to whether the tax rate of the newly annexed district should be made the same as that of the old city. There are often local responsibilities which are so peculiar to the annexed territory that they should be shouldered for a short time at least by the individuals or community in which they originated, but the period of readjustment should be made as brief as possible. Practically all the reasons for the incorporation of an area, made up of contiguous, congested, and similar districts, into one municipal unit are also reasons why the revenues of this municipal unit should be raised on a uniform and metropolitan basis.

Second: The machinery for an annual, instead of a triennial, assessment of all city real estate should be set to work. Taxes are levied annually and city budgets are planned annually; the basis for the raising of these taxes should also be made up annually. Taxes are variable quantities; valuations are also variable quantities; and if assessments remain constant quantities, disproportions are sure to arise. Practically all of the large cities in the country make annual valuations, and the tendency among the rest is in that direction.

Third: The difficulty of maintaining a uniform ratio between assessed valuations and cash values is recognized throughout the country, and Pittsburgh is no exception in this regard. Greater publicity of assessments through the printing and wide distribution of the assessment lists, the issuing of reports with maps and diagrams showing assessment methods, the charting of assessed valuations out from the central point of highest value,—all are methods which have helped solve the difficulty in other places. They enable the everyday citizen to compare his property and his neighbors, and through his self-interest—if not through his public interest—turn him into an ally of the assessors. Inequalities between real estate of the same grade thrive on nothing so much as secrecy.

Fourth: Real estate owned by public service corporations should be subject to uniform local taxation. The city's policy is inconsistent regarding this property. In one part of the city it has been taxed, while in another it has been exempt. The least that should be demanded is uniformity throughout the city. But more should be demanded; the more than $18,000,000 worth of land owned by these corporations should be taxed. Real estate is widely recognized as a proper object for local taxation, especially when held by corporations which get off easily at the hands of the state taxing bodies.

These four changes would round out the radical reform wrought by abolishing land classes and ward rates. They would tend to clear away further discriminations and disproportions due to geographical location, to changes in values from one year to the next, to the human equation in assessing real estate, and to the favoritism heretofore shown to one corporate group of tax payers.

The question of still further radical changes in the taxation bases would remain; but with these further inequalities razed, the laying of the local taxes in Pittsburgh would be shorn of its functional abuses and become a matter of administrative efficiency and vigilance.

III

CHILDREN AND THE CITY

PITTSBURGH SCHOOLS

LILA VER PLANCK NORTH

CHOICE of Pittsburgh for a survey chanced to bring into prominence a school administration of an extreme, and as a result of subsequent legislation, a vanishing type. As the anthropologist need not rely altogether for his study of primitive man on fossil bones from the caves of France, but may find him alive in all his vigorous savagery in the wilderness of north Australia, so the student of the evolution of school administration could find one of its early stages still existent in Pennsylvania, where it was about as well suited to modern city requirements as the Australian savage would be for membership on the Pittsburgh board of trade.

There is a prevalent impression that in the United States free public education is conducted under a general system clearly marked in its features, producing calculated results, and uniform throughout the country. The European does not understand that our common schools are not established by the national government, but are state or municipal institutions. Nor does the ordinary American realize that these local differences in history and in policy create effects which no general uniformity in curriculum can abrogate. We are only beginning to appreciate also that in conception and technique our schools should meet the needs of the child life about them, whether it be that of a New England village or the cotton districts of the gulf states, a crowded borough of Manhattan or a Scandinavian farming region of the sparsely settled northwest.

Although a teacher, a room, and a class, form now, as always, the essentials of a school, these alone can no longer give assurance that the results will be what we have a right to hope for when we speak of schooling. Especially is this becoming true in our large industrial cities. This is why the annual reports of city school

boards and superintendents deal with administrative and social conditions looked upon by the ordinary school master of bygone days as lying outside his field of interest; why they have become so voluminous and valuable.

The main investigation upon which this study is based was made during the school year 1907–08.* Since the salient facts of the study were published (March 6, 1909),† the Pennsylvania legislature has enacted a school code (1911)‡ which has revolutionized school administration, and in Greater Pittsburgh placed upon a new central board of public education the large work of reconstruction and co-ordination which the conditions to be described demanded.§

But while the special type of system may disappear, the cultural, social, and economic conditions illustrated by and through the Pittsburgh schools are far from singular. They are bearing down upon most city and many rural populations, and the story of how this eighty-year-old scheme of education broke under the weight shows with unusual directness how they bear down upon the children.

I

THE CHILDREN FOR THE SCHOOLS

However complicated the educational system by which the children in a definite locality are provided with education, the operation of this system must be grounded on certain primary facts of arithmetic and geography; to begin with, on how many children there are, and where they live.

In 1908 the Pittsburgh school authorities did not know with

* The term "Pittsburgh," as used throughout the paper, except in statistics for parish schools, refers to the old city of Pittsburgh, not to the present Greater Pittsburgh, which includes Allegheny, now known as the North Side. When in 1907, the two cities, with several outlying boroughs, were united by act of legislature, the public school systems of both were expressly exempted from the operation of the act. Inquiry into conditions in Allegheny was included in the original investigation, but they will be described here for the sake of comparison only, as will be those of other Pennsylvania towns.

† *Charities and the Commons*, XXI: 1175–1194.

‡ The new Pennsylvania school code was vetoed by Governor Stuart in 1909, and passed in improved form in 1911. The change to one central board of control became effective November, 1911.

§ The revolution thus ushered in is set forth by Miss Kennard in Appendix C. P. 469 of this volume.

accuracy the number of children they were nominally responsible for, and had no adequate machinery for keeping the average attendance well up to the enrollment, nor the enrollment up to the unknown child population. Nor was there, as a basis for planning for school construction and service, comprehensive study as to the distribution of the children within the urban area, the extent of their migration from one section to another, or the rate at which their numbers were being added to. The sources from which they came were not known, nor the racial make-up of those already in the schools.

Child Population and Enrollment

For at the time of our inquiry there was no body of reliable records for the child population in existence, nor had there been for some years.* It was possible to estimate the number of children actually at school, but not how many there were of legal or admissible school age. The law of Pennsylvania admitted to its common schools all persons between the ages of five and twenty-one; it nominally compelled all children between eight and fourteen to be at school, and the child not at work to remain there until he was sixteen. It was the practice, however, to make provision in the co nmon schools for the housing and tuition of those children of the commonwealth only who were between the ages of six and sixteen; and to gain a basis for this provision an annual school census was taken. This census was the merest farce, especially since this really difficult task was relegated to the assessors of votes, by whom the lists were returned to the county commissioner's office, and were thence furnished to the school authorities.

The district assessors in Pittsburgh were appointed for political reasons by the county commissioner. Only ten days were given them to do the work, at $2.00 a day. Some of them had not education enough to fill out the blanks. House to house visitation was almost never practiced, but lists of previous years were copied, including names of children dead, removed, or past the legal age. School principals were frequently asked to furnish names to the assessors. In 1907, in 13 city precincts no lists had been sent in at all. Yet one-third of the state school appropriation

* See reference to Miss Butler's study of this situation in Kelley, Florence: Factory Inspection in Pittsburgh. Wage-earning Pittsburgh, p. 195.

was based on the number of children on the assessors' lists. "Some districts have lost considerable appropriation," said the state superintendent in 1909, "because the enumeration by the assessors omitted many names of children for whom, if enrolled, the district would have received about $1.50 per child out of the general school appropriation."

It was not until the fall of 1912 that the first dependable school census was taken in Pittsburgh by the truant officers to whom this duty was assigned under the new code.*

Numbers: Attendance

The school attendance law in Pittsburgh, as nearly everywhere in the United States, was fairly adequate on paper, and very inadequate in performance. Its enforcement was placed in the hands of the central board of education, which thereby became responsible for the attendance of all resident children.

A special committee on compulsory attendance was appointed from this board, on recommendation from which the truant officers were appointed. The city was divided into 24 districts; to each was assigned an officer who was legally responsible for over 3,000 children, while a head officer supervised the work.

The effective execution of this law, whatever its merits or that of the head attendance officer, was, of course, in the hands of the subordinate officers. Their salary of $1,000 a year was sufficient to form a bait for political appointees and a means for members of the school board to gain political status, but apparently not enough to secure suitable service. Many attendance officers had no experience in school matters, and showed no aptness in dealing with parents or children; no limit was set as to their age, no educational test applied, and no standard of moral character required. Women were never appointed. The need for the salary and a "good strong pull with the board" were the essential qualifications.

In any case, the officers were unable properly to cover their districts even in looking after absentees, and they had neither time nor strength for investigation nor fitness for educating the community, especially its foreign portions, in the value of regular school attendance. The ineffectiveness of the officers was augmented by the fact that a truant or unschooled child might be arrested on sight, but no house of detention was provided in Pittsburgh where he might be placed when the children's court was not

* This census showed a total of 86,331 children between the ages of six and sixteen in Greater Pittsburgh.

in session. This fact, as well as the leniency of the court toward truants, discouraged energetic action by the officers and encouraged offenders. The subject of truancy and its prevention was passed over in the Pittsburgh school report for 1908 with significant silence.

Nor were the Pittsburgh authorities able to supply comprehensive enrollment figures covering even those children who had brought themselves to school, or had been gathered in by the truancy system as it existed. To get at the number actually at school, we made up an estimate based on state and city reports and statistics elsewhere collected,—excluding the night schools, with their large adult attendance. It will be understood that these numbers were not mutually exclusive, though taken from the printed reports, for there was constant migration between parish and public schools and a corresponding duplication of names in their total enrollments.

TABLE 1.—TOTAL ENROLLMENT IN ALL SCHOOLS, BY TYPE OF SCHOOL. OLD PITTSBURGH, 1908

Type of School	Pupils Enrolled	
	Number	*Per Cent*
Public	54,793	74.1
Parish	17,600[a]	23.8
Private	800[b]	1.1
Institutional	750[b]	1.0
Total	73,943[a]	100.0

[a] Approximate. [b] Estimated.

Public, private, and parish schools were apparently in 1908 caring for about 74,000 children; a number considerably less, but how far less no one knew, than the total entitled to share in the heritage of elementary education which the state provided. The growth of the public and parish schools during a period of four years, as measured by enrollment and average attendance, is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2.—TOTAL ENROLLMENT AND AVERAGE ATTENDANCE IN PUBLIC AND PARISH SCHOOLS IN OLD PITTSBURGH, FOR THE PERIOD FROM 1905 TO 1909 INCLUSIVE

Year	Pupils in Public Schools		Pupils in Parish Schools	
	Total Enrollment	*Average Attendance*	*Total Enrollment*	*Average Attendance*
1905	52,730	40,092	14,710	12,447
1906	53,710	40,756	16,108	13,875
1907	54,076	41,023	16,558	14,769
1908	54,793	42,832	17,600[a]	15,236
1909	56,651	44,932	18,000[a]	16,271
Percentage of increase for four-year period	7.4	12.1	22.4	30.7

[a] Approximate.

These figures indicate that during the four years there had been an increase in public school enrollment of over 7 per cent, and an increase in public school attendance of 12 per cent, while during the same period the enrollment in the parish schools had increased 22 per cent and the attendance at these schools 31 per cent.

The unification and enforcement of child labor and school attendance laws in Pennsylvania throughout this period tended to a rise in enrollment and still more in attendance. Yet the public school population was growing at a low enough rate so that as a whole it could be planned for in advance. The growth was in fact at a far higher rate in the parochial schools, where the problem of housing the increase was in many cases a serious one.

The School Area

When, as in Pennsylvania, the state demands that children shall attend school, it binds itself by that very demand to make attendance no undue hardship or expense to the child or his guardians. Moreover, if the state permits a private organization like that of the Roman Catholic church to perform a mandatory func-

tion, and to enjoin upon children of Catholic parents attendance at Catholic schools, then with the granting of this right the state lays upon the church the duty of establishing its schools in such a manner as to cause no pain or detriment to the children compelled to attend them.

The peculiar physical features of the region included in the school districts of Pittsburgh have frequently been described in other parts of this Survey. Compared with that of other cities the area is not especially extensive, but it is disconnected and irregular, broken by bluffs and ravines; and even had there been on the part of school authorities some comprehensive plan for the placing of buildings, the problem would be no easy one.

The distribution of the children does not conform altogether to the general distribution of population. Some districts are made up largely of adults, especially where the immigrants from south and middle Europe are crowded near the steel mills; in other places the children apparently far outnumber the adults. But even in the latter case, in sections populated by immigrant Jews and Italians, there is no child congestion comparable to that of the East Side in New York City, or the Williamsburg section in Brooklyn.

An apparent exception to this generalization about child congestion was found in certain districts extending along the Allegheny border of the city, where the recent strict enforcement of the child law compelling boys between fourteen and sixteen who were not at work to be in school, and those who are illiterate at that age to continue in school, had crowded the school buildings. The local boards should long before have made provision for these children, and their neglect meant confusion and discomfort, not due, however, to congestion of population.

Whatever burden the increase of immigration had placed upon the public school management, in no districts was it overwhelming them. Even the most populous sub-districts, which gather from two to three thousand children in their several buildings, showed in 1907, the high tide year of immigration, an increase of not more than between one and two hundred children.

On the other hand, in the office section for some years the school population had been dwindling. Wards one to four occu-

pied the point of the Triangle, a level ground now covered with business buildings; the school districts corresponding to these wards were the Duquesne, North, South, and Grant. Of the 1,213 public school children housed in the four buildings of these districts in 1907, a large number came from outside the districts. In the South district, especially, alarm at the decrease in attendance spurred the local board to offer children boxes of candy and other premiums to bring other children to school; but despite these efforts the four schools in 1908 showed a decrease of more than 100. In fine, there was no real child congestion in any part of the city; and while there was child migration it was not rapid or beyond easy calculation by those who knew the natural movement of the city's growth.

Racial Make-up

Scarcely less than the hills and valleys of Pittsburgh's site do the racial and social make-up of the school children and their parents have a significant bearing on the character of schooling necessary. Some of the Pittsburgh schools had their own methods of recording facts as to the country in which the children were born, but there was no universal system. Nothing but fragmentary data were obtainable until 1910, when the results of a comprehensive tally made in all the schools at the request of the United States immigration commission in 1908 became available. Information was secured for all pupils as to grade, sex, age, and nativity of father. The leading facts brought out by this tally with regard to this last named point are shown in Table 3.

It is evident that the two largest groups among the children of foreign-born fathers in the Pittsburgh public schools were children of natives of the British Isles, who formed 13.4 per cent of the total attendance, and children of Jewish immigrants from various European countries,—chiefly Russia, Poland, Germany, and Roumania,—who made up 12.2 per cent. Children of German and Dutch fathers ranked third in size of group, contributing 9.6 per cent to the total, and children of Italian fathers fourth, with nearly 5 per cent. On the other hand, the children of Russians, Poles, and other Slavs, and of Lithuanians, Magyars, Greeks, and Roumanians—in other words, of immigrants from eastern and

southeastern Europe, exclusive of the Hebrew element—made up altogether only 3.6 per cent of the total school attendance.

TABLE 3.—PUPILS ATTENDING PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND HIGH SCHOOLS, BY NATIVITY AND RACE OF FATHERS.[a] OLD PITTSBURGH, DECEMBER, 1908

Nativity and Race of Fathers of Pupils	Pupils Attending Public Elementary and High Schools[b]	
	Number	*Per Cent*
Foreign born		
British Islanders	5,804	13.4
Hebrews (various nationalities)	5,237	12.2
Germans and Dutch	4,108	9.6
Italians	2,122	4.9
Russians and Poles	681	1.6
Slavs other than Russians and Poles[c]	472	1.1
Scandinavians	408	1.0
Canadians	187	.4
Magyars	171	.4
French	126	.3
Greeks	66	.2
Syrians	62	.2
Lithuanians	59	.2
Roumanians	29	.1
All others	100	.2
Total	19,632	45.8
Native born		
White	20,575	48.0
Colored	2,678	6.2
Total	23,253	54.2
Grand total	42,885	100.0

[a] Based on report of the United States Immigration Commission on the Children of Immigrants in Schools, Vol. V, pp. 30–33. The figures represent pupils attending on a single day of December, 1908.

[b] Does not include kindergartens.

[c] Includes Bohemians and Moravians, Servians, Croatians, Slovaks, and Slovenians.

The federal census of 1910 has since supplied data with respect to the place of birth and parentage of school children by age periods; and while the classifications are so different that comparisons can not be made between the two sets of statistics, one

generalization of the census figures should be noted. In Table 4 the figures for Pittsburgh are shown in connection with those for other cities.

TABLE 4.—PROPORTION OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE CHILDREN AND OF WHITE CHILDREN OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE AMONG CHILDREN SIX TO FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE WHO ATTENDED SCHOOL IN GREATER PITTSBURGH AND IN NINE OTHER CITIES AT ANY TIME BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 1, 1909, AND APRIL 15, 1910 [a]

City	*All Children*	Foreign-born White Children		White Children of Foreign or Mixed Parentage [b]	
		Number	*Per Cent of All Children*	*Number*	*Per Cent of All Children*
Baltimore	68,218	3,267	4.8	22,807	33.4
Buffalo	60,813	3,966	6.5	38,999	64.1
Cincinnati	45,685	1,565	3.4	15,283	33.4
Cleveland	78,595	9,366	11.9	55,526	70.6
Detroit	59,575	6,162	10.3	41,187	69.1
Lowell	14,720	1,632	11.1	11,686	79.4
Milwaukee	54,165	3,724	6.9	37,113	68.5
Minneapolis	35,912	2,405	6.7	23,091	64.3
Newark, N. J.	52,885	6,138	11.6	34,816	65.8
Pittsburgh	72,316	4,941	6.8	40,478	56.0

[a] Abstract of the Thirteenth Census, p. 232.—All children who during any part of the period from September 1, 1909, to April 15, 1910, had attended any sort of school are included.

[b] Under this heading are included both native-born and foreign-born children.

Pittsburgh, with 6.8 per cent foreign-born white children among all school children between the ages of six and fourteen (Table 4), and 56 per cent white children of foreign or mixed parentage, stands about midway, under both classifications, in the list of industrial cities of similar rank.

It was, of course, the newer arrivals from eastern and southern Europe that were adding the most decidedly alien type to the problems of the classes, though their number was considerably less than would have been anticipated from the adult population.

But aside from these children of foreign parentage, there were

three main elements in the Pittsburgh child population, which while not confined to special localities were yet in certain districts clearly marked; namely, (1) children of local English-speaking stock—of Irish, British or American parentage, one or more generations back; (2) the German, derived from early settlers and maintained by later accessions; and (3) what may be called the "native immigrant" children of parents drawn from various parts of the United States in connection with Pittsburgh industries.

On the South Side, for instance, in the long level strip bordering the Monongahela, the central portion is occupied almost exclusively by Germans whose customs are altered scarcely at all by their residence in the new country. A glance at the names on the public school rolls will attest their stock and a look at the faces of the children in the class rooms confirm it. On the other hand, the similar strip of land in Pittsburgh proper, bordering the Allegheny, is occupied very largely by Irish—usually Irish Catholic, with Scotch and a scattering of Germans. The high plateau occupying the broader base of the triangle contains a nucleus of the old resident families, some of whom have moved out of the former districts; but most of the population is made up of people from other parts of the United States.

Inadequate sources would have prevented an analysis of school needs based on statistics of Pittsburgh children had that been the purpose of this study. Enough has been said to show that such elementary data had not been gathered by the school authorities as a basis for their work. The data are sufficient, however, to help us in appraising their work. We know that over 70,000 children were at school, that they occupied a region of great variety of physical features, and that while numerous in some sections, they were unmanageably crowded in none. Less than 7 per cent of those six to fourteen years old were foreign born and 56 per cent were of foreign or mixed parentage. As will be brought out later, but 4 or 5 per cent were in the high schools, and about 7 per cent in the kindergartens, leaving the great mass in the elementary grades. To these elementary school children it is natural to give our earliest attention, and it will be convenient to take up first the large minority, namely, about 18,000 children, enrolled in 1907–08 in Roman Catholic parish schools.

II

ROMAN CATHOLIC PARISH SCHOOLS IN PITTSBURGH

In the report of the parish schools in the diocese of Pittsburgh for the year of our inquiry (1908) we find the following statement:

"In the school year 1907–08, 21.4 per cent of the children attending parish and public schools in Allegheny County, and 26 per cent of those in the city of Pittsburgh, were pupils in parish schools. In other words, more than one out of every five in Allegheny County, and more than one out of every four in the city of Pittsburgh, enjoyed a Christian education in parish schools."

The figures given in the school reports of city and state and in the Roman Catholic year book substantially confirm this statement as to numbers. In nearly every residence section in Pittsburgh, the most prosperous not excepted, the Roman Catholic church is to be found; but here, as everywhere, it is the special companion of the poor and the working classes. In the crowded foreign quarters, above the low and dingy dwellings looms the great edifice holding aloft its cross and flanked in nearly every case by the school building and the house of the sisterhood in charge of the school. These schools are growing, not in numbers only, but also in standards of teaching and in efficiency of organization, and consequently in the influence they exert on the large Roman Catholic population in the city. And yet, though in an important sense a public influence, they are private institutions; they receive no share of the funds derived from taxation; they are neither controlled by nor accountable to city educational authorities; their affairs are not matters of press publicity. For these and other reasons their character and influence, significant as they are, are little known to non-Catholics.

This division of schools along religious lines must be counted among the elements which, as we shall see, made for a broken frontage in the attack by the forces for education upon ignorance and illiteracy. The unevenness in school equipment and training among the different parishes tended to augment the general confusion of standards and service in the Pittsburgh situation.

Pittsburgh and Allegheny form part of the diocese of Pittsburgh, which includes a number of outlying towns with large

foreign populations. There were, in 1910, in Greater Pittsburgh alone, 66 Roman Catholic parishes, of which 51 had organized schools. Eighteen different orders were engaged in this work and, in addition, the Brothers of Mary had a large school for boys in Pittsburgh and another in Allegheny, with a total attendance of about 600. The Sisters of Mercy, of Charity, and of St. Joseph are American orders; the Sisters of Divine Providence, Notre Dame, St. Benedict, and St. Francis, and the Brothers of Mary are teachers in the German schools. More than two-thirds of the children who go to parochial schools attend those of the communities named, while the remaining children are divided among schools of the other orders, usually foreign, and a few schools in charge of lay teachers.

Roman Catholics have formed an important element in the population of Pittsburgh and Allegheny from the early part of the nineteenth century. During the 50's they came in small numbers from Canada and in large numbers from Ireland, and during and after the period of the Civil War, in frequent family migrations from southern and central Germany. More recently the rapid increase of immigrants from central and southern Europe has brought new elements, radically affecting certain conditions in the parish schools.

In 1835, one year after the act of legislature establishing free common schools in Pittsburgh, the first parish school for Roman Catholic children was opened by Sisters of Charity in connection with St. Paul's Church, and for more than ten years this was the only important school under Roman Catholic control. In 1848 the School Sisters of Notre Dame, a teaching order of German origin, were invited by the German Catholic Church of St. Philomena to open a school in their parish. This school, with that of St. Paul's, the latter after its earlier years directed by the Sisters of Mercy and the Franciscan Brothers, continued until after 1850 to be the two most flourishing parish schools in Pittsburgh. St. Paul's represented the "American" Roman Catholic organization, St. Philomena's the "German," a distinction which remained after schools of both connections had multiplied, and which is maintained until the present day. While the language of the "German" schools is English and their methods are American, they are directed by religious orders whose members are of German birth or extraction, and who, with the congregations they serve, adhere in both secular and religious affairs to German habits and views with the tenacity characteristic of this population throughout Pennsylvania.

Numbers and Nationalities

While forty or fifty years ago, therefore, children of American, Irish, and German parentage made up the great majority of pupils in the parish schools, could the young voices that now, morning by morning, repeat in their class rooms the prayers of their church be heard in the languages of their fathers, the Babel of tongues would represent all quarters of Europe and sound a strange note or two from the borders of Asia and Africa. Italians, Bohemians, Poles, Slavs, Lithuanians have now their own churches served by native priests, and their own schools conducted by sisters of foreign orders, who in many cases speak English with difficulty to pupils imperfectly familiar with its meaning.

The following table shows the enrollment and attendance in the parish schools of Greater Pittsburgh from 1905 to 1909:

TABLE 5.—ENROLLMENT AND ATTENDANCE IN THE PARISH SCHOOLS OF GREATER PITTSBURGH FOR THE PERIOD FROM 1905 TO 1909 INCLUSIVE

Year	Pupils Enrolled			*Average Attendance*
	Boys	*Girls*	*Total*	
1905	9,823	9,750	19,573	17,511
1906	10,353	10,411	20,764	18,614
1907	10,758	10,898	21,656	20,509
1908	10,935	11,030	21,965	19,795
1909	11,279	11,460	22,739	20,705

Table 6 shows the number of parish school pupils in the various groups of schools—American, German, Polish, and so forth,—from 1905 to 1909, with the percentage of increase for each group.

In general the children in the various schools were by birth or extraction of the nationality whose name is associated with the school, but this is not true of the American schools, where a large though unknown proportion were of foreign parentage. It is therefore safe to assume that a substantial majority of all pupils in the parish schools were children of foreign-born parents among whom—leaving out of account the Irish, whose offspring are of course in the "American" schools—Germans largely

predominate, while Poles rank second and probably outnumber all other nationalities combined. One of the most significant facts brought out by the table is that, apart from the small group in the Italian schools, which almost quadrupled in the five years, the greatest growth was in the American schools. These schools show, indeed, an increase of 23 per cent compared with 10 per cent among children in all foreign schools combined. This, however, by no means disproves the theory that the increase of 16 per cent in the total parish school enrollment was chiefly due to immigration. In any case, the vital fact stands forth that considerably more than half the children in Pittsburgh's parish schools were under foreign influence.

TABLE 6.—PUPILS ENROLLED IN THE PARISH SCHOOLS OF GREATER PITTSBURGH, DURING THE PERIOD FROM 1905 TO 1909 INCLUSIVE, BY RACIAL CHARACTER OF SCHOOLS

Racial Character of Schools	Pupils in Schools					*Percentage of Increase (+) or Decrease (−) in Number of Pupils in 4 Years*
	1905	*1906*	*1907*	*1908*	*1909*	
American	8,871	9,462	9,696	10,155	10,925	+23.2
German	7,677	7,945	8,265	8,035	8,021	+ 4.5
Polish	2,643	2,756	3,001	2,994	2,984	+13.0
Lithuanian	165	171	198	207	188	+13.9
Bohemian	123	143	142	132	122	− .8
Italian	94	287	354	346	367	+290.4
Kreiner[a]	—	—	—	96	132	—
All schools	19,573	20,764	21,656	21,965	22,739	+16.2

[a] Slovenians from Carniola. See Balch, Emily Greene: Our Slavic Fellow Citizens, p. 148. New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1910.

Administration

Until 1893 no steps had been taken to systematize the work in these schools. Each teaching community had its own plan of study and its own methods, and direction of the schools was left entirely to individual pastors and teachers. Very few of the schools were graded and no uniform course of study had even been proposed. Preparation for confirmation was the absorbing

end in a majority of the schools, and little attempt was made to retain the pupils after their first communion.

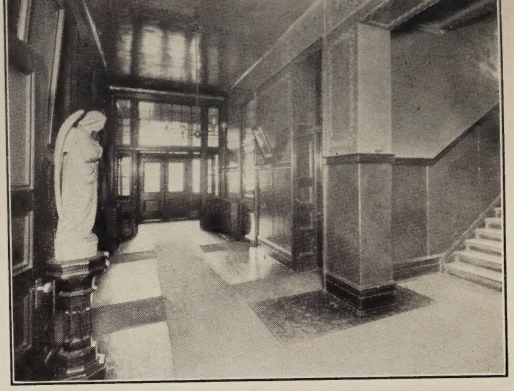
At the Sixth Diocesan Synod held in 1893, a school board and a board of examiners of teachers was constituted and good results were immediately in evidence. Except for a short period in 1896, these boards until 1904 were without anyone authorized to see that regulations were observed. In 1904 the Reverend Thomas Devlin was appointed secretary of the board and superintendent of the schools. Father Devlin showed absorbing interest in their welfare, and carried out many far-reaching improvements. After his resignation in 1909, the present superintendent, the Reverend Hugh Boyle, was appointed.

The school board under the control of which the parish schools were placed in 1893 consisted of 15 Catholic clergymen. The executive officer was the superintendent. This board suggested a course of study and gave general supervision to the conduct of the schools and the training of the teachers. The diocese was divided into a number of districts for each of which two members of the board acted as visitors, inspecting the schools from time to time and reporting suggestions to the board at its regular meeting. The particular direction of any one school was, however, in the hands of the priest of the parish. By the regulations of the diocese he was required to visit each class room at least once a week and to give personal direction to school matters. The parish priest constituted, in fact, a local school board consisting of one member, and as is the case with other local boards, he was sometimes indifferent to his duties, sometimes by training or nature unfitted to perform them. The scholarly priest may be estimable in character and aims, but wholly unacquainted with the nature of children or with approved methods of instruction. In such cases the actual management of the school is likely to rest in the hands of the sister in charge or of the lay teachers employed. Intelligent and diligent oversight by some parish priests contrasts with the failure of others to exercise such supervision.

Lights and Shadows

The physical equipment found in the parish schools was of all varieties, some truly excellent, some unbelievably bad. Many buildings had not been planned for school purposes and could be made neither fit nor sanitary; the limited space and the unhygienic condition of the class rooms were their most serious faults.

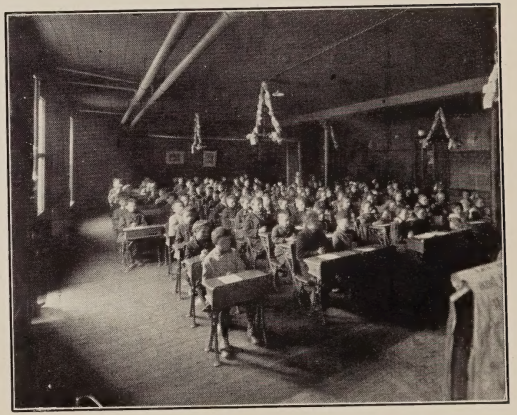
Exterior; openings under windows show manner in which fresh air is admitted to the class rooms



Main corridor (light but only one stairway)

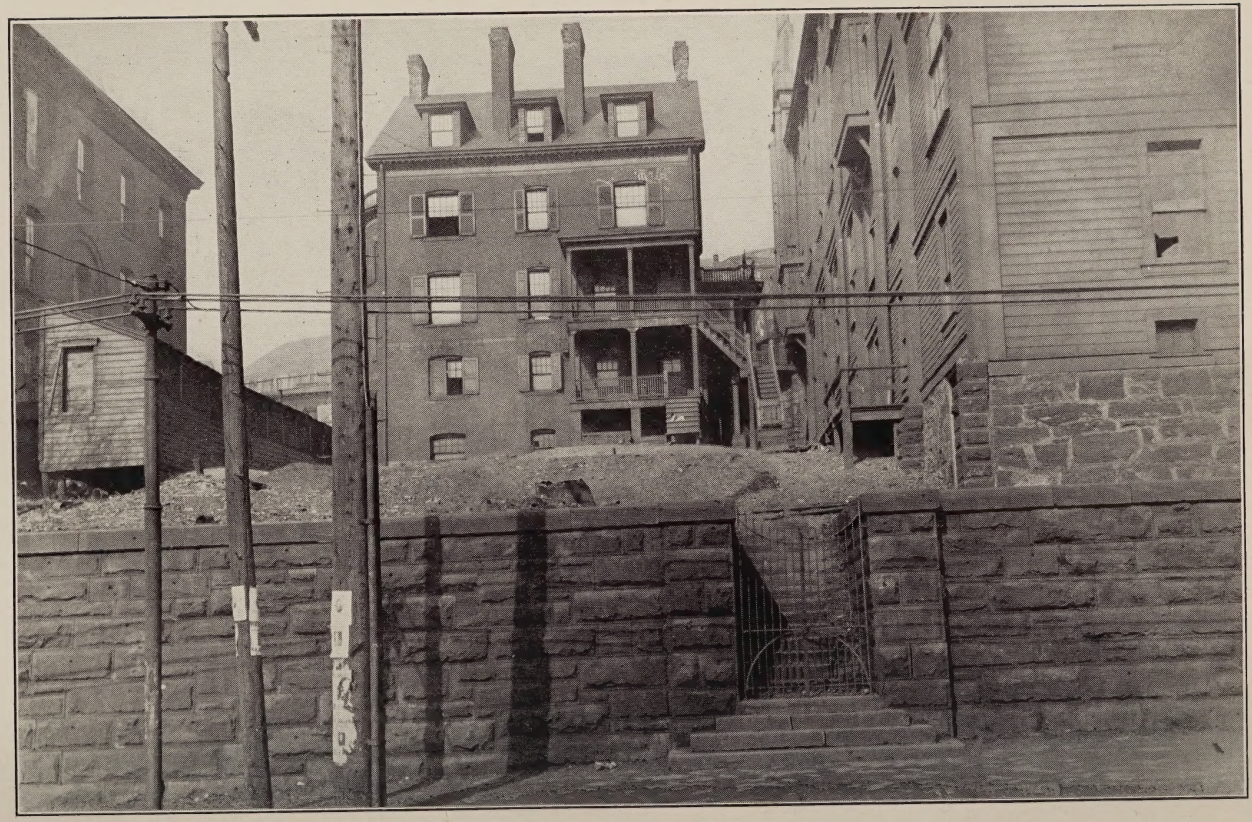
Epiphany Parochial School: A Modern Plant

Epiphany: Third Grade class room; ample natural and artificial light; sufficient free space



St. Agnes: First Grade Room, in which there were 505 sittings and 141 pupils enrolled. One teacher had charge of this room

Contrasts in Parochial School Equipment



St. Agnes Parochial School

The two basement floors in the church at the right were used for school purposes. Toilets for both sexes in dilapidated wooden buildings at left

Many of the rooms could not be properly ventilated, and the light, especially in the industrial sections of the city, was often extremely deficient. The superintendent justly remarked in his report for 1907, "no excuse can be offered in extenuation of the neglect of ordinary sanitary requirements. In every school room there should be sufficient light, heat, and ventilation, and every building should be provided with adequate facilities for cleanliness and proper drainage." The toilets and other arrangements were often dangerously defective, a reproach both to municipal and parish supervision.

These conditions were due partly to a want of intelligence among those in charge as to what constitutes proper school conditions; partly to the difficulty of procuring funds for an adequate school plant; while added to these reasons was the absence of direct control by central authority over physical conditions in the individual schools. Neither the diocesan board nor the superintendent might interfere beyond a certain point, especially where questions of expenditure were involved. The schools received no aid from general church funds either for buildings or for teachers. In the "German" and "foreign" schools a fee of 50 cents per month was charged for each pupil, and in the larger schools the income thus derived amounted to between $2,500 and $3,000 for the school year. In the "American" schools no fee was charged but the parish funds were drawn upon, and these funds were often supplemented by money paid the sisters for special instruction in music and other branches. Church entertainments were also sometimes held for the benefit of the school, and private benevolence frequently found an outlet in this direction. But through whatever method derived, the whole expense of parish school maintenance was borne by the people of the parish, and the equipment could therefore be only such as they could afford unless some benevolent person gave large assistance. Such persons were infrequently found in needy parishes, and the burden of school support fell heavily upon those least able to sustain it. Moreover, the more well-to-do parishioners were as property owners paying taxes for the support of public schools and serving on local committees; in fact, in several districts the local school board was made up largely or wholly of Roman Catholics. The necessity to maintain two sets of school buildings doubled their burdens while it divided their interests, and the result was unfairness in one direction or damage in both. Notwithstanding the proverbial generosity of Catholics in church matters, the urgency of the need of higher standards of school equipment was not likely greatly to stir a parish already struggling to maintain its church building, its parsonage, and the other necessary expenses of an organized religious body.

Yet, though the physical equipment of a school be poor, sanitary

conditions need not be so. To make school premises hygienic, however, requires desire to do so and intelligence in the school management, together with adequate inspection from public health officers and rigid application of their rules. The first requisite is oftener absent than present in local boards of any sort, but it must be remembered that many parish schools were taught and managed by people distinctively non-American in training and ideals and sometimes determined to remain so. Among some of these recent settlers the simplest principles of personal and social hygiene were not practiced and the laws of sanitation were unknown, and this neglect and ignorance were conspicuously dangerous to health and morals where a number of children were brought into close contact in the rooms of an unsanitary building. The case would not have been so hopeless had the health laws been adequate and well enforced, but in Pittsburgh, as elsewhere, sanitary inspection was insufficient and sometimes inefficient as well. Even where it was adequate there was undoubtedly a special leniency shown the parish schools as being in a sense charitable institutions.

In contrast with conditions which commonly prevailed, the manner of construction and equipment of not a few of their buildings showed high intelligence. The Cathedral School, the Epiphany, St. Peter's, St. John the Baptist's, St. Mary of the Mount, and others, were examples of what school buildings should be, and ranked with the best public schools in the city. It appeared inevitable that better equipped schools would continue to be the exception, however, and that the standards of safety and convenience repeatedly presented by the superintending bodies would be long unrealized. The most promising source of help in altering this state of things lies in the exercise of church authority deputed to expert sanitary supervisors and backed up by municipal law fully enforced, yet the day of such a comprehensive forward movement seemed far distant as parish after parish was visited by us in the course of our inquiry.

Overcrowding

The problem of proper grading in the parish schools had been for several years a matter of deep concern to the superintendents. Schools employing advanced methods had attained improvement in the classification of children, but others were still struggling with difficulties arising from congestion in the class rooms and not infrequently from the methods of untrained teachers.

In the lower grades especially, many of the rooms were overcrowded, and not only the published reports but actual conditions showed that a majority of the younger children were in classes numbering from 60 to 100, in charge of one teacher. The proper distinction of grade in such cases is impossible. In St. Agnes' School conducted by the Sisters of Mercy, and now happily disbanded, 121 children were reported to be in the first grade in the charge of one sister. In the Most Holy Name School, Allegheny, and St. Kieran's, Pittsburgh, 124 and 108 first grade pupils respectively were in 1909 taught by one teacher.*

The superintendent in his reports emphasizes this condition of crowding in the schools and rightly calls it "a great evil." To quote one of his reports, "However commendable the desire of the faithful to have parish schools may be, the Church insists that they be built and conducted in such a way as to avoid all risk of endangering the bodily and mental health of pupils and teachers. Overcrowded schools are congested on account of want of room, or from lack of sufficient number of teachers. Whatever its cause may be, effort should be made to relieve the congestion without delay. As long as it lasts it will be impossible to get satisfactory results in the work of the schools."

It might be supposed that such conditions would be found only in the poorer parishes. This, however, was not the case. The Epiphany School in Pittsburgh had one of the best planned and equipped buildings in the city, yet we found here two teachers for 182 pupils in the first grade. In St. Peter's, Allegheny, an otherwise well equipped building, 173 first grade children were taught by two sisters only. These figures are based on the enrollment, but it is the pride of the parish schools that the average attendance seldom falls below 90 per cent.

A suggested remedy was the half-day session, which parents of the working classes always reluctantly accept. Another was the elimination from the first grade of many children under six years of age sent to school with older brothers and sisters, often because the mothers were at work. These unclassified and restless little ones were a great hindrance in the class room and were themselves seriously injured by the insanitary conditions which resulted from overcrowding. The kindergarten is the obvious plan to relieve congestion and insure right conditions for these little children. No kindergartens were, however, conducted in connection with parish schools; the difficulty and expense of obtaining trained teachers and the want of room in most of the buildings were alleged as reasons.

In addition to the difficulties already noted, the problem of grading and distribution would have been easier of solution had the principal in

* See Report of Parish Schools of Pittsburgh Diocese, 1909.

each school been relieved from holding classes. In most cases she had not sufficient opportunity for close inspection of class work or knowledge of class personnel based on first hand observation of facts. This obviously unwise arrangement was the result of a false economy.

The distribution by grades of the pupils in the parish schools of Pittsburgh is shown in the accompanying table.

TABLE 7.—PUPILS ENROLLED IN THE PARISH SCHOOLS, BY GRADES. GREATER PITTSBURGH, 1909

Grade	Pupils	
	Number	*Per Cent*
First	5,749	25.3
Second	4,235	18.6
Third	3,990	17.5
Fourth	2,972	13.1
Fifth	2,187	9.6
Sixth	1,538	6.8
Seventh	1,127	5.0
Eighth	658	2.9
High school	283 [a]	1.2
Total	22,739	100.0

[a] This does not include pupils who take the entrance examinations and enter the public high school.

The most conspicuous fact brought out by this tabulation is that one-fourth of all parish school pupils were in the first grade, while three-fourths were in grades one to four.

The excessive number in the first grade is due to the presence of very young children and of non-English-speaking immigrants. The falling-off after the fourth grade was very pronounced. Since Pittsburgh children must legally attend school until they are fourteen, this falling-off indicates either slow progress, large migration to other schools, or illegal leaving of school. There is, in fact, at about this period of school life, in addition to the illegal leaving, constant migration to the public schools, as well as in the reverse direction, an ebb and flow occasioned by the requirements for confirmation. We have no data to determine on which side was the balance of numbers. Comparison of the distribution of Pittsburgh parish school children with that in parish schools of

other cities shows in Pittsburgh an organization superior to the majority, since retention of pupils to the seventh and eighth grades, or preparation for the high schools, is in many cities not attempted.

Course of Study

The course of study suggested by the Pittsburgh diocesan school board was that approved by the archdiocese of Philadelphia.

In addition to the ordinary English branches, elementary instruction in drawing and in singing was almost universal in the schools; the latter was especially emphasized and modern methods were successfully used. Sewing and domestic science were taught to girls in some schools, but the latter could not be introduced in the more conservative parishes. Although the annual reports of the superintendent urged provision for manual training, it had not yet been established; the outlay for equipment and trained instruction seemed to the parish boards an unjustifiable expense. Neither was regular physical training given in any of the parish schools, though some teachers gave breathing and other exercises in their class rooms. Few buildings had rooms or space sufficient for recreation or exercise even at recess; in fact, the lack of attention to the physical development of the children, while not confined to parish schools, was a conspicuous fault in their educational scheme. One cause for this omission may lie in the habits of life of the sisters, which unfit them to be leaders in physical exercise; other causes are the cost of equipment and of outside instructors. Medical examination of children in these schools would promote understanding of the value of physical training, but this measure had not been introduced in them.

Among the most valuable courses in the curriculum was the course in civics arranged by Father Devlin. It laid stress on the sanctity and value of the family relations as the center of community life; on personal purity, honesty, and industry as related to the common welfare; on the respect and aid to be given public service departments, and on the unrighteousness of claiming the privileges of citizenship without fulfilling its duties. The spirit and content of this course in civics were of the highest ethical value,—a value, however, that would have been doubled had the children been formed into junior civic leagues, with some actual responsibility for neighborhood welfare.

The subjoined table of subject and time allotment was arranged by the Pittsburgh superintendent. Copies of it were furnished to all schools, and in many of them it was practically

followed. In others, want of sufficient or of properly trained teachers hindered its use.

TABLE 8.—PROVISIONAL TIME TABLE FOR PARISH SCHOOLS. DIOCESE OF PITTSBURGH

Study or Exercise	Number of Minutes a Week Assigned to Each Study or Exercise in Grade							
	I	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*	*VI*	*VII*	*VIII*
Religion	250	250	250	250	200	200	150	150
Spoken and written English	230	230	230	230	250	250	270	200
Reading and literature	420	420	345	235	205	200	200	270
Arithmetic	200	200	200	275	250	200	140	200
Geography	..	..	75	100	125	150	150	100
History	..	..	..	30	90	120	150	150
Drawing	100	100	100	90	90	90	90	90
Physiology and hygiene	50	50	50	40	40	40	40	40
Elementary science	50	50	50	30	30	30	30	40
Civics	..	..	..	20	20	20	20	40
Vocal music	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	60
Recess	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,440	1,440

Character and Training of the Teachers

The parish schools were usually conducted by sisterhoods of which the chief orders have been mentioned. The lay teachers, of whom there were a few in the schools of the city, were mainly employed for subjects outside the regular curriculum.

The teaching orders received a uniform salary of $20 a month for each sister, a sum barely sufficient for their maintenance. Outside of the few teaching orders not many women have entered the communities with other than the religious life in view; teaching is frequently an after and incidental task laid upon them. Since in some of them the capacity and in others the education for this work are wanting, the result is shown in inferior methods and in many cases in actual ignorance of the subject matter of secular instruction.

Instruction in Catholic doctrine and practice is the primary reason for the existence of parish schools, and to lose sight of this is to forget the very purpose for which they are founded. But

in the United States even among the Catholics of foreign birth there is a growing recognition that training similar to that given in the public schools is a necessity. The rapid increase in numbers in the parish schools, the fact that they exist in the same localities with public schools in charge of trained teachers, and the discontent of American or Americanized parents with inferior secular instruction for their children, have led Catholic authorities to urge upon the sisterhoods higher standards of training for their teachers.

Realizing that as standards advance it will be increasingly difficult to meet the demands of the schools for trained instructors, the parish school management in the Pittsburgh diocese was at the time of our inquiry urging normal training as an imperative necessity.

A large and finely equipped Mother House for the Sisters of Mercy had been erected in the educational center of the city at a cost of $300,000. Here a normal training school had been established under the charge of Sister Gertrude, a talented and enthusiastic teacher. Girls from the parish school who showed, with an inclination to the religious life, special proficiency in study, were the chief recruits for this normal training class. Mother houses with training schools on a similar plan had been provided by the Sisters of Charity, the Sisters of St. Francis, the Sisters of St. Joseph, and the Sisters of Divine Providence. In addition, some sisters of the American orders attended the institute meetings of the public school teachers and some attended Saturday morning normal classes. All this evinced desire among the advanced sisterhoods to improve the standards of teaching.

In the less advanced and the "foreign" schools, however, the instruction fell conspicuously below modern standards. There was, it is true, a diocesan board of examiners, and certificates from this board were required for all teachers; a competent member of the sisterhood was also appointed as inspector for each community which was in charge of five or more schools. Nevertheless, not only were there lay teachers in the diocese who had no certificates, but the pressure of numbers in the schools had led to the admission of many unequipped sisters as teachers. With all these efforts it seemed certain that the supply of properly trained instructors could never be fully met by the sisterhoods, and that the employment of lay teachers recruited from Roman Catholic pupils graduated from the normal schools of the city was demanded.

Need for Public Supervision

While recognizing that improvement had been and would be made in the caliber of the teachers, our inquiry showed that the mass of children in parish schools were under an educational disadvantage. In spite of all the criticisms which will be found lodged in the succeeding pages around the matter and method of the public schools, these schools presented the recognized standards of the state, a fact expressed in the law requiring children to attend a public school or "some other where an equivalent course of study is provided." The parish schools as a body did not, and so long as standards continued to be set by the individual parishes could not, present that equivalent. Not only were the majority of the teaching sisters untrained in accepted educational methods, but even those that took normal courses seemed in some directions severely limited. The boys and girls under their care must be prepared to meet the actual facts of life, and it is the discussion of these facts that gives class-room instruction its vital power; otherwise it has none. The majority of the sisters were not only inexperienced in the actual world, but were bound to maintain that inexperience, while not a few were unfamiliar with the elements of history, science, or hygiene.

It must be remembered, also, that whatever else be taught, one subject must find first place in the day's program of the parish teacher; namely, the doctrines and formulæ of the church.

The time schedule* in force at the time of this inquiry allotted for the first four grades fifty minutes a day to this subject. Recent articles in Roman Catholic publications have discussed very frankly the lack of intelligent method characterizing the religious instruction in the parish schools and urged the use of object and illustrative teaching as a substitute for the wearisome process of teaching by rote the prayers, catechism, and other forms. The common sense of this is obvious to educators but it will not appeal to sisters who can not illustrate and are not familiar with "objects." The formulæ *must be learned* and are learned, but at the cost of other subjects. The common testimony of public school teachers in Pittsburgh—Catholic as well as Protestant—was that the child who left a public school at twelve or thirteen to attend a parish school for a year or two of preparation for confirmation, re-entered very little ad-

* See p. 238.

vanced beyond the grade he had left. This could scarcely be otherwise; the school time was choked with the religious subjects. It is true that where a child begins in the parish school and continues there through the confirmation year, a more rational distribution of the religious teaching is possible and was practiced by some excellent teachers.

It must be reiterated that these characteristics of the parish schools were not unrecognized by the church authorities; and that, since the few excellently managed schools did not alter the general status, the continued demand, in face of these facts, that Roman Catholic children attend parish schools, was obviously based upon the conviction that the academic loss was balanced by the religious gain. No endeavor will be made here to combat that view; we wish simply to emphasize the fact that there was academic loss, and that whatever the growing merits of parish schools, the state has permitted them to offer thousands of Pittsburgh children an education below its own standards.

This review of the parish schools in Pittsburgh can not fail to make prominent certain excellencies balanced by grave blemishes, both largely due to peculiarities of organization. There was evident in the supervising authorities a knowledge of present-day educational demands, shown in advanced ideas with respect to physical equipment, the grading of the children, the training of teachers, and the educational content of the curriculum. "It is not the will of the church," says the superintendent, "that her children should attend schools which are below the standard in efficiency, or which are a menace to the bodily or mental health of the children." Yet, with this conceded, it seemed certain that the faults recognized could not be eliminated with the schools on their existing basis.

The American practice of religious liberty permits religious organizations to establish schools, but so far the state has not, as in France and Germany, retained the right of supervision over these schools and insisted on uniform standards of instruction. Were this legal provision in force for religious and private organizations, Protestant and Catholic alike, it might close the doors of certain schools below the standards but it would, as no other measure can, enable diocesan authorities to realize their worthy aims for the parish schools.

III

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM OF PITTSBURGH

The common schools of Pennsylvania were until 1912 under a system of management in its essential features the device of nearly eighty years ago. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century free schools for "pauper" children of the state, chiefly those living in the cities and towns, were opened and supported by the Society of Friends and by the Presbyterians. The growth and popularity of these schools led to the formation of the Society for the Promotion of Public Schools, and in 1831 a bill was presented by this society to the legislature petitioning the state to establish free common schools.

The document was signed by many towns, among them Allegheny, though not by her neighbor Pittsburgh. The legislature was so far moved by the petition as to pass an act providing a state school fund, and in the session of 1833–34 a joint committee was appointed to devise a system of general education. The men selected for this undertaking were prominent citizens, but were not especially familiar with the practical side of education. In time, however, they framed a bill; it was hotly discussed, finally approved as "thoroughly democratic," and passed in 1834.

After the break-up of the legislature, there developed in some sections a strong opposition to the free school movement, entailing as it would, increase of taxation. This opposition bore fruit in the house of representatives the following session in an attempt to repeal the law. It was on this occasion that the young member from Adams County, Thaddeus Stevens by name, supported the law and the cause of general education which was its object with an impassioned and incisive oratory that astonished the house, secured the safety of the bill, and won for himself a high reputation in politics. The speech was quoted everywhere; there is no question that its forceful arguments greatly influenced school legislation all over the country. Hence "Thad." Stevens was known throughout his militant career, in which, however, school interests had little share, as the "Saviour of the Public Schools."

Scarcely was the law put in operation before the defects of

its cumbrous machinery of local board government were apparent, and a revision was made in 1838, without however changing its general character. It divided the whole state into school districts corresponding to the minor political divisions,—in cities, of course, the wards. At each annual local election the citizens were to elect two of their number, resident property owners, to serve three years as school directors. By this method was constituted a board of six members. This board was to fix the amount of the school tax for the district, elect the principals and teachers, hire the janitors, erect and maintain the school houses, and apportion the jobs and contracts appertaining thereto. The salaries of the teachers were provided for by a state appropriation. Such was the "thoroughly democratic system" which with a few minor changes continued to be part of the history of almost seventy years of the nineteenth century, and which has made a ten years' record into the twentieth.

Twenty years served to bring out so glaringly the inequalities and defects of a self-sufficient board without supervision or co-operation that in 1854 revision was again made by the legislature. And again revision did not alter the law as a whole. A state superintendent was indeed provided, but the powers of the local boards were increased to equal those of corporate bodies; they could now borrow money, sell and buy property, sue and be sued. It was certainly the intent of the law to make education, and good education, available for every child in the state, else was Representative Stevens' flaming oratory a mere flash in the pan. Yet in 1868, thirty years after the law became effective, not only were many thousands of children found to be unschooled, but for over 3,000 children no school provision whatever had been made. Of that early unsupervised period it was said by a former state superintendent:

"The wonder is that under the circumstances the system made progress in any direction; that it did so is greatly owing to the fact that on many of the school boards were active, intelligent men, full of zeal for the success of free schools, earnest, large-hearted, broad-minded school directors, whose worth the people recognized by keeping them constantly in their service as guardians of their children's interest."

These remarks, quite without the writer's intention, clearly enough point out what proved to be the weakest link in the system as it persisted into a twentieth century industrial city. In the early nineteenth century the people were predominantly of Anglo-Saxon or of German stock, without violent contrast in economic level, schooled in at least the elementary branches, and sharing a practical unity in educational ideals. The school management of one sub-district differed not much from that of others. The local boards not only elected but certificated the teacher; there was no city superintendent; and the housing was such as seemed to the board tolerable or fit. That this housing was far from ideal anywhere in Pennsylvania is proven by the issuance by the state superintendent in 1855 of a bulky illustrated volume on school architecture, a copy of which was sent to every local board in the state. Many of its criticisms and suggestions were still applicable to school buildings in use in 1908, not a few of which in fact dated from before the issuance of that volume. That the suggestions were not always acted upon but further illustrates the fixed habits of district independence and unaccountability in school affairs which prevailed. Yet on the whole the system judged by the standards of those early times produced in Pittsburgh results perhaps above the average of the day.

During the years following the Civil War, great civic and social changes swept over Pittsburgh. A solid and influential body of descendants from the early population still remained, but the incomers who took up homes in many wards differed in race, traditions, and ideals from one another and from the early Americans. Coincident with this change and clash of races came also the rapid growth of public service functions in our cities, and the political corruption bound up in it, in which resident and incoming stock have played their respective parts. The general plane of municipal affairs, however low, is higher than in those quarters where many downward forces are at work, and where there is least coherent resistance to them.

By the opening of the twentieth century, what the school system had assumed to be true of the Pittsburgh people seventy or even fifty years before was utterly false. There was no longer homogeneousness of any kind; instead there was conflict in the

aims and conduct of life. Nor was this the world-old individual variance; it was a group variance, made persistent through the maintenance of distinct racial or class habits and thoughts. That the new population rapidly gained similarity in superficial usages does not, of course, alter this fact. A group of people has no unity in ideals simply because its members live on the same trolley line. The immigrant who, after a few years in a foreign district of Pittsburgh, acquires the right to cast his ballot for a ward official, has gained a new habit, but not necessarily an understanding or fellowship in civic matters. Social agencies in Pittsburgh, as elsewhere, are trying to weave this new resistant woof into the pattern of America; here and there a bit of more or less durable texture is the outcome of their pains. For the final fabric we cling with a desperate optimism to the hope which lies in the children, the children under right training. In Pittsburgh the training of the children was left at the mercy of every local entanglement in the shuttlings of civic life.

The Sub-district Board System at its Best

Under the old Pennsylvania school law, Pittsburgh grew to no less than 46 sub-districts, each controlled by a board of six directors. Of these directors the law presupposed many things; as, that they were familiar with the requirements of a modern school plant, or competent to choose someone who was, for it held them responsible for building and maintenance; that they knew what good teaching meant, for they selected the teachers; that they understood the elements of sanitary up-keep, for they selected janitor and caretakers; and, to these special qualifications, that they brought in addition business ability and experience, for they dispensed the revenues of a complicated enterprise. Above all else, personal integrity was presupposed of the school director, for his position was prominent, his example powerful in the community and upon the children. Given a good and intelligent citizen, direct responsibility for a child will make him a better and wiser one. This drawing out of capacity and disinterested civic devotion was one of the unquestioned merits of the system of local control. But such a system did not prove a solvent for the city as a whole. It failed to bring the best and wisest into

official responsibility where, we shall see, children needed them most.

It was the group of school districts in the wide plateau stretching east and north of Schenley Park and the Carnegie Library which represented local management at its best. In these districts additional advantages were secured for a child population already exceptionally favored by home and neighborhood environment.

The region is crossed by rocky ridges and ravines, but contains extensive levels, occupied by comfortable and luxurious homes. On the outskirts and in less desirable quarters are clustered poorer, sometimes even wretched dwellings, while on both sides of Penn Avenue as it curves away from Allegheny to cut east and southeast through the plateau, is a busy retail business section. Native Americans or Germans whom prosperity has urged out of the South Side chiefly occupy the better residences.

Here in a broad band, running from south to north, lay the Colfax, Sterrett, and Liberty school districts in the twenty-second and twentieth wards, while the Homewood, Lincoln, and Hiland districts covered the twenty-first and nineteenth wards and included a large part of East Liberty. That among the 36 members responsible for school interests in this section there had been the "active, intelligent men, full of zeal for the success of the schools," upon whom the state law counted, was evidenced by fine school sites and buildings, the personnel of the teaching force, and a general liberality in the interpretation of the term education. There were men who had given the free time of the best years of their lives. Most of the local school directors in these groups were unwilling to be identified with a central management which they considered on the whole degraded and corrupt. They refused to be candidates for its membership and devoted their energies sometimes for years to what they held to be the best good of the schools in their own neighborhood. Some of them, viewing the prospect of their own district submerged in a centralized system, conducted on no higher level than the worst wards, were as jealous of a change as the petty ward politicians themselves.

The civic pride that halts at the ward boundary may be simply a village pride, but it results in some good things for the village. There is much force in the claim that a central direction working through heads of departments too frequently neglects local needs, owing to the delays of a red tape process; as, to quote one from many instances, in the case where a New York school building, crowded with unbathed children, was equipped

with school baths only to have them unused for a whole season for want of a lock and key perennially forgotten by the department of supplies. The delays of bureaucracy are unaccountable and exasperating, and their sources can seldom be reached by the chief sufferers. But in an enlightened central control these are accidental departures from the standards of efficiency; they are not inseparable from the system as are the inequalities in local control.

General Run of Directors

Good school plants and devoted directors were occasionally to be found outside the particular group described; but they worked against heavy odds and they knew it. They were chosen at the regular ward elections held each February. A room in the school building usually served as the polling place; the vigor of electioneering and the character of the voting differed in no wise from the ordinary ward occasion of the kind, except that since the school directorship, though unsalaried, was held to be the most valuable ward position, the interest was correspondingly keen.

Not only did the general run of men elected lack the intelligence or the experience to direct school matters, but many were conspicuously corrupt; ward "politicians" who desired office on the school board as a step to more important places where with larger opportunities they would serve the city as unfaithfully as they had served the school. Tricks of graft learned on the school board were not forgotten on the City Council. Men of a different sort recognized this fact so fully that in most wards they would not run for school office; or, if in a spirit of civic patriotism they permitted their names to be used, they often resigned in disgust at the associations to which they were forced. Even in the better resident sections the half dozen members of the local board were seldom all moderately fit for their office.

A canvass was made of the occupations of 276 persons making up the sub-district boards of Pittsburgh in 1908. Outside of such customary elements as shopkeepers, mechanics, and professional men, the list was significant both in what it included and what it excluded. A glimpse of these tendencies will be gained in running the eye from left to right across the following table of representative boards:

Colfax Ward 22	*Liberty Ward 20*	*Springfield Ward 12*	*Franklin Wards 7–8*	*Monongahela Ward 33*
Banker	Doctor	Tailor	Druggist	Manager
Auditor	Ice dealer	Policeman	Tobacco dealer	Grocer
Banker	Doctor	Barber	Bartender	Mechanic
Oculist	Stationer	Machinist	Clothing mfr.	Mechanic
Housemover	Attorney	Clerk	City official	Laborer
Accountant	Doctor	Bartender	Bartender	Bartender

Among the 276 persons there was no woman, no clergyman of any denomination, and none of the professors or instructors in the Pittsburgh academies or colleges devoted a trained intelligence to the city's school interests. Almost no business men enjoying their latter days of leisure lent their experience to matters of school finance; but there were traveling men, trainmen, and conductors, and others whose occupations raise the question whether they could give consecutive service.

The saloon keeper, always prominent in ward politics, had his place, and there were barkeepers not a few; and there were day laborers and a "loafer" of no definite business whatever.

The list included a large number of men holding public positions,—which in Pittsburgh meant political jobs,—such as detectives, policemen, letter carriers, and clerks in the city departments. The significance of their dual positions was put in a letter to the school bulletin, signed by a Pittsburgh teacher. It ran:

"I know of no less than six cases in my own little ward where city or county positions were bestowed because the recipient had proved his political influence by being elected to the position of school director. Three of these were the price, in part, of vote and active support for an incompetent principal. Three of the present board came into place with the avowed intention of applying for a political position. One of these has been placed, the other two have applications on file, and a fourth holds a city position, received since he entered the board. If a school director were absolutely ineligible to political office, either elective or appointive, and a public servant of the federal, state, county, or city branches (the ward graft includes them all) were ineligible to the office of director, it would help us a little."

Rudiments of a Central System

Local boards, so constituted, dominated the school situation in Pittsburgh. Before reviewing their activities in detail it will make things clearer to note how they were nominally bound to-

gether into a city system and the exact scope of the central authority.

Meeting as a joint body, the 276 sub-district directors elected every three years a city superintendent for the elementary schools. The superintendent had general oversight of the conduct and methods of the elementary schools; he granted certificates to teachers, but could not appoint or remove them. He was in fact a kind of consulting physician with no practice and no power of enforcing his advice; his influence lay only in the soundness and earnestness of that advice, and where these qualities did not recommend it, his influence was practically nil.

Each sub-district elected also every three years one representative on a central board of education. This central board adopted a course of study for all the grades, furnished the books, stationery, and general supplies, and established and controlled the high schools and the auxiliary means of education.

State and municipal school funds were under direct control of this central board, which fixed and paid the salaries of the principals and teachers, and controlled other items of its expenditures. The state appropriation, based largely on the number of children returned in the school census, granted about $1.50 to each child of school age whether enrolled in public schools or not. The municipal appropriation was based on an amount estimated each spring by the central board; the City Council could not cut down the estimate presented, although pressure could be brought to bear upon the school board to reduce the estimate. To meet this appropriation a school tax was levied on the city as a whole, usually about 4 mills on the dollar.

Had the central board of education been made up of the best men from the respective districts, its influence would to a great extent have unified and inspired local school management. The representative was not necessarily a member of the local board, and unfortunately, even the more intelligent districts did not always elect fit men. Nor did these representatives report to their constituents the matters taken up in the central body unless these had to do with their own local affairs; sometimes not even then. The consequence was a singular want of conception in any special locality of the educational needs of the city as a whole.

Corrupt district boards, it need not be said, were only too well represented on the central body; he who had not a carefully guarded iron heating in the fire of opportunity to secure local or personal advantage was a lonely man.

Sub-district Finances

For the rest, the school affairs of any sub-district were in the hands of the members of the local boards. They were the guardians of that considerable part of the school revenues derived from ward as distinct from municipal and state taxation.

The physical maintenance of the elementary schools in each sub-district was met by a school building tax levied on the property owners of the district; the amount of millage to cover the running expenses of the coming year was determined by the sub-district board, collected and retained by the city, and turned over to the treasurers of the sub-districts on demand by warrant.* The local tax ranged from one-half mill in some districts to 10 mills in others.

A comparison of the resources of the various districts made with some knowledge of the school plant and its surrounding neighborhood, brought out strange discrepancies. Districts in the business section, where the value of taxable property is high, but where there were few children, fixed a very low rate, and even then they received a sum far above their actual wants; meanwhile, a district in which factory and sweatshop workers lived was taxed at a higher rate, and still had too little for its growing needs. But these evils of taxation, which Mr. Harrison sets forth at length, were only part of the story.†

It must be remembered that many of the sub-district boards handled sums ranging from $50,000 to $250,000 per annum, and that opportunities for dishonest handling were numerous and safe.

Every sub-district board had a secretary and some a treasurer with paid salaries; the salary of the secretary varied from $25 to

* Under the new school code of 1911 a uniform tax of not less than 5 or more than 6 mills is assessed in all wards.

† See Harrison, op. cit. P. 156 of this volume.

$1,000 per annum; that of the treasurer from $25 to $400. In several cases economy as well as security was gained by making a bank the treasurer. The total sum paid to sub-district secretaries and treasurers in 1908–09 was $12,260. Had this sum secured adequate return in the condition of the school plants, it certainly would not have been extravagant; there was reason to believe, however, that the office of treasurer was not so often sought for the small salary it paid as for its opportunities for making money in other ways.

The sub-district accounts were practically unsupervised. An annual financial statement under general items, it is true, had to be made to the state board at Harrisburg; for convenience this was sent to the central board of the city and was usually published by it; its items were never questioned.

The biennial report of the central board for 1908 showed such discrepancies as janitor service ranging from $1.68 per child in the Moorhead and $2.26 in Hiland, to $11.13 in the North and $13.27 in the Duquesne district. The O'Hara, a poor district, paid nearly $5.00 a child for the care of its one unspeakably dirty building; while the Liberty district paid a little over half as much for efficient service. Incidentally, the janitor in the Duquesne district was housed in several good rooms in the building and paid no rent. There is little wonder that his position was sought as the ripest political plum in the ward.

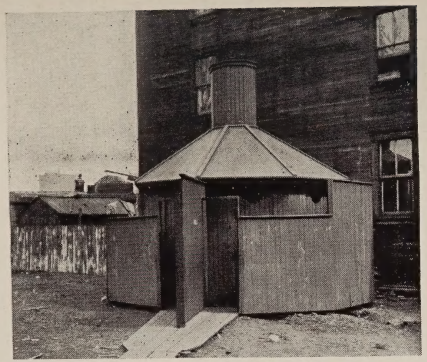
The columns in the report headed "General Supplies and Other Purposes," were calculated to throw any reader who knew the individual schools into a profound puzzlement. In 1907 they totaled $87,314.50. What were the "other purposes" not included in the long itemized list of legitimate expenditures? Schools providing physical instruction or other supplementary teaching not furnished by the central board, or supplying special libraries, might justly count the expense for these in the "other purposes." But where a district was deficient in its ordinary outfit and had no extraordinary equipment, the "other purposes" are hard to explain. Some light on this point was afforded by a peculiar Pittsburgh institution, —the custom in some districts of an annual picnic given to the children and their "friends" by the school board,—and by the fact that these occasions were often rendered more joyous by a generous accompaniment of brewery kegs. That the school and its equipment should be used for neighborhood recreation as well as instruction, is in harmony with modern ideas, yet few cities have developed to the point of spending school revenues on free picnics to the ward, cheered on by beer.

The largest sums handled by district boards were those received directly from the sale of building bonds. When extraordinary sums were needed for the purchase of sites or the erection of buildings the sub-district board, after petition to the court of common pleas, might issue bonds up to the value of the improvements; the payment of the interest on the bonds then became part of the annual expense. In well managed school boards it was the custom to advertise the bonds and award them to the highest bidder; by this method good prices were nearly always realized. But bonds might be disposed of by private sale, in which case there was a probability not seldom realized, of collusion between the buyer and seller.

Contracts for new buildings or for repairs and alterations could thereupon be awarded to the party who would insure a bonus to the board or some of its members, while the sums representing building expenses were usually far in excess of the actual cost. Thus a district board paid without the slightest protest $1,700 for repairs that cost to their knowledge but $700; another paid $160,000 for a new building, the cost of which was estimated by experts to have been not more than $70,000. A contractor was president of a local board which erected a new building; the contract was given to a different name, but the foreman and other workmen were the board member's employes and friends.

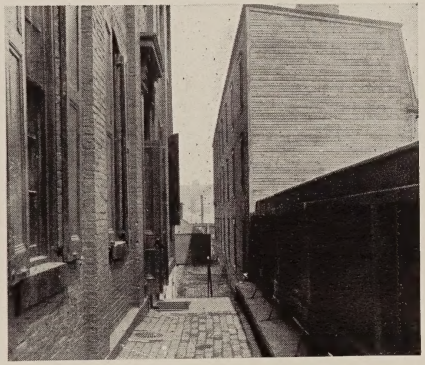
The law provided that suitable auditors should be selected for the annual accounts of the sub-district boards. In compliance, the boards sometimes, though not always, selected for this duty one or two of their own number, of whom a high official said, "when they get the accounts they don't know what they would be at."

In the case of corrupt boards the treasurer's report, as was well understood, did not represent what had been done with the money, but what the board agreed to say had been done with it; while in other cases ignorance of business or of bookkeeping resulted in hopelessly confused accounts. When the blanks issued by the state were filled in by illiterate sub-district secretaries or not filled in at all, the task of straightening out the financial statements might well daunt any one less courageous than the experienced secretary of the old central board; he arranged them in

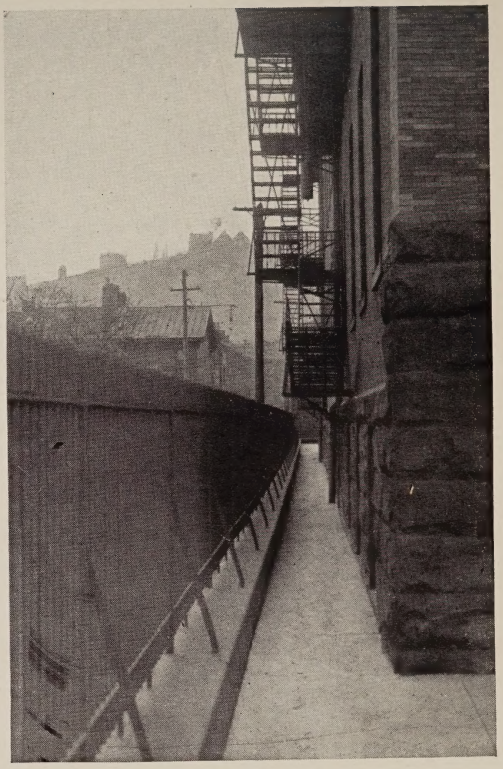


Public School I, Allegheny, Death Trap for 550 Children. Terminus of fire-escape, showing high iron fence in which there was no gate.

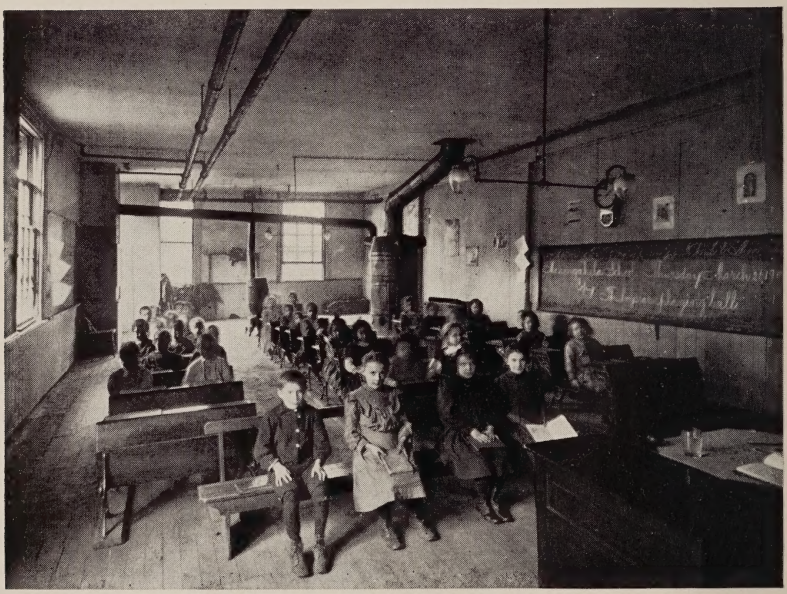
Dry Well Toilets in School Yard, Monongahela Public School. Girls entered at the right, boys at the left. On the day of inspection only three compartments could be used; 350 children were supposed to use them. Condition insanitary and disgusting.



Main Entrance to Monongahela Public School. The wooden fence separated the school yard from the insanitary tenement court shown elsewhere.



Tenement Court
Seven feet from the main entrance to the Monongahela School



A Basement School Room
First grade room in basement of church. Note slanting floor with desks raised on boards; church furnace; outer clothing hung at back of class room

some way, however, the central board printed them in discreet silence, and the state received them without comment. In reality neither Pittsburgh, Harrisburg, nor any audacious outsider controlled or audited district finances.

Mismanagement of the school finances in the majority of the sub-district boards had long been an open scandal, when the Pittsburgh Survey brought out the facts set forth in 1909, in the midst of the state-wide campaign to secure the new school code. The graft incident to the old system was uncovered in far greater detail by the Voters' League early in 1911 in the second and successful legislative campaign. But the most convincing proofs remained to be furnished by the discoveries of expert accountants following the installation of the new appointive boards in November, 1911. The city comptroller had become also comptroller of all school finances. Large sums expended for picnics and candy; excessive prices paid for pianos; school buildings sold and rented back to the public; hats purchased for members of boards; and the failure to provide sinking funds as required by law, were among specific disclosures made by the comptroller's accountants from time to time during the year 1912. No less than 20 boards were found in which irregularities had been serious, although in some perhaps the condition was due to carelessness and ignorance, rather than to dishonesty. The opportunity for both was inherent in the system.

IV

SCHOOL HOUSING UNDER THE LOCAL BOARD SYSTEM

Confinement in a school room is at its best so contrary to nature's plan for a growing child that it is perilous when conditions are less than the best. Perhaps there is no surer test therefore of the intelligence and efficiency of school administration than the character of the school housing. In 1908 there were 98 elementary public school buildings in use in Pittsburgh proper, and according to our figures over 50,000 children were for ten months in the year confined at least five hours a day for five days a week in the rooms of these buildings. The records of actual inspection of one or more school buildings in every ward of Pittsburgh, led

to the conviction that the majority of the children were in rooms where the physical conditions were in large measure responsible for lack of success in both learners and teachers, as well as for more direct injuries. A technical presentation of the conditions found can not here be made, and probably would be read only by a few experts in school hygiene.* But a few simple facts about Pittsburgh school housing can be given and even the wayfaring man can not err as to their significance.

As compared with those of many cities, the site and immediate surroundings of Pittsburgh school houses are unusually favorable. Obstruction from neighboring buildings is infrequent; often a space that in congested cities would be deemed luxurious surrounds the building. As instances, the Shakespeare building in the Liberty district stands in a whole square, a small park indeed, surrounded by large shade trees and grassy lawns; while the Sterrett School No. 1 has a school yard frontage of 300 feet and an area of wood and lawn at the back. The children were not permitted to use any of this space for play lest they might injure the grass; but the space was there.

On entering a school house the visitor is likely to be impressed with the interior spaciousness—a public building type of American architecture—but the value of this liberality is frequently destroyed by want of intelligence in the planning. This is true of many even of the newer Pittsburgh school houses. The wide corridors, overgrown class rooms, and ample offices were put there at the cost of hygienic conveniences and recreation space. Only a few schools had gymnasiums where instruction in physical exercise was given; and these were not in districts where the children needed them most. In most cases under the old system no arrangement was made for indoor recreation; even the wide corridors were seldom utilized for the invaluable few minutes of free or organized movement between recitation periods, while the large first floor recreation areas now so common in city schools were entirely lacking. The main building of the Franklin district may be

* Pennsylvania law prescribed for school rooms a minimum amount of floor space, window light, and cubic feet of air per child. The law applied only to new buildings. It was impossible to know how many school rooms met these requirements without such expert investigation as has been made in recent years in Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston.

cited as a concrete example of ill utilized space. It was spacious, had high ceilings, and class rooms in some of which half the area was unoccupied by desks; also an imposing staircase—since remodeled—in a central hall large enough for an art museum; but it contained neither gymnasium nor recreation areas. Yet it housed several hundred boys, most of them Hebrews of poor physique, living in crowded homes and streets.

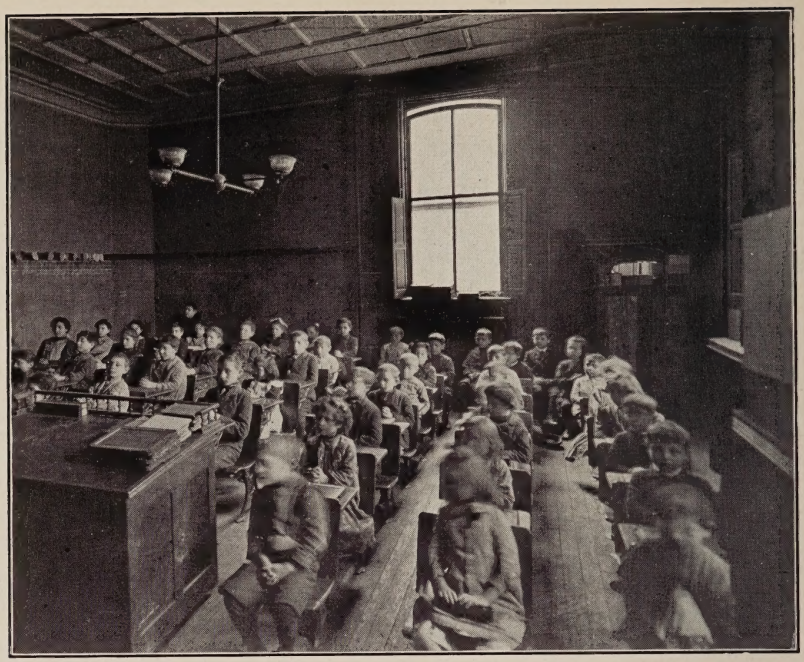
Safety and Hygiene

The present Pennsylvania law requires new school buildings to be of brick. Common humanity, though no law, demands that a building to be occupied by hundreds of children shall be fireproof; that furnaces shall not be placed directly below the corridors or class rooms; that staircases be of absolutely fireproof construction and not situated in an open well, and that egress be ample, with doors opening outward. One or all of these requirements for safety were transgressed in nearly every school building in Pittsburgh.

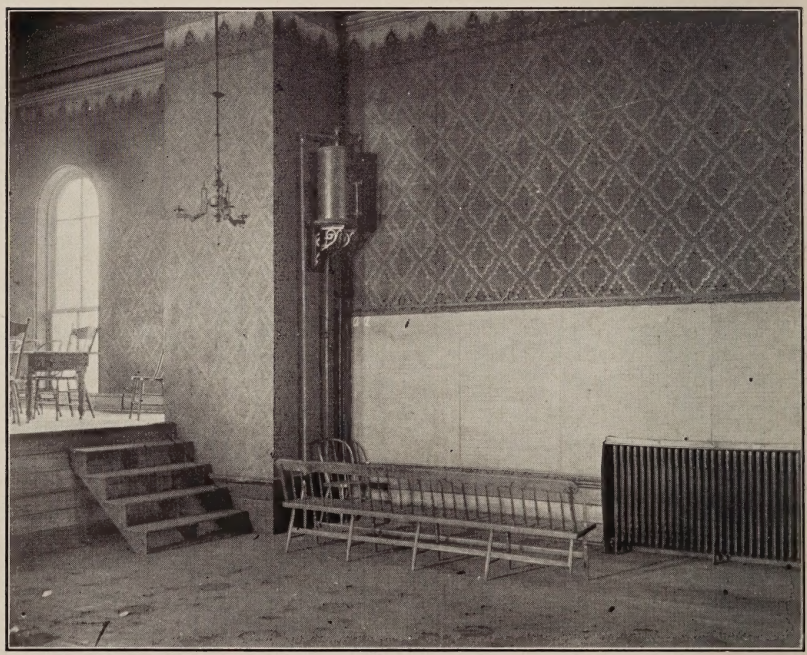
The hideous school fire in East Cleveland had at the time of this inquiry roused all our cities to the danger of exit doors opening inward, and many were the doors that had had to be rehung in the Pittsburgh schools. Many buildings, though faced with brick, were flimsy and inflammable,—a local contractor's job, its quality defective through "parings" for interested persons. In some imposing structures, large wooden stairways led up from the center of the building in a well sure to be a roaring chimney in case of fire.

In the Moorhead main building, housing over 1,300 children, the furnaces were directly beneath the central and only stairway, which occupied nearly the whole width of the main corridor. One could picture the result had the three floors above, with their hundreds of children, ever been cut off by fire communicated from this furnace or from the janitor's rooms in the basement.

In the matter of school hygiene it is conceded that the prevention of close personal contact, the proper care and disposal of outer clothing, effective methods of cleaning the building, and provision of adequate and sanitary toilets, are essentials. Here again the showing as a city was poor. There is every reason why a school should be as antiseptically clean as a hospital; far more reason, if prevention is better than cure. No city school system



Room for non-English speaking children. Children in front and back without desks; insufficient light; lack of free space.



Detail of Assembly Room. This assembly room was a veritable death trap, just over the boiler room. It was given up following the Cleveland fire.

MOORHEAD PUBLIC SCHOOL

By the school law of Pennsylvania, toilets for the two sexes were required to be placed in separate rooms or buildings as far as possible apart. Modern standards further demand sanitary plumbing connected with the sewer, partitions and walls of slate, and thorough disinfection once a day or oftener. Most Pittsburgh schools failed to meet these conditions in one or all points; in several the toilets had no water flushing; some had no sewer connections. In others the separation of the sexes was startlingly inadequate. A building in the Morse district, a ward south of the Monongahela River, housed 600 little Poles, Swedes, Slavs, Italians, and Negroes, the children of a steel mill neighborhood. The toilets were brick structures in the open yard and contained six closets for each sex; that is, one closet to each 50 children. The plumbing was supposedly modern, but the air was foul and the place revoltingly unclean. These various insanitary conditions were duplicated and reduplicated throughout the schools.

We can only touch on the *bête noir* of school-room construction—ventilation. That some artificial system is needed in a full school room in the winter months is conceded, yet artificial systems are generally voted unsuccessful. But few school houses in Pittsburgh had any artificial supply of air, and still fewer had expert management of the ventilating apparatus. No one had undertaken to solve for the schools as a whole the pressing problem of ventilation; with a few exceptions, the class-room atmosphere was poisoning the children's bodies and dulling their minds.

Light

The child in his seat is the unit and center of the whole school plan, and therefore class-room arrangements have received the closest study by expert school architects. The growth of conviction on this subject is shown by a law passed by the Pennsylvania legislature in 1905 requiring certain conditions of light, space, and ventilation in the class room.

This required that in all new buildings the light should come from the left or left and back of the room, and that the light area should be not less than 25 per cent of the floor area. A floor area of not less than 15 square feet should be allotted to each pupil. Space to the amount of 200 cubic feet must be provided, and fresh air at the rate of 30 cubic feet per

minute per pupil be introduced by some system of ventilation, while an average temperature of 70 degrees Fahrenheit should be maintained in the coldest weather.

Experimentation in conforming to these standards shows that the number of children who can be properly placed and taught in one room does not exceed 40 to 42; for if we accept unilateral lighting, and give 15 or 16 square feet to each child, more than six rows of seats cannot be placed across the room from window to wall without bringing the last row too far from the light; while if the room be increased in depth the teacher cannot properly supervise the back rows, nor can the children seated there read without strain the charts and the writing on the blackboard at the front of the room. The practical arrangement, then, is one of six rows of seats by seven, the longer row extending the longer side of the room. This gives place for 42 children in single seats, an average attendance of 40 of whom can be counted upon.

In Pittsburgh the class rooms, even in new buildings, varied in area from 600 to 1,000 square feet. A frequent size was 28 by 35 feet, which gave an area of 960 square feet, and would allow for 60 pupils with about 16 square feet to each. But rooms much smaller than this accommodated 60 to 70 children, while in larger rooms 75 to 100 and more children were found.

Why these unusually large rooms were quite unsuitable may be most vividly explained by an actual picture. We entered a certain primary room of the Moorhead School, a topheavy building of four stories not far from Center Avenue. The room was about 40 feet by 35; 65 children of the second grade occupied the seats. Those children farthest from the three windows at one end were reading in a twilight, though the day was not gloomy. The young eyes on the back row squinted and strained in the effort to copy figures from the chalky blackboard in the front of the room. There were nine rows of seats from the windows to the opposite side of the room; so that when the teacher stood at one side she could with difficulty be heard by the children on the other. To obviate the difficulty of the pupil's seeing and hearing, two or three long benches were placed at the front and here, during certain exercises, the children sat crowded together. It was a raw day, the furnace in the building did not work properly, and the air, though sickeningly close, was cold. No one who saw this class room could soon forget its gloom, grime, and deadly dullness.

In a still larger room in this same building two harassed teachers were instructing 114 children in two classes. Light received from both sides of this room scantily availed in the center, where most of the children were gathered to avoid the drafts from window openings which did not ventilate.* Instances might be given of conditions far worse than these, for this school had an intelligent principal and teachers who were actively concerned for the children's welfare.

The extent to which defective vision is handicapping school children, resulting in loss of school progress and in irremediable physical deterioration among them, has of late years caused deep concern to educators and school authorities, and has cost immense sums in research and in remedies. Insufficient light for the protracted short-focus work of the school sessions is one of the chief contributory causes of this prevalent handicap. This has led to the acceptance of certain standards which define the amount, position, and angle of the daylight that should fall on the child's book.

The amount of window glass area, where light is quite free and unobstructed, is usually fixed at a minimum of 20 per cent of the floor area; its position, at the left or left and back of the students, and its height, as close as possible to a twelve-foot ceiling. For soft coal cities like Pittsburgh, where even on cloudless days the atmosphere is dimmed and on dull ones is darkened, this is not enough; 25 per cent to 40 per cent of the floor area, according to the location of the school, is required; in fact, as has been shown, the state law requires 25 per cent.

Suppose we apply these standards to some of "the best buildings in the country," as certain schools in Pittsburgh are frequently termed. The Sterrett School is one of five buildings in the Sterrett district, already noted as part of a group showing good conditions. In some of its large, uncrowded school rooms, the light area was 18 per cent of the floor area; in others 12 per cent. How was this possible in a comparatively new building? There is but one answer; the architect was not an expert in modern school planning and did not see that over-large rooms cannot be properly lighted.

* These rooms were described by the Pittsburgh Survey in its report in 1909, but three years later, over 100 primary pupils were found by the new board in one room in this school, many seated on boxes, books, and desks. A definite rule was adopted limiting the enrollment in any class room to 50 pupils. Emergent relief was obtained by converting former offices into class rooms, by increasing the classes in buildings with small attendance, and by the erection of a number of small, portable, one-room frame buildings in sections of greatest class-room congestion.

On the South Side below the bridge, amid factories and railroad yards, stands the Monongahela School, where the younger children studied in the dark basement of a church. The light area was from 12 per cent to 14 per cent of the floor area, about half the legal minimum. This school kept few of its children beyond the primary grades.

The Moorhead School No. 1, in the populous eleventh ward of Pittsburgh, housed about 1,300 children; its class rooms varied in area from 512 to 1,150 square feet, and their light area from 11.4 per cent in the smaller to 20.7 per cent in the largest rooms. The light was obstructed by adjacent buildings and by a continual soot deposit on the glass.

To multiply instances is both tedious and useless; in a word, the great majority of Pittsburgh public school rooms, new and old, were not properly lighted. Window areas were insufficient or wrongly placed. Meanwhile anxious members of a few local boards were trying to have the children's eyes examined and glasses provided, generous physicians were giving their services, and there was in Pittsburgh as everywhere a loud slamming of doors on empty stables, while perhaps, taking the city as a whole, few guardians knew or cared that the horses were out.

But even with window areas up to the standard, artificial light is an almost daily necessity during some seasons. There never was here, as in some cities, a special committee of oculists and electricians to decide on the artificial lighting and color schemes of school buildings. How could there be where there was no central control of school houses? Had there been one, a meager supply of oxygen-consuming gas would not have been, as it was, the vicious substitute for daylight in most school rooms, while Pittsburgh offices and public buildings installed, both for efficiency and economy, electric lamps that were nearly perfect blenders with daylight.

Distribution of Pupils

The statement was often made by defenders of the local system of administration that Pittsburgh was one of few modern cities in which the seating capacity of the schools was more than adequate to the number of children. In a numerical sense this was true; the whole number of seats in the city was in excess of the whole number of school children. But practically it was not

true. It seems almost fatuous to say that empty seats in a twenty-second ward building did not help out unseated children in the seventh or eighth ward or in the crowded districts along Penn Avenue, nor could the unused seats, of which there were many hundreds in seventh and eighth grade class rooms, be made available for the crowded first and second grade rooms. The Grant School, situated in one of the wealthiest districts, had 112 first grade children under two teachers in one room; a room where artificial light was constantly necessary. This is overcrowding, no matter how large the room was. The Moorhead School No. 1 in 1908 had 1,282 seats for 1,338 children. Absentees can be counted on, of course, but there were always days when seats were over-filled. In a room which contained a "foreign class" the seats were all found full and extra children were sitting on desks and window seats.

New York and Philadelphia Systems

Those familiar with schools in other cities will naturally assert that poor and insanitary buildings are found under centralized systems of administration. This is quite true, but the buildings will often be found to be "hold-overs" of a past régime.

New York, for instance, with its strongly centralized system and its special superintendent of school buildings, has many old structures that never were and never can be made fit for school purposes. In some of them marching and other energetic physical exercise cannot be given because the building is so insecure. Here, too, as in Pittsburgh, there are buildings where fire drills are not practiced lest the building fall upon the children's heads.

Old New Yorkers will well remember the era of ward control of the schools and the saloon influence under which school houses were put up by unscrupulous contractors—structures which have inflicted permanent injuries on two generations of children and are now doing their worst with a third. But in the same neighborhood with these are splendid modern buildings where children of the poorest classes pursue their school work in surroundings ideal in convenience, sanitation, and beauty; for the finest schools are not confined, as they are almost universally in Pittsburgh, to the privileged children of prosperous homes.

To come nearer home, Philadelphia, long under a system identical with that of Pittsburgh, in 1906 by an heroic struggle threw off the thrott-

ling clutch of local exploitation and since then has been trying to regenerate the schools physically and academically. The nature of the incubus she inherited from the recent domination of private and unscrupulous greed may be judged by the report of the committee from the state legislature sent in 1907 to examine into charges of maladministration* under the new system. The charges were completely refuted, but in its investigation the committee found out among other things the real condition of the school buildings. We quote their comment:

"That such schools should be permitted to exist in a civilized community, especially in a city that is the cradle of American liberty, is beyond belief, and continuance of the present conditions should invoke the wrath and condemnation of all citizens. The committee cannot conceive how any civilized community can tolerate the existence of such schools and remain complacent. The committee recommend that Councils at once submit to the people the propriety of a new loan of $5,000,000 in order that the schools may be placed upon an American and civilized basis."

The Pittsburgh schools as a whole were upon no such basis, and under the ward system of control there was no probability that they would be.

Under the Janitors

But whether a building be thoroughly up to date in equipment or completely out of date, its effects upon its occupants are largely in the hands of those deputed to control its physical conditions.

It was the tragic *reductio ad absurdum* of local control in Pittsburgh that the janitor often became the overlord of the school property and the most threatening danger to the school premises. He was not infrequently elected by the district board from their own number, and, once in, acquired so immovable a place through his power to grant favors in the district as to be practically independent of the board and wholly independent of principal and teachers; cases, indeed, were by no means unknown where the latter held their positions at his pleasure. By municipal regulation janitors in charge of a boiler must hold an engineer's certificate. In the better managed schools not only was this requirement met but the janitor's energy and knowledge made the

* A similar attempt was made in 1912 by representatives of the ward school directors of Pittsburgh to emasculate the new school code and restore to those directors some of their old powers. It also failed of its purpose.

school equipment highly effective. The physical conditions in other buildings, however, were at the mercy of neglectful or incompetent men; and in defiance of the city laws, janitors without certificates were in charge of ventilating and heating plants operated by a boiler. In a certain building teachers and children were found suffering from colds contracted in half-warmed rooms, while in others many had headache and nausea from the poisoned air. Twenty-seven teachers and over 1,000 children were subject to the janitor in this school, to whom and to his assistants the citizens of the ward paid $1,500 per annum for "services" rendered their children. The main building in the Moorhead district, which contained steam heat and no ventilating apparatus, was reported on some winter days during 1907 to have a temperature of 30° Fahrenheit,—explained by the fact that the new janitor "had not yet learned to run the furnace"; he was getting experience at the expense of 1,300 children and their teachers. In another building where there were more than 100 children in one steam-heated but unventilated room, a teacher was in the habit of opening windows at noon to get some fresh air, whereupon the janitor threatened to report her to the board, complaining that she made him put on extra heat to warm up the room. The same janitor, even when sweeping a room, never opened the windows.

A Pittsburgh situation which was unique, we believe, was the plan of assigning apartments in the school building to the janitor and his family, whose domestic operations and untidy habits often made the premises unhygienic. In the Riverside School, in 1907–08, an old woman was janitress regent. She lay ill in the basement all one winter while a feeble-minded daughter acted as her nurse and as the charwoman of the school. Some dust was daily displaced by the feather duster; most of it, however, lay undisturbed on woodwork and furniture all winter. In the small Duquesne School in the business section the janitor and his family occupied three class rooms, in respect to light and outlook the best in the building. In the South School, in the same section, the janitor practically "owned the place." He lived in the basement, and though an invalid he not only kept his position but made his basement room the center of the political consultations of the ward. The principal and teachers presumed not to question his

actions. In this basement was a corridor out of which opened the girls' toilets protected by swinging doors only; the same corridor led to the furnace room and to the janitor's apartments. Not only the men of his family, but his friends and visitors frequented this passage during school hours. In another district the janitor had formerly been a school director and as such had helped elect the principal. From the latter he very naturally would take no directions. If he chose, as he did, to neglect the building, it must be neglected. In these and similar cases the current saying was a fact: "The janitor runs the school."

V

THE TEACHERS

By the Pennsylvania law, the duty of selecting teachers fell upon the district boards; competent or incompetent, willing or unwilling, they were obliged to assume the responsibility. Yet in a few of the Pittsburgh districts where the local boards were unpromising in personnel, there were nevertheless principals and teachers whose work was notably uplifting within and without the school, a work certainly hampered by its conditions, yet slowly gaining the confidence of a community always in the long run on the side of the children's good. On the other hand, when operated by the corrupt or ignorant boards then in the majority in the city, the law opened wide the class-room door to teachers unfitted and unfit.

The method of certificating teachers was a prime factor in this result.

Three species of certificates were granted in Pennsylvania:

(1) "Provisional" certificates, given by any county or district superintendent to candidates with a fair knowledge of English branches, or to those with a more thorough knowledge and no experience. Persons graduated from normal schools or from colleges came under this definition.

(2) "Professional" certificates, given by the district superintendent to those who added to thorough knowledge of certain branches several years' experience in teaching. These licensed to teach during the official term of the superintendent and for one year thereafter; they might be

renewed without examination. A certain time might or might not be fixed for the examination of these candidates, but the nature and the estimate of the examination were entirely in the hands of the district superintendent, whose methods were practically unsupervised.

(3) "Permanent" or "State" certificates, given by the state superintendent upon recommendation of an examining committee of three teachers holding valid state certificates. This recommendation was countersigned by the city or county superintendent.

It was not requisite for election even to the highest position in the schools that more than a "provisional" certificate be held—but even so, that there were teachers and even principals in certain districts entirely unable to meet even the modest requirements of these "provisional" certificates is no secret. The law, moreover, forbade granting certificates to persons who used intoxicants, yet there were in Pittsburgh men not only incapable but dissipated who drew salaries of from $1,600 to $2,000 a year as principals. The facility with which a board might secure anyone as a principal was an open scandal; the candidate was put through a form of examination, granted a "provisional certificate," and forthwith elected. He then directed the work of perhaps a dozen teachers, supervised the training of several hundred children, and largely controlled the conditions of their school home. If by chance such a process of selection hit upon a tolerably fit man, he was handicapped in his situation and must let most matters take their own course in school affairs. Unsuitable teachers, corrupt and incapable janitors, and insanitary conditions became explicable when it is remembered that the principal held his place by favor of very determined masters. His only safety was in gaining the confidence of the district so that his dismissal would make the board unpopular.

As far as aptitude and morality are concerned, no formal examination can of course be the absolute test of fitness for any profession; but when teachers were found practically illiterate, as was proved the case in more than one instance, with no academic training, with no knowledge of how to teach, and no view of their position except that it afforded a salary, we are left to wonder what could have induced the city superintendent to grant them certificates, why a community would permit its sub-district boards to elect teachers of this sort, and more than all, how the certificate

was renewed and the election confirmed year after year, after incompetency was perfectly wellknown.

For the teacher of the youngest children modern demands make necessary a normal training. Girls fresh from a normal course at the high school were usually selected for that delicate task,—the breaking in to the grade discipline of little ones tender from the kindergarten or the home. But these teachers had at least a theory; sometimes they had real aptness as well. Again, in the higher grammar grades with their scanty numbers some of whom are intent upon the high school, real competency was required and usually secured. The mass of ill-equipped teachers, therefore, especially in schools politically managed (and this means the majority), was to be found in the third to the fifth grades inclusive. It was a high estimate that conceded to a third of the children in these grades instruction from teachers really competent. Yet in all school systems these are the classes where intelligence and skill in dealing with children are most needed; where truancy is most rife and final exit from school most frequent. The mischief caused by the lack of competent teachers in these middle grades was known to no one better than to the many progressive members of the teaching body in Pittsburgh; and their disinterested movement for reform was one of the hopeful elements in the situation.

School "Jobs"

Conditions in some of the districts in the business sections —the triangular point of the city—illustrated the frequent exploitation of the schools. Four district principals were here being paid where only one was required for the school population, and some of the teachers might also well have been spared both from the point of view of numbers and of qualifications. The instruction in some of the class rooms would have been laughable, if it had not been so heartbreaking, when one considers that this was all the training these children in their most plastic years would ever receive and that the law which compelled them to be taught did not protect them from such teaching. In these schools relatives and friends of board members were frequently selected for teachers, got a certificate some way, and were then elected. Again, on

either side of Penn Avenue along the Allegheny there is a region occupied by wholesale provision houses and crowded and miserable homes, dreary, sordid, and unclean. The population is largely Irish-Catholic and German with a liberal sprinkling of Italians. These people sorely needed the school as a true center of light, education, and recreation. Nevertheless the local administration of school matters in this region was conspicuously corrupt. Not far from one of the schools, for instance, there lived a local politician of influence. Before he died he had secured for his son a position as principal in the school with a certificate granted by the superintendent of schools. The principal's brother was the treasurer of the school board and received $200 per annum for his services; another brother was janitor, and a sister was a teacher of the third grade. An intimate friend was the secretary and received $200 for his services. The board members of this school were all Roman Catholics of the type which brings discredit upon their name as churchmen. A large parish school stands in the neighborhood and they with other Catholic residents were properly interested in it; improperly, however, if as was charged, they strove to make conditions in the public school inferior to those in the parish school in order to force children out of the first into the second, at the same time taking care to keep a separate school district going so that they could pocket the emoluments.

The school board in charge of one of the smallest schools in the city (Riverside) raised the salary of its secretary from $75 to $250 per year at a meeting in which the secretary himself was obliged to second the motion authorizing the increase and to cast the deciding vote. Ten months later the principal's position in this school became vacant and although there were a number of qualified applicants yet this same board secretary, who held no diploma or teacher's certificate, was unanimously elected principal. The president of the board then resigned his honorary position to accept the office of secretary with its accompanying salary of $250.

Under this clique, the school plant ran down, miserably neglected by an incompetent janitor, and without provision for any of the special branches of education. The tax payers of this district of poor people paid nearly twice as much for a child in school

as the residents of the Colfax or Liberty districts paid for the fine advantages enjoyed by their children.

These illustrations of the way teachers may be appointed are sufficient for those who do not know Pittsburgh; those who do can multiply instances for themselves. Meanwhile the city superintendent owed his place to the sub-district boards; he dared not resist their mandates. Not to issue certificates at their bidding was to knock a plank from beneath his own precarious position.

A Living Wage

Any fair discussion of teachers must take into account their remuneration, with its relation to and its effect upon the character of their work. The utterances upon this subject, though many and mostly illogical, can be discussed here only because the salary a teacher receives influences her attitude toward her work and thus directly affects the welfare of the children. In the Pittsburgh elementary schools at the close of 1908 there were, exclusive of the kindergartners and teachers of special branches, 1,238 salaried instructors. Of these, 46 were principals, 66 assistant principals, and over 1,100 teachers, who constituted the rank and file. Ten of the principals and all the assistant principals were women. Each principal had charge of a sub-district, with from one to six buildings, from five to 70 teachers, and from 150 to 2,500 children. When there was more than one building in the district, an assistant principal was usually placed in each; and sometimes, also, where there was but one building, an assistant principal was appointed if the attendance was large. The assistant principal was sometimes also teacher of the eighth grade; in 1908, 11 of the 66 assistant principals were teaching. In many buildings, however, and in some districts there was no eighth grade.

Theoretically, the principle so long contended for by New York teachers, was in force in Pittsburgh,—there was no sex distinction in the salaries of the principals; but in practice the better paying positions were usually filled by men. With two notable exceptions, all the women principals were in schools which employed a small number of teachers. The salary was scaled according to the number of teachers supervised; it varied from $1,600 where there were less than six teachers, to $2,500 in some of the large

schools. A principal naturally viewed a falling off in attendance with alarm, since the loss of a teacher meant to him a money loss of $200 or $300 a year. The temptation in such cases to "doctor" attendance records was strong, and was not always resisted. While the system of salary adjustment for principals seems very faulty, yet the amounts paid compared with those in many cities, were liberal, and should have secured ability in every case.

But when it came to the salaries of grade teachers, there was a woeful drop in amount. The maximum sum for trained teachers was $900 after nine years' service,* the average about $600, and the minimum $450 for beginners. The question of equal pay for equal work to either sex did not arise here, since there were no men teachers in the grades in Pittsburgh schools.† There remained, however, the obstinate and typical fact that these women workers were paid a wage lower than ability could secure in almost any other calling. In the course of forty years, a period during which the cost of living has doubled and in some directions trebled, the grade teachers' salaries were raised from a minimum of $300 and a maximum of $650 to the figures quoted above. This inadequate increase was secured largely through the almost desperate efforts of the teachers themselves.

The meager beginnings and slow increase of school teachers' salaries which prevail throughout the country are accounted for on various economic theories which it is here beside the point to discuss. The pertinent question is, how much this small wage affects the caliber of the teachers themselves and thus reacts upon the welfare of the children. There can be no question that in culture and intelligence grade teachers differ widely in different localities; and that as a rule, the larger the city, the lower will be the cultural equipment of the class which furnishes teachers. This was far less true twenty or thirty years ago than now. The reason is obvious; openings for women wage-earners of the educated or even little educated but intelligent class have multiplied in recent years, with work which offers better pay and more

* Teachers in charge of the "high school class," or eighth grade, on special drill receive $1,060.

† The only exceptions to this rule were the teachers of manual or physical training, who often received high salaries.

attraction, because of the chance to develop independent ability, than that of the grade teacher. It is no doubt true, but far less true than is usually argued, that women go into teaching for a partial support, and that many view the occupation as a stop-gap before marriage, or some other escape. But to argue that on these grounds their work is economically inferior, and therefore unworthy of fair wages, is to beg the question. The school can not afford to pay anything for inferior work. The test of equipment and character should be so careful and so high that unprepared and irresponsible women shall be kept out. America, as one of our courageous critics has said, is the only country that entrusts the education of its children to the lowest bidder.

No one who has ever attended a teachers' institute meeting and listened to the stock presentation of the high responsibility and moral rewards of a teacher's work, has failed to feel a sinking of heart—if he truly believes it is a responsible calling—as he looked at the rows of weary, discouraged, conscientious or unresponsive faces, and realized that the tremendous task of training the future citizen is largely relegated to half-developed girls, with or without normal training, at $40 or $50 a month!

Now the increase in salaries necessary to give Pittsburgh school children teachers of the right caliber meant a very large sum, and the Pennsylvania tax payer has always objected to a high school tax. But "scientific methods" of conducting school matters would have saved many thousands toward increase in salaries. The district boards spent in 1909, $133,665 for the "other purposes" which form so mysterious an item in the list of legitimate expenses. In the light of wellknown district methods, it is safe to assume that a large part of this, which might have gone to make an adequate wage for the teacher, flowed out in waste or in perverted uses.

The Teacher a Social Servant

From the child's point of view the teacher is more important than the mayor. Theoretically, to train up decent and capable citizens, understanding the community's rights and their own responsibilities in it, she should have had the altruistic, self-effacing drill of a trained nurse, the business woman's concentration

that stakes all that is in her upon matter in hand, the ideal mother's perennial, if often silent, sympathetic understanding of the child, and again and always again before her eyes that social fabric the wellbeing of which her schoolroomful is to mar or make. She should not be so immature that these characteristics are not fused by an experience that has touched life and its real values.

Was this ideal teacher hard to get? Her counterparts were even then, in numbers far too small it is true, in Pittsburgh schools, but for the most part she was in other occupations where these qualities were, if not wholly, yet in larger measure paid for. The grade teachers' work is the most vital and indispensable social service our communities demand. Pittsburgh shared the usual fatuity in recognizing neither the qualities demanded for the work, nor the scale of remuneration that should make the teacher an unburdened, honored, heart and mind free agent, rendering a priceless service to the common people.*

In the midst of the conditions above described we have a proof of that potential capacity for regeneration present in any body of people born to a heritage of moral ideals. In 1904 a few advanced teachers formed the beginnings of the present Pittsburgh Teachers' Association. Its aims, as defined in its constitution, are to promote the welfare of the common schools and to improve the character of the work therein; to cultivate a spirit of sympathy and goodwill among the teachers; and to create in the community a deeper sense of the dignity of the teachers' profession and the importance of the interests they represent. The Pittsburgh School Bulletin, a lively and impartial little paper, is published by this Association. In its pages are discussed during the ten months of the school session various subjects of local interest, as well as matters of wider educational import. The vices of the old "system," the virtues of special elements in it, the methods of reform and motives of its opposers were all discussed without acrimony and without fear.† The influence of this body is rousing, within and without school circles, an influence that can be counted on as a

* A complete pension system for teachers was established by the new board early in 1912 and many teachers who had worked for the requisite number of years immediately took advantage of the pension provision.

† The same spirit has continued under the new order.

chief weapon in the hands of those who would defend the institutions of the people and the people's children.

VI

THE CHILDREN AT THEIR STUDIES

With the children housed as might chance, supplied with teachers suited to the views of the directors and such supplementary instruction as seemed sufficient to the central board, we come to the question of the success of the school management in attempting the real school business. The course of study as approved by the Pittsburgh central board was usually accepted by the district boards, though in not a few cases it was severely pruned of matter outside the old standby subjects.

As adapted to the needs of Pittsburgh children the curriculum can not here be discussed in detail, but some facts relative to school progress may throw light on the general fitness of the educational plan and its success as developed in the school room. For a chief measure of this success it is now customary to look to the age and grade distribution of the pupils.

Retardation in the Pittsburgh Schools

Since this investigation was made Mr. Ayres' valuable book on "Laggards in our Schools"* has struck home in Pennsylvania as elsewhere, and the state reports of city and county superintendents refer to his findings in offensive or defensive criticism. Among the cities illustrating his points Mr. Ayres does not include Pittsburgh, possibly because records of grade enrollment and of non-promotions were not published in the city school reports. The returns from some Pittsburgh districts were undoubtedly doctored, and there was no general basis or system of promotion, but that retardation was a grave fact, and that it meant a short or wasted school course for thousands of children, there was abundant evidence. The question before us was not whether it existed in Pittsburgh, but whether children in that city were

* Ayres, Leonard P.: Laggards in our Schools. Russell Sage Foundation Publication. New York, Charities Publication Committee, 1909.

making less or more school progress than the average, and, in either case, its relation to the special system of schools under study.

Fortunately, material necessary for such comparison has become available through the investigation made in December, 1908, by the United States Immigration Commission. In 50 selected cities, of which Pittsburgh was one, there was recorded on a certain day the age at last birthday, the grade, and the sex of every child at school, and the nativity and race of each child's father. Table 9 presents a classification of Pittsburgh school children by age and grade.

TABLE 9.—PUPILS ATTENDING PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, BY AGE AND GRADE. OLD PITTSBURGH, DECEMBER, 1908[a]

Age of Pupil		Pupils in Grade								*All Pupils*
		I	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*	*VI*	*VII*	*VIII*	
Attendance not compulsory	4	11	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	12
	5	590	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	601
	6	4,001	212	5	1	..	..	..	..	4,219
	7	2,694	1,543	148	5	..	..	..	..	4,390
Attendance compulsory	8	1,246	2,275	985	104	9	..	..	..	4,619
	9	459	1,524	1,759	672	69	10	..	..	4,493
	10	193	723	1,481	1,430	568	107	10	..	4 512
	11	81	330	887	1,327	1,057	503	94	6	4,285
	12	36	179	547	1,005	1,228	964	460	67	4,486
	13	21	83	275	535	885	989	837	358	3,983
Attendance not compulsory	14	10	31	105	247	444	708	767	633	2,945
	15	3	10	28	59	140	255	461	517	1,473
	16	1	3	4	10	24	57	121	226	446
	17	..	..	3	2	8	8	18	34	73
	18	..	1	..	1	..	4	6	13	25
Total . . .		9,346	6,925	6,227	5,399	4,432	3,605	2,774	1,854	40,562
Pupils above normal age										
Number . . .		2,050	2,884	3,330	3,186	2,729	2,021	1,373	790	18,363
Per cent . . .		21.9	41.6	53.5	59.0	61.6	56.1	49.5	42.6	45.3

[a] Based on Report of the United States Immigration Commission on The Children of Immigrants in Schools, Vol. V. The figures represent children attending on a single day in December, 1908.

Even if there were no dropping out the different groups shown in this table would show diminishing numbers with increas-

ing age, owing to the growth of the city population and the operation of the death rate. The investigations of statisticians have, however, demonstrated that the diminution due to these causes is slight, and that the decrease in numbers of school children as they advance in age is chiefly due to elimination.

Table 9 shows us first of all, then, how fast the children drop out of school altogether—children for whom the tax payers' money and Thaddeus Stevens' impassioned oratory meant only a smattering of book learning. If it be assumed, and this assumption has the approval of educational statisticians, that the figures of the table represent, in general terms, the school progress during a series of years of a single group of children, the table means that of the twelve-year-old children at school in Pittsburgh one-third were dropping out by the age of fourteen. Of the fourteen-year-old children, one-half were dropping out by fifteen, and of the fifteen-year-olds, in turn, two-thirds were not in the classes at sixteen. Or, stated in terms of the original group of twelve-year-old children, only one-tenth were still at school at sixteen, the age to which nominally Pennsylvania provides education for all the children within her borders.

The presence of 600 children less than six years of age,—the state law admits to the elementary schools persons from five to twenty-one inclusive,—partially accounts for the disproportionate numbers in the first grade, but this disproportion is chiefly due to the fact that practically all six-year-olds and the majority of seven-year-olds were massed in this grade, while each of the other age groups had left its quota of retarded children to complicate the situation. The extent to which failure to be promoted and delay in entering school clogs the grades is shown by the numbers below the heavy line and by the percentages at the foot of the table.

The school course for the first grade is specially designed for the capacity of a six- or seven-year-old child, and it is evident that children a year or two over that age have either entered late or were not able to do normal work and may in either case justly be termed laggards. In the same way, a child over eight years old in the second grade, one over nine in the third, and so forth, is commonly considered retarded. On this basis, the percentage of

over-age children in the elementary schools in Pittsburgh was 45.3 per cent.

In view of the special character of first grade work, it is certainly unfortunate that over one-fifth of the Pittsburgh children* in that grade, as shown in Table 9, were from eight to sixteen years of age; that is, from one to nine years too old for its scheme of teaching. But the percentages of over-age children in the succeeding grades, varying from 42 to 62 per cent, were far more threatening in their effect upon the whole status of class work and upon the equipment of children for life.

Take the case of any boy of fourteen or over among the 140 of his fellows in the third grade. As he was at least fourteen in December, he could legally leave at any time during the year if he could pass the test of ability to read and write simple English. But this ability is not education. It is but the crude foundation for the structure without the imposition of which it must fall into disuse and decay.

Anyone who has dealt with children closely knows too well that with a school experience of only three grades they tend to drop back into illiteracy, and especially is this the case with children handicapped from mental deficiency or from neglect and ignorance at home; a handicap which three years of retardation at school do little to remove.

Nor is the case of these 140 children out of a total enrollment of 40,562 wholly exceptional. There were indeed nearly 60 pupils fourteen years old or over actually below the third grade. But the situation is seen in perspective when it is noted that more than 500 children fourteen years old or over had not reached the fifth grade—the first of the grammar grades, all four of which in our scheme of education they should have cleared at fifteen. More than 3,500 children fourteen or over had not reached the eighth grade, which is normal for fourteen-year-old children.

To come at the showing from another angle, nearly 3,000 children were entered as fourteen years of age; but of these only 633 were in the eighth grade pursuing the work especially designed for that age. Study the table and see what became of the rest; nay, rather study the history of such backward children as economic factors, as heads of families with or without a vote, and it will seem no trivial thing that a city with all the resources of intelligence and wealth should with indifference see less than 42 per cent

* Twenty per cent of the children of native-born parents and 25 per cent of the children of foreign-born parents in this first grade were over age.

of her school children reaching the last elementary grade* while more than 45 per cent of over-age pupils clog the work of the grades.

From the compilations of the immigration commission, the percentages retarded in the elementary grades are shown for a number of cities fairly comparable in size and composition of population with Pittsburgh.

TABLE 10.—RETARDATION AMONG ALL PUPILS ATTENDING PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, AND AMONG THOSE PUPILS WHOSE FATHERS WERE NATIVE-BORN WHITES, FOR OLD PITTSBURGH AND NINE OTHER CITIES. DECEMBER, 1908[a]

City	All Pupils			Pupils Whose Fathers Were Native-born Whites		
	Total Number	*Number Retarded*	*Per Cent Retarded*	*Total Number*	*Number Retarded*	*Per Cent Retarded*
Baltimore	55,152	24,688	44.8	31,676	13,183	41.6
Buffalo	43,300	10,386	24.0	19,063	3,128	16.4
Cincinnati	30,160	10,475	34.7	19,927	6,295	31.6
Cleveland	51,083	14,349	28.1	19,019	4,435	23.3
Detroit	35,778	12,657	35.4	15,964	4,994	31.3
Lowell	9,458	2,068	21.9	3,611	584	16.2
Milwaukee	31,675	10,011	31.6	14,135	3,797	26.9
Minneapolis	33,636	13,806	41.0	13,511	5,028	37.2
Newark, N. J.	37,764	17,560	46.5	14,495	6,189	42.7
Pittsburgh	40,562	18,363	45.3	19,156	8,160	42.6

[a] Based on Report of the United States Immigration Commission on The Children of Immigrants in Schools, Vols. II–V. The figures represent the pupils attending on a single day in December, 1908.

It appears that of the 10 cities chosen for comparison only

* The statement that 42 per cent of the children were reaching the eighth grade means that only 42 children were continuing to the eighth grade out of every 100 children entering school. The exact number of children entering school each year in Pittsburgh is not known, but an approximate figure is obtained by averaging the numbers representing children of the ages from seven to twelve years inclusive, as shown by Table 9. For the reasons underlying this procedure see Ayres, Leonard P.: Laggards in Our Schools, Chapter V.

one, Newark, showed a higher percentage of retardation than Pittsburgh. Even Baltimore, with its large colored population, had a slightly smaller proportion of retarded children.

There is food enough in these figures for protracted study, but all we have space to take up here are some of the retarding causes which bear special relation to the Pittsburgh situation.

Immigration not the Explanation

At the time of our inquiry the explanation oftenest quoted for retardation was, that cities whose elementary school pupils were progressing more favorably had a smaller proportion of the children of foreign-born parents. Examination of the facts shows, however, that on the whole the proportion of foreign children in the Pittsburgh schools* was not high, as compared with the proportion in the other cities included in Table 10, and while it diminished as the grades advanced, neither in numbers nor in nature could it sufficiently account for the large number of over-age children nor for the large number that dropped out.

To eliminate all claims of this sort, however, Table 10, drawn from the Immigration Commission's report, has been made to include a column showing the percentage of children of native-born white parents who were retarded in each of the 10 cities named. When all questions of foreign parentage and of color are thus eliminated, and attention confined to native-born children of native-born white fathers, Pittsburgh still stands practically at the foot of the list of 10 comparable cities with regard to retardation, Newark alone showing a worse record, and that only by the narrowest of margins. Pittsburgh's percentage of retardation is between twice and three times as high as the percentages reported for Lowell and Buffalo, the cities having the smallest percentages of retardation of any included in the table.

Facts regarding the distribution of native and foreign children in the elementary grades of the Pittsburgh schools are presented in Table 11, which exhibits, for the last month in 1908, the number of pupils in the public elementary schools, and the percentage in each grade, classified by nativity and race of father.

* See Table 4, p. 226.

TABLE II.—PUPILS ATTENDING PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS BY NATIVITY AND RACE OF FATHERS AND BY SCHOOL GRADES. OLD PITTSBURGH, DECEMBER, 1908[a]

Nativity and Race of Fathers of Pupils	*Pupils Attending Elementary Schools*	Percentage of Elementary School Pupils in Grade								*Total*
		I	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*	*VI*	*VII*	*VIII*	
Foreign born										
British Islands	5,480	19.6	16.5	16.2	14.2	12.3	9.4	6.8	5.0	100.0
Hebrews (various nationalities)	4,927	26.4	17.7	15.3	13.1	9.2	8.4	5.3	4.6	100.0
Germans and Dutch	3,956	18.3	16.9	15.2	15.0	12.9	9.6	7.6	4.5	100.0
Italians	2,104	35.6	22.2	15.6	12.2	6.9	4.7	1.7	1.1	100.0
Russians and Poles	674	43.2	23.9	10.7	7.3	8.0	3.8	2.5	.6	100.0
Slavs (other than Russians and Poles)[b]	465	39.8	22.8	16.8	8.4	5.6	3.2	2.1	1.3	100.0
Scandinavians	388	17.3	20.1	13.9	13.9	13.4	9.3	8.0	4.1	100.0
Canadians	182	22.5	9.4	19.2	13.7	11.5	8.3	12.1	3.3	100.0
Magyars	168	35.1	26.2	15.4	12.5	4.2	4.2	1.2	1.2	100 0
French	121	18.2	15.7	13.2	21.5	11.6	8.3	7.4	4.1	100.0
Greeks	66	59.1	9.1	24.3	6.0	..	1.5	..	..	100.0
Syrians	61	47.6	14.8	24.6	9.8	1.6	..	1.6	..	100.0
Lithuanians	58	46.5	8.6	13.8	10.3	5.2	6.9	5.2	3.5	1.000
Roumanians	29	75.9	13.8	3.5	3.4	3.4	..	..	..	100.0
All others	96	24.0	11.5	21.9	15.6	10.3	7.3	4.2	5.2	100.0
Total	18,775	24.7	18.0	15.5	13.4	10.5	8.1	5.7	4.1	100.0
Native born										
White	19,156	21.0	16.0	14.7	13.0	11.6	9.9	8.3	5.5	100.0
Colored	2,631	25.9	18.1	19.1	14.5	9.3	6.8	4.5	1.8	100.0
Total	21,787	21.6	16.3	15.2	13.2	11.3	9.5	7.8	5.1	100.0
Grand total	40,562	23.0	17.1	15.3	13.3	10.9	8.9	6.9	4.6	100.0

[a] Based on Report of the United States Immigration Commission on The Children of Immigrants in Schools, Vol. V, pp. 30–33. The figures represent the pupils attending on a single day in December, 1908.

[b] Includes Bohemians and Moravians, Servians, Croatians, Slovaks and Slovenians.

A few points as to the foreign children in Pittsburgh seem clear. It is too early in the school history of some of the races to conclude that the marked tapering-off of the newest immigration as the grades advance is due to their lack of mental ability. The children are mainly those of young parents and have not had time to grow up to the higher grades.

The grade distribution of the Italian children is, however, paralleled in most cities and has for some years indicated a general condition of poor success in the school course with a consequent early leaving. With the Hebrews the excess in the first grade is due to the racial high birth rate and to constant accessions by family immigration; but in spite of the high first grade enrollment the Hebrew eighth grade per cent is below none but that for the British Islanders. The pull-down in upper grade registration then, so far as it is caused by racial elements, comes from the most recent foreigners, and from the native Negroes. The ratios in the foreign races of older immigration are a little behind the native white in the eighth grade, but a strong setback would be given to this group by our neighbors, the Canadians, were they more numerous.

Statistics similar to those of Table 11 are made up from their records and annually published by many city authorities; they should be accessible to every school superintendent and principal. If the overworked primary teacher cannot find time to interpret them there can at least be such discussion of their significance in the teachers' meetings as will give clear notions as to the bearing on the nation's future of the racial tendencies present in the assortment of examples facing her in the class room.

Inferior Teaching and Over-full School Rooms

A far more effective cause than the presence of foreigners has been touched upon before; namely, the poor quality of teaching in many of the schools. How inferior teachers were placed, and why they were not displaced, have been sufficiently explained, We have found that unfit teachers are most frequently met in the middle grades, and it is significant that the table shows in the middle grades the largest number of laggards; in other words, the quick succession of falls that ends the school chapter in so many children's experience—the fall-down in tests for promotion, the fall-back in grade, and then the fall-out of school.

It has also been seen that even where teachers were well equipped, unsuitable quarters could do much to cripple the instruction.

Added to these, a potent reason for retardation in all schools—at once a cause and an effect—was the excessive number of children in many rooms occupied by the lower grades. This was due to the defective state law which assigned a possible 75 and a probable 55 children to one teacher, combined in Pittsburgh with the rule

of thumb arrangement through which the central board parcelled out teachers to the sub-districts.

By Pennsylvania law one teacher was assigned to every group of 45 primary pupils in average attendance, and one to every 35 grammar pupils, but the terms primary and grammar were left undefined. An additional teacher might not be assigned until the class number exceeded one-half the group number in any class; so that a teacher in a primary grade might legally have an average attendance of 67 children in her room; in fact, many class rooms were planned for this. In Pittsburgh it was the practice to take each spring the average monthly attendance in a district (which may include several buildings) and to divide this number by 40. The assignment of teachers for the fall term was based on this division, the central board deciding that grades 6, 7, and 8 should be called "grammar," and those lower, "primary" grades. This division differs from the general method of counting as primary, grades one to four or four and a half. As the upper classes were small, the board further decided that one-fourth of the whole number of teachers should be assigned to the grammar grades. This often necessitated one teacher to two or even three grammar classes, a fact which may have its own relation to the rapid falling off in higher ranks.

In the Forbes district, for example, in 1908, according to the records, five teachers were assigned to the 292 grammar pupils, giving an average of 58 pupils to each teacher. This condition, exceptional in the upper grades, was a rule in the lower, as has been shown in the section on housing. The disproportion tended to move in a vicious circle; the overlarge classes in the beginning of the school journey meant scanty numbers at its close, and this in turn created a surplus in the lower grades which was again loaded upon the primary teachers. Were there a more rational distribution of children over larger areas than the present districts there could be better distribution of teachers, but under the old system even in well managed schools excessive numbers in lower grades were not uncommon. Teachers in the first grade often had in charge 50 to 75 children of various ages. The state law and the city system joined to produce this result.

The law worked as unfairly to the teacher as to the children; for though it did not prevent an overplus of children it was careful to guard against a generous supply of teachers. The tenure of a teacher's position was held to be entirely dependent on the number enrolled in the classes, and some of the most valued teachers in Pittsburgh held their places only, as their notification of appointment read, "while the attendance justifies it." A new parish school, an industrial migration, or other fortuitous circumstance might imperil their positions.

Physical Causes of Retardation

Exposure to contagious disease and consequent loss of school time was a fruitful cause of retardation; for irregular attendance, like over-full classes, can not result in anything but fragmentary instruction for the individual child. The schools under the district board system did not hold themselves up to minimum standards of sanitary upkeep, nor was there adequate supervision from the outside by the bureau of health. The work of the city health authorities can be made effective only by intelligent and constant co-operation on the part of school teachers and officials in reporting sick and absent children, in preventing contact of persons or clothing, and in the care of other matters beyond direct medical supervision. Enough has been said of the conditions in many schools to show that the Pittsburgh bureau of health was seriously hindered in the prevention of epidemic disease by careless or ignorant management in the sub-districts, uninstructed as they were by any central intelligence.

Nor was there, until 1910, an organized official medical inspection covering all the schools in Pittsburgh. A few of the local boards had employed a physician for this purpose; but for the most part poor eyesight, poor hearing, the presence of adenoids and other physical affections in the children themselves, were no more reckoned with and overcome as needless handicaps to learning than were the poor heating and lighting, the poor ventilation and sanitation, and other defects of the buildings.

In October, 1907, Dr. James F. Edwards, then superintendent of the bureau of health, secured the services of a number of volunteer physicians and nurses to carry on the work of inspection in selected schools with a view to collecting definite and uniform statistics to aid in an effort to obtain a medical inspection of all the schools of the city.* The physical defects noted are given in Table 12.

* This campaign was temporarily blocked in 1908 by the opinion of the then city solicitor, that such a system of medical inspection was not within the province of the bureau of health and could only be instituted by the school boards. The system of local school control presented obstacles to the assumption of such work by the central board. In 1909, under the Magee administration, an ordinance was passed creating a corps of 30 part-time medical inspectors under the department of health, but the effort to get around the civil service rules and turn these appointments to political account delayed the inauguration of the plan until 1910.

TABLE 12.—RESULTS OF THE MEDICAL INSPECTION OF 492 PUPILS FROM FIVE TO FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN OLD PITTSBURGH. 1907

Defect	*Number*	*Per Cent*
Children examined	492	100.0
Children found to have		
Defective vision	221	44.9
Enlarged tonsils	204	41.5
Enlarged glands	191	38.8
Malnutrition	57	11.6
Defective hearing	57	11.6
Skin diseases	67	13.6
Disease of heart	39	7.9
Disease of lungs[a]	33	6.7

[a] Another encouraging development in the way of physical education is the work connected with the schools under the Pittsburgh Tuberculosis League. When the work was begun in 1909 little enthusiasm was shown by school boards and it was often difficult or impossible to gain their consent to introducing the subject of preventing tuberculosis in the class room talks on hygiene. Teachers and sub-district school directors co-operated and even met to discuss school hygiene, measures preventive of disease, and so forth.

The selected schools were in various sections of the city, some in good residence sections, others in congested or factory districts, and an incidental result of the inspection was to demonstrate that the minor remediable defects were confined to no one class of children in the community. Conditions in one of the best residence sections in the city were brought out by the medical officer employed by the Colfax district in the same winter, where practically all the children to the number of nearly 600 were examined. Of these, 29 per cent were found to have defective hearing, 31 per cent defective vision, 48 per cent enlarged tonsils or post-nasal growths, and about 8 per cent were found with defective mentality.

Among the 600 pupils 90, or 15 per cent, were lacking in school proficiency, and of the 90, all but one had defective vision or hearing or adenoid growths or enlarged tonsils, yet almost none of the children were having treatment at home or elsewhere. The number of pupils missing promotions in the Colfax district the previous year was over 10 per cent. The yearly cost per

pupil as estimated by the Colfax board was $46. These educational failures meant in that year a loss of nearly $3,000 to the district.

But neglect of physical handicaps was not the only sin of omission. On entering a lower grade class room of almost any populous district in Pittsburgh there could be noted several children whose peculiar expression, anxious, apologetic, or sullen, at once attracted attention. They were often older and larger than their classmates, but occupied front seats designed for much smaller children; they were mentally slow and unable to keep up in the grade work. The expression of others was vacant, placid, or indifferent; these were actually deficient in mentality. Though they seldom passed up in the grades, their parents sent these children pretty regularly to school, where they could harmlessly and unharmed sit and do nothing. How many hundreds of this class were in the elementary grades, we do not know; but it is certain that they helped to swell the disproportionate enrollment in the lower grades, and after they reached fourteen or sixteen years of age counted in the list of youthful offenders against the law. Officers of the juvenile court in Pittsburgh found that the very large majority of the children brought before the law were physically or mentally defective. The chief attendance officer in his report for 1908 stated that many of the children applying for labor certificates, though of the required age, were mentally or physically deficient. No special provision had at the time of our inquiry been made, discussed, or suggested for these children, by either central or local authorities in Pittsburgh.*

Lack of Supervision

The class congestion which was aggravated by the persistence of laggard and mentally atypical children was further aggravated by the system of annual promotions which held promising pupils a whole year, when a half-year would have been sufficient. This system of annual promotions, an overcrowded curriculum, and

* In connection with open-air schools for anemic and tubercularly inclined children, special instruction in diet, ventilation, and clothing was given to mothers of pupils in 1911–12. Under private auspices but with official recognition two rooms in the Grant School were given over in 1911–12 to the examination and training of children found mentally defective. This type of "special" school was not taken over by the board in the fall of 1912 but continued under private direction, children being sent to it from any part of the city.

the lack of uniformity in the schools, were given as three additional causes of retardation, by one long in intimate relations with the Pittsburgh schools.

The course of study as approved by the Pittsburgh central board presented the standard subjects, enriched, as is now customary, by physiology and hygiene, vocal music, drawing, and where district boards permitted, by manual and domestic training. Civil government was optionally taught in the seventh and eighth grades in connection with history, but the elements of civics and of social ethics so judiciously adapted for all grades in many progressive schools had no recognized place in the Pittsburgh program. The so-called "special" branches, with the exception of physical culture, were in charge of teachers employed by the central board.

The point made by the critic of the curriculum just cited was that while the special branches had one by one been added, nothing had been eliminated, and the course remained an eight-year one. A kindred problem of adjustment and co-ordination presented itself in the lack of uniformity in the actual instruction given in the sub-districts. Many pupils move annually, and where the schools were not closely graded much time was lost. These and many other unsatisfactory conditions apparent in the schools must be laid to inefficient superintendence—a defect inherent in the system, but augmented in Pittsburgh's case by the man.

The superintendent of schools, elected by the district directors in joint vote had, as we have noted, no legal control over sub-districts or school matters of any kind, save to recommend a certain course of study, the adoption of which he might urge but could not demand.

No one with a true sense of responsibility could have tolerated the corruption in some quarters without protest where he could not prevent, or without interference when he could. The want of coherence, of interdependence, of a recognized central idea in the whole scheme of education and of its failure to carry the children forward with each year's investment of time and labor, was to be comprehended if anywhere from the standpoint of the superintendency. That it was neither seen nor remedied, nor proclaimed as needing remedy, exhibited the caliber of the superintendent. who at the time of our inquiry, had held office since 1899. More, it exhibited the type of executive which the disintegrating forces inherent in the ward system, left to themselves, raised up to do their bidding. Con-

viction on the part of some deeply interested in school welfare that a change of superintendency was the only hope of betterment led, in the spring of 1908, to an effort for reform at the time of election. The members of the district boards met for this purpose in the Grant School building, a large majority being present. Thirty-two votes only were cast for a new candidate, the rest of the 276 in support of the old incumbent. The triumph of his friends was joyfully celebrated for some hours in the saloons of the vicinity.*

The topics that rise to mind in relation to school progress, its degrees, defaults, and consequences, are as varied as the child's nature, and as significant as his possibilities. Only a few of them have been touched upon here. Our inquiries afforded no evidence that the unusually torpid movement through the Pittsburgh schools was due to any unusual deficiencies in the make-up of Pittsburgh school children. They were apparently like the general run of boys and girls in our American cities. Nor was it due to any essential lack in the Pittsburgh course of study; that was theoretically excellent. But there was cumulative evidence that the ward system of schools accentuated the problem of retardation at many points,—in its inadequate provision of school plants and its selection of inferior teachers, in its aggravation of the tendency to over-full lower grades, in its lack of supervision, which both encouraged the lack of uniformity in the schools and congested the curriculum, and in its failure systematically to eradicate physical defects. Given schools stood out as exceptions, but the city as a whole was leading less than two-thirds of the children further on the school journey than the fourth grade or the half-way mark, and less than one-half to the final grade.

VII

THE ROUNDING OUT OF SCHOOL

We are as a people awakening to the fact that real schooling means more than formal instruction, however intelligent. There remain to be taken up those adjuncts to elementary education,

* The new code of 1911 provided that the former superintendents of Pittsburgh and of Allegheny should be continued in office as assistant superintendents until the expiration of the terms for which they had been elected. The board, after a wide search, brought the head of the St. Paul school system to Pittsburgh as superintendent, succeeded in 1913 by the head of the Washington system.

the extensive development of which has been characteristic of the public schools during the past two decades. On them depend much of the answer to the question, not how fast the children go through the grades, but what they get out of them. What sort of soil did the sub-district system in Pittsburgh afford for the growth of such activities? In a majority of cases they were directly or in part controlled by the central board, which had special committees on kindergartens, athletics, and summer playgrounds, industrial schools, evening schools, and high schools. In some cases the initiative was taken by the local boards, as we have seen in the case of medical inspection; in others, by private associations, as in the case of playgrounds and kindergartens. The very disorders of the local board system thus led to the formation of voluntary organizations to take and keep the new work out of politics.

The School as a Social Center

An illustration of sub-district initiative was the social centers and evening school work carried on in certain buildings. Progressive school managers are recognizing their own limits, and are impressing upon the public the fact that the education of the child can be accomplished only by making him the center of a wide circle of influences that reach out into the community of which he is a part. Social and charitable workers long ago abandoned the attempt to raise any one member of a needy family without raising the status of the family as a whole; not only this, there is a conviction that the family itself can rise little higher than the level of the community which surrounds it. In line with this belief on the educational side is the extensive organization of neighborhood educational and recreation centers in Chicago, New York, and other cities. No such general movement for the socializing of the schools had been attempted in Pittsburgh, but there were certain districts where efforts had been made to touch the life of the children through their families, and to offer to the community a part of the school's special advantages.

School gardens had been opened in two or three school districts and prizes offered for the most productive plots worked by the children.

The Colfax district in the twenty-second ward, which lies along

the Monongahela River, and is fringed by a mill population, had for some years held successful mothers' clubs in one of its buildings; these developed into parents' meetings, in which talks on the care and training of children, good citizenship, and so forth, were given, and the interest of fathers as well as mothers became notable. The Oakland School, situated in a populous section, opened its building one evening a week for lectures, music, and other entertainments.

The most carefully organized work of this kind, however, was carried on during the winter of 1909–10 in the Thaddeus Stevens district of the West End. The movement was superintended and in large part supported by the Pittsburgh Playground Association, whose appeal to the school board for the use of the buildings in the evening met with a cordial response. The board, to quote an observer in the district, "even went to the length of appropriating some of the people's money for the use of the people. Not nearly such an amount as is spent by some boards for one day's enjoyment (picnics!) but a very small sum in comparison, spent in such a way that the good results would be lasting."

This was the first real school social center in Pittsburgh. About 300 women, girls, and boys came for the evening classes and gymnasium work. Many of these were workers in the mills. Their pleasure in the use of the gymnasium, their pride in the results of their handiwork in the manual training room, and their enjoyment in playing quiet evening games were proof enough that the opening of the school for these uses was fully justified. Tuesday and Friday evenings were given over to the girls and women; sewing, cooking, and physical training rooms were all full, with 100 to 150 interested women and girls who spent their evening hours in novel relaxation and interesting work. A young women's club was organized, a junior civic league, and other organizations that promised permanent benefit to the neighborhood.

An evening school for adults was conducted for several winters in the Franklin district under the energetic direction of the principal, Mr. Anthony. Many hundreds of foreigners were enrolled in the classes in 1910. Nearly $8,000 was paid to teachers for the night class—more than for all other elementary evening schools taken together! There were other districts as much in need of this movement to instruct and Americanize the adult foreigner; other districts where social centers in the schools would have proved a great leaven.

One of the most convincing arguments for the abandonment of the old system was its failure to develop a well planned utilization of school plants for community uses under an authority

in control of all buildings and grounds throughout the city, and intelligent as to the special wants of each locality.

Physical Training

Under a divided authority and subdivided views, Pittsburgh had failed also to institute any general system of physical training. It was an illustration of how things fared in the twilight zone between district board inclination and central board responsibility.

Realization of the fact that no cultural opportunities the city offers a child can ever make up for those it denies him in space, fresh air, and freedom, is shown by the provision made in most modern school systems for organized and regular exercise and recreation. The provision is nearly always inadequate, often not intelligent, nevertheless it is made and assumes year by year more importance in the school planning. As much could not be said of Pittsburgh. Yet as one faced there that most moving of sights, a school room full of children, submissive to daily constraint, their young faces pallid in the too often smoke laden atmosphere, one needed to be no medical inspector to perceive the perilous response of their physique to the environment of their lives.

The old central board might recommend, but could not enforce, what is still considered by many communities a fad in the training of the children. Allegheny had, through its board of comptrollers, appointed a physical director for the schools; he had but one assistant and could not properly supervise the work of nearly 20,000 children. But his work was at least recognized as needful. Pittsburgh, the old city, had no physical director appointed by the central board, and many of the schools had no system of exercise whatever.

Some individual sub-districts made provision for physical culture in their own schools; in one or two instances a gymnasium was provided, again for the class of children that needed it least; in other cases two or three schools employed the divided time of the same director. The instruction was mainly for class-room exercise, intended to relieve the weariness, cramp, and congestion consequent on long sitting still; it was palliative, not constructive. The fact was conceded that class-room confinement is an injury to a child, but little was done to mitigate that injury. According to the published records, about one-half the sub-

districts made some provision for physical training; those which did not included many of the most populous and congested wards, where the schools could not without reckless waste ignore in the children the physical disabilities that threatened to make their costly instruction ineffective.

School buildings in Pittsburgh had no indoor areas planned for organized games and free recreation, although in many schools such areas would have been available had not the all-powerful janitor and his demands excluded their use. The outdoor yards were often ample and in some cases luxurious, but they were not utilized during the school term for exercise, free or supervised. The Shakespeare building, for instance, in the Liberty district, has already been referred to in connection with its ample and beautifully shaded lawn; this area was never used by the school children out of school hours. The Humboldt building, in the crowded South Side section, had a fine school yard surrounded by a lofty iron fence against which, out of school hours, might be seen pressed the wistful little faces of the school children playing in the crowded street.

Summer was a blessed season to the school children, for then some of the fine school areas for which the parents paid were used in the vacation schools and recreation centers under the management of the Playground Association. This and other work of the Pittsburgh Playground Association treated elsewhere in this volume* is an illustration of a voluntary movement receiving varying degrees of co-operation from the local school authorities, as well as indifference or opposition. The central board itself regularly appropriated money for the partial maintenance of the vacation work.

Kindergartens

Like the playgrounds, the kindergartens well illustrated how voluntary organizations stepped in to help bridge the gap, when district boards were slow to take up some important line of work and the central board was too invertebrate to do so. In the circle waiting to be fed at the educational table America followed domestic procedure and left her youngest to the last. It is not more than forty years since the kindergarten movement in the United States was started under private philanthropic impulse, but in most cities kindergartens are now established as a regular department of the public schools and maintained by public funds.

* See Kennard, Beulah: Playgrounds of Pittsburgh. P. 306 of this volume.

The peculiar system of school control in Pittsburgh long paralyzed action in this direction. Salaries for kindergarten teachers were not included in state appropriations, while the use and equipment of rooms in the ward schools entailed expenses at first reluctantly incurred by the local boards. Until 1893, with the exception of one opened in the second ward in Pittsburgh, there were no kindergartens in the Pittsburgh or Allegheny common schools, though a few were maintained at private expense. In the fall of 1892 several women, roused by sound practical sympathy, organized themselves into the Free Kindergarten Association, secured a small grant from the central board of education, and with the consent of the Franklin school board opened a kindergarten in one of its buildings in the seventh ward, where there was a large child population.

Year by year new kindergartens were opened by this association, until they numbered between 50 and 60 in Pittsburgh proper, nearly all placed in public schools. The equipment of the kindergarten rooms was furnished by the sub-district boards, and in cases where they were unable or unwilling to meet the expense no kindergarten was established.

A special grant for the payment of the teachers was included in the annual estimate presented by the central board to the City Council. The expenditure of the money was entirely in the hands of the Pittsburgh-Allegheny Kindergarten Association, which for years maintained a successful training school for kindergartners.

The differences of view among the districts were in line with contrasts in other matters. Some districts provided a kindergarten room in every building; one had kindergartens in four out of its six buildings, and several other districts had kindergarten rooms in one or two of their school houses. A school in an East End ward equipped a beautiful circular room for this purpose at a cost of several thousand dollars. But several districts populous with little ones refused to furnish the money for equipment, while in some cases there was really lack of space in the building. About 600 children under six years of age were in the first elementary grade in 1908, many of whom would doubtless have been placed in the kindergartens had these been available.

The singular situation thus obtained of an enterprise deriving its funds from one authority, expending them through another, and supplementing them by a third. As the principal of a dis-

trict school had no real authority over a teacher employed by the Kindergarten Association, and the association had no real control of the equipment in its room, it would not have been surprising if friction at times had arisen, and it is creditable to both parties that in spite of real difficulties of adjustment a much needed work was successfully done with little hindrance of this sort. The management of that work was untainted by self-interest and unspoiled by ignorance; the women in charge of the kindergartens had no votes to sell and no motive for buying any, and they did not expect private profit from the funds they handled. Their attitude and success was an inspiration to all Pittsburgh and an evidence of the abilities that might be released for all departments of the schools were they similarly swung clear of ward politics.

School Libraries

An auxiliary form of school activity employed neither by local nor central authorities, but on the whole encouraged by both, was the work of the school library department of the Carnegie Library, one of the most rational educational movements in modern times. It aims to cultivate in the children at their formative period a right and permanent taste in literature and to meet a need not provided for under the school system; namely, access on the part of the teachers to books of the best kind, which can be used in connection with the class studies to give knowledge of the life and thought of all times and countries. The relation of the Carnegie School librarian to the teachers was perhaps the most valuable and constructive part of this work.

The work is described elsewhere in this volume;* here the technique of its promoter in getting sub-district co-operation may be noted. No school was approached by the library representative in a manner that suggested obligation to accept the books; as a rule it was thought better to wait until the request for books, after their availability was known, came spontaneously from the school authorities or the teachers. If it did not come, and if it appeared that a suggestion to loan the books might be timely, the school was visited by a representative of the library and the principal of the district interviewed; this method was especially used in the case of new districts or those not in the vicinity of a branch library.

* See Olcott, Frances J.: The Public Library. P. 325 of this volume.

The principal was usually willing that books should be placed in the school if the sub-principals and teachers thought they had time to care for them. In some cases the matter was referred to the district board, when as a rule the books were accepted if the principal recommended their use. The sub-principal was usually awake to the benefit, in connection with the school work, of a supplementary library of two or three hundred volumes which might be freely used by the teachers or loaned to the pupils, and the value of the selection of books was enhanced by the fact that it was made by one possessed both of a knowledge of the resources of literature and the natural interests and requirements of the child's mind.

Manual Training and Domestic Science

Of those "auxiliary means of education" in the elementary schools initiated by the central board, the most important were manual training and domestic science, restricting these terms to courses requiring special apparatus and instructors. The system of local management was in many instances adverse to their introduction because, like playground and kindergarten circles, they entailed large outlays in space and money. In only 12 of the 46 districts in Pittsburgh proper and the South Side was there a real nucleus of equipment for manual training.

In Allegheny, where the central board was made up of all the sub-district directors, it had been decided more than twenty-five years before to introduce this auxiliary training, and under the direction of C. B. Connelly the work was gradually extended and systematized until it came to rank with the best in the country. In a selected building of each school district certain rooms were equipped with apparatus for the several branches of manual training and domestic science. In two instances the wards had a building devoted entirely to work of this kind; in these the equipment was of high standard. The older children of the district were sent to these buildings on certain days in the week. The course was planned with great care; by consequence the arts and crafts products of the Allegheny schools gained a high reputation and showed what may be done under competent instructors provided by central authorities for all schools alike.

In Pittsburgh progress in this direction was belated. The showing in 1908 was meager enough, but was itself largely the result of very recent gains. Eight teachers were devoting their time to manual training and 12 to domestic science and art under direction of Mr. Connelly, who had become a member of the faculty of Carnegie Technical School. The

KINDERGARTEN ROOM IN SCHOOL NO. 5, COLFAX DISTRICT

Wood-working Class

One phase of vacation school work of the Pittsburgh Playground Association

salaries of the teachers were paid by the central board, but the rooms and equipment had to be furnished by the sub-districts which in most cases were either unable or unwilling to bear the expense. The 12 sub-districts had provided an equipment more or less complete for manual training in some one selected building. In two district "school kitchens" domestic science only was given to the girls. They were largely in charge of teachers graduated from the Margaret Morrison Carnegie School connected with the Carnegie Technical Institute. In some cases the boards set aside a sum to pay the carfare of children where the expense of reaching the selected building worked hardship in the families.

In the manual training course as usually arranged mechanical drawing and wood working in progressive steps was given to boys from the fifth grade to the seventh grade. A few schools added in the eighth grade a supplementary course in iron working in which boys become familiar with the parts and management of machinery. In the Humboldt School, for instance, on the South Side, a large room was fitted up with machinery run by electric power, and practical work was done by the pupils in older grades one-half day each week. As this is a district of iron workers, this practical vocational training appealed strongly to the parents.

Eight of the sub-districts where manual training was provided were on the South Side, the district south of the Monongahela, where steel and other mills are situated and where the earlier German and Irish element is being supplanted by a large mixed foreign population. A large number of Germans, however, still remained, and this fact perhaps accounts for the demand of parents for manual training. It is the utilitarian and not the educational value of the training that makes a strong appeal to them. Of the remaining six schools equipped for this work four lay in generally well-to-do districts; and the object in maintaining the excellent equipment in these schools, as, for instance, that in the Liberty, Hiland, and Colfax districts, was more broadly educational. Of the manual training work in the two others, that done in the Franklin School, a large school in a region populated by Hebrews, was the oldest and perhaps the best in the city.

In contrast to the Franklin School, the great mass of children in the congested districts had, however, no work of this kind. The resources of Pittsburgh were quite as ample as those of Allegheny, yet despite the provision of a teaching staff by the central board and the good work done and planned in certain districts, a

large majority of the grammar children in Pittsburgh had no share in it. It was at such points that the ward system of school taxes and the ward system of school maintenance were seen to operate in combination, to the crushing disadvantage of the children of the least well-to-do.

VIII

THE HIGH SCHOOLS

The most important matter wholly under the control of the old central board of education was the maintenance of the high schools. Of these there were three, standing at the points of a roughly equilateral triangle and not more than three-fourths of a mile apart.

The Central building, no longer properly so-called, was on Bedford Avenue in a populous section not far from the business centers; the Fifth Avenue building was placed midway of the crowded quarter stretching along the southern bluffs; the South building faced Carson Street, the long artery of the South Side. First year high school classes were also held in three ward school buildings.

The Fifth Avenue building, while it showed in some points a lack of expert planning, was a well-arranged and equipped building; the South building was in that middle-age period already referred to as needing improvement but not admitting it; while the crowded Central building had long been a byword for its unfitness for any educational purpose.

The courses offered in the high schools were four, any one of which might be elected by a student: the classical four years' course fitting for college; the general four years' course, the same as the foregoing, with the substitution of sciences for the classics; the normal four years' course giving training for teaching; and the commercial three years' course, with arrangements for practice in modern business methods. The corps of teachers was as a whole well chosen, though it included, as is usually the case in high schools, a number of college alumnæ without pedagogical training or normal practice.

An evening high school had been held for several winters in the Fifth Avenue building, and its popularity attested good judgment on the part of the high school director, who urged the board to undertake the experiment. Over a thousand students attended the tri-weekly sessions, admission to which was not conditioned on formal examination; an eager army, made up of those forced to leave school at the end of the grammar or

early in the high school course. Besides the usual subjects, the evening high school offered courses in stenography, typewriting, bookkeeping, and so forth.

Despite an energetic director, a good corps of teachers, and the general fitness of the courses offered, the attendance at Pittsburgh high schools was abnormally low. The proportion of pupils receiving the equivalent of a high school training is a common test of the efficiency of systems of public education, whether of nation, state, or municipality. And here we have a final test in terms of child-progress of the scheme under which Pittsburgh operated.

For purposes of fair discussion, the ratio of high school attendance to total school attendance in Pittsburgh should be compared with that of cities comparable in population and in industrial activity. This is done in Table 13 for 10 cities, including Pittsburgh. The per cent of children of foreign parentage is given in each case.

TABLE 13.—PROPORTION OF PUPILS ATTENDING HIGH SCHOOLS AND OF PUPILS WHOSE FATHERS WERE FOREIGN BORN, AMONG ALL PUPILS ATTENDING PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND HIGH SCHOOLS, FOR OLD PITTSBURGH AND NINE OTHER CITIES. DECEMBER, 1908[a]

City	*All Pupils Attending Elementary and High Schools*	Pupils Attending High Schools		Pupils Whose Fathers Were Foreign Born	
		Number	*Per Cent of All Pupils*	*Number*	*Per Cent of All Pupils*
Baltimore	58,687	3,535	6.0	16,629	28.3
Buffalo	48,041	4,741	9.9	26,066	54.3
Cincinnati	32,449	2,289	7.1	8,851	27.3
Cleveland	55,935	4,852	8.7	33,327	59.6
Detroit	39,361	3,583	9.1	20,902	53.1
Lowell	10,574	1,116	10.6	6,278	59.4
Milwaukee	34,407	2,732	7.9	18,490	53.7
Minneapolis	38,230	4,594	12.0	21,864	57.2
Newark, N. J.	39,402	1,638	4.2	22,845	58.0
Pittsburgh	42,885	2,323	5.4	19,632	45.8

[a] Based on Report of the United States Immigration Commission on The Children of Immigrants in Schools, Vols. II–V. The figures represent the pupils attending on a single day in December, 1908.

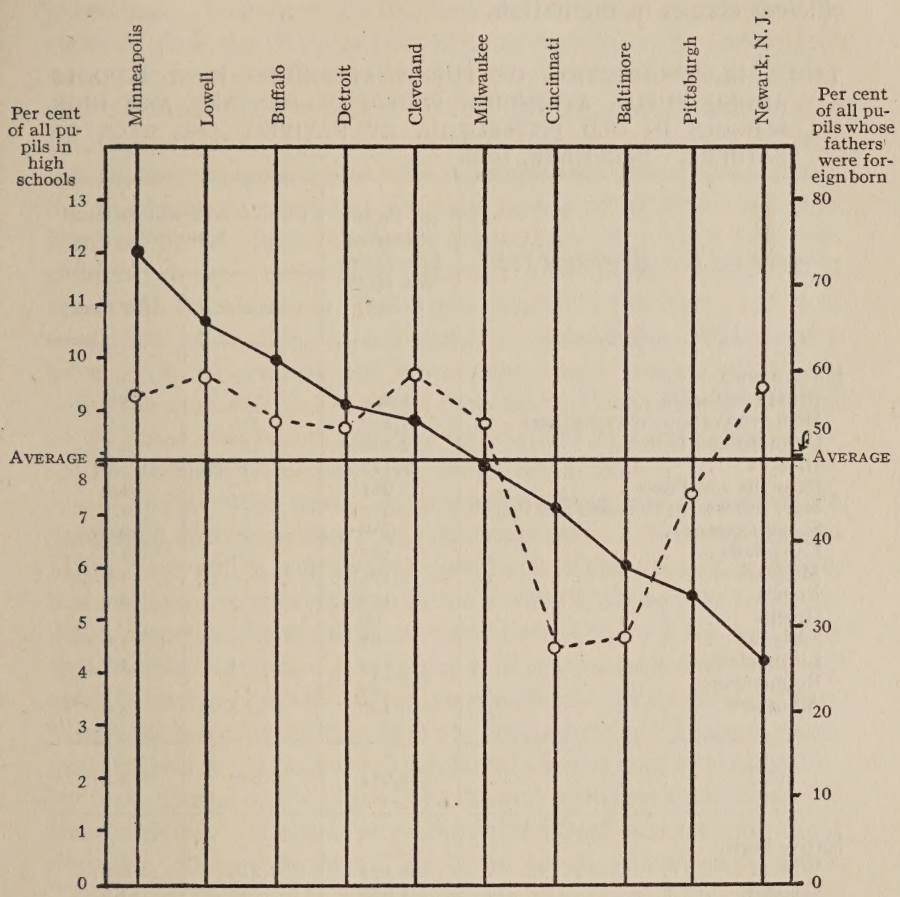
The lowly place held by Pittsburgh in this list rouses surprised inquiry, since her high schools were seemingly on a par with those of ranking cities as to courses offered and quality of instructors.

The causes of this situation must logically lie in one or more of three directions; namely, in some peculiarity of the children, in conditions influencing them to leave school early, or in the management of the schools themselves. As to the children themselves, the children of foreign parentage in the schools are frequently quoted as one cause of slow progress and early leaving. In the diagram on opposite page the solid curve shows for the 10 cities the proportion of all pupils attending high school; the dotted curve the proportion whose fathers were foreign born.

It has been shown in considering the elementary schools that the presence of certain foreign elements does tend in some degree to decrease numbers in the upper grades, whence the high school for the most part draws its supply. But before this can be shown an effective cause in Pittsburgh it must be proven a lesser factor in cities with higher high school attendance. As a matter of fact the opposite is the case. Pittsburgh with its 46 per cent of foreign parentage is less foreign than other comparable cities, as may be seen in Table 13. In Minneapolis, with 57 per cent of foreign parentage in her schools, the proportion of high school pupils was more than twice as high as in Pittsburgh, while Milwaukee, with 54 per cent of foreigners, had a proportion of high school pupils half as high again as that reported for Pittsburgh. Baltimore had, in spite of its large Negro population, a high school ratio of 6 per cent, a standing directly due to the intelligent development and management of the schools.

It will not escape the analyst of population that the kind of foreign parentage may be influential in these results, and that Minneapolis draws from the Scandinavians while Milwaukee attracts the Germans, both nations progressive in education. There is so much truth in this that in and out of Pittsburgh the conviction has arisen that the recent advent of races alien in tradition and backward in culture seriously affects the grade of scholarship in the schools, and therefore the high school numbers. As to this alien element we are fortunate in the possession of the

facts. The findings of the Immigration Commission enable us to see not only what is the nationality of the children in the grades



The points connected by the unbroken line represent the percentages of all pupils who are in high schools; those connected by the broken line represent the percentages of all pupils whose fathers were foreign born.

PROPORTION OF PUPILS ATTENDING HIGH SCHOOLS AND OF PUPILS WHOSE FATHERS WERE FOREIGN BORN, AMONG ALL PUPILS ATTENDING PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND HIGH SCHOOLS, FOR OLD PITTSBURGH AND NINE OTHER CITIES. DECEMBER, 1908

but in what proportion each nation is represented in the high school. This analysis, presented in Table 14, is deeply significant in the

view it gives of the relative value of the immigrant elements as likely to augment or diminish the educated and, by inference, the efficient classes in the nation.

TABLE 14.—PROPORTION OF PUPILS ATTENDING HIGH SCHOOLS AMONG PUPILS ATTENDING PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND HIGH SCHOOLS IN OLD PITTSBURGH, BY NATIVITY AND RACE OF FATHERS. DECEMBER, 1908[a]

Nativity and Race of Father of Pupil	*All Pupils Attending Elementary and High Schools*	Pupils Attending High Schools	
		Number	*Per Cent*
Foreign born			
British Islanders	5,804	324	5.6
Hebrews (various nationalities)	5,237	310	5.9
Germans and Dutch	4,108	152	3.7
Italians	2,122	18	.8
Russians and Poles	681	7	1.0
Slavs other than Russians and Poles[b]	472	7	1.5
Scandinavians	408	20	4.9
Canadians	187	5	2.7
Magyars	171	3	1.8
French	126	5	4.0
Greeks	66	..	..
Syrians	62	1	1.6
Lithuanians	59	1	1.7
Roumanians	29	..	..
All others	100	4	4.0
Total	19,632	857	4.4
Native born			
White	20,575	1,419	6.9
Colored	2,678	47	1.8
Total	23,253	1,466	6.3
Grand total	42,885	2,323	5.4

[a] Based on Report of the United States Immigration Commission on The Children of Immigrants in Schools, Vol. V, pp. 30–33. The figures represent pupils attending on a single day in December, 1908.

[b] Includes Bohemians and Moravians, Servians, Croatians, Slovaks, and Slovenians.

The figures of this table clearly enough show that the high school ratio as a whole was pulled down by children of foreign parentage. A closer study of these statistics has at once the fascination and the dangers common to dealing with sociological data. It seems at first glance to tell a simple tale which he who runs may read. This is so far from true that one hesitates to draw any absolute deduction as to present or future tendencies in the foreign element here represented. It is disconcerting, for instance, to discover not one Greek of glorious ancestry enrolled in the high school although there are nearly 70 Greek children in the elementary grades. But when about 60 of these are found in the first three grades it becomes clear that prediction as to their future status is premature. The Greeks have come but recently and have come young; their children are still little ones. This is largely true of the Slavic element, which as we have seen is but sparsely represented in Pittsburgh public schools though more largely in the parish schools.

On the other hand, children of German and Scandinavian parentage, whose presence in large numbers in Minneapolis and Milwaukee would conceivably give these cities their advantage, had a relatively small representation in the Pittsburgh high schools. The proportion for the Germans and Dutch was 3.7 per cent, and that for the Scandinavians 4.9 per cent, as compared with 6.9 per cent for native-born whites and 4.4 per cent for all the foreign born. Whatever the cause of this, it is not accounted for by recent immigration, and is not because these parents in the land of their nativity were unused to the idea of regular and protracted education for their children. It would seem that Pittsburgh was training these desirable citizens down rather than up in educational ideals. The Italian defection is more explicable on economic and historical grounds. That children of British Islanders should hold their own in the high schools should cause no surprise, but that the children of foreign Hebrews do not fall behind them is a noteworthy fact though not surprising to one familiar with the tastes and aptitudes of these people in other cities. The stimulus of new privilege together with keen appreciation of the commercial and cultural value of high school training is doubtless behind this phenomenon; it was noted by the Immigration Commission in the

case of all the Hebrews except those from Roumania, whence again immigration is more recent.

But this attractive study of figures must be dropped. Enough has been said to prove the point; namely, that neither in numbers nor in character can the foreign element in Pittsburgh schools sufficiently account for the low high school ratio.

The second possible cause was in some influence inducing children to leave school early. The most powerful factor here was undoubtedly an economic one; namely, the real or supposed necessity to earn. That it did operate to cut down numbers in upper grades was shown in the effect of the enforcement of child labor laws in Pennsylvania when, in the fall of 1909, many illiterate children at work in factories were sent back to school, filling some buildings near the Allegheny River to repletion. It would be of great value to know whether any of these children kept on with their higher schooling after legal obligations had been met; there are those who feel confident that the effective application of existing laws will ultimately raise high school ratios. Meanwhile, the impulse to go to work early was not greater in Pittsburgh than in comparable cities where were the same opportunities joining with the same economic pressure to crowd the industries with immature workers. In several of the towns cited, as Lowell, Newark, and Milwaukee, not only was the foreign element more in evidence, but it was economically less prosperous than in Pittsburgh. While work pressure, then, was a universal discourager of high school attendance, it was not a discourager peculiar to Pittsburgh.

In more recent years the opening of the Carnegie Technical Schools had drawn off a few students annually from the high school. This effect was, however, not considerable, since a complete high school course or its equivalent was required for entrance to the School of Applied Science and in the other schools, though they were less rigid in requirements, the age of entering pupils was about nineteen. The general effect of the Carnegie Technical Schools was to encourage rather than to discourage high school training.

The third highroad to investigation led us to some condition in the management of the schools as a cause of this low high school

enrollment. This evidently was to be found either in the preparing of pupils to enter the high school, in the adequacy or otherwise of high school provision, or in both.

The disassociation of elementary and secondary purpose and control was damaging to both, for without close and sympathetic knowledge of elementary school pupils and problems on the one hand, and of high school demands and methods on the other, there could be no intelligent co-ordination of work or co-operation in presenting it.

The disastrous effect of this want of correlation was at the basis of much of the falling off after the first year of the high school. If the meager number actually enrolled was surprising, the defection during and after the first year was startling. The statistics taken from the report of the United States Commissioner of Education and from the findings of the Immigration Commission enable us to compare this defection with that found elsewhere.

TABLE 15.—DISTRIBUTION BY SCHOOL YEAR OF PUPILS ATTENDING THE PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES, OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA,[a] AND OF OLD PITTSBURGH,[b] IN 1908

Division	*Pupils Attending High Schools*	Percentage of High School Pupils in				*Total*
		First Year	*Second Year*	*Third Year*	*Fourth Year*	
United States . .	770,456	43.3	27.2	17.8	11.7	100.0
Pennsylvania . .	54,281	45.0	28.3	17.4	9.3	100.0
Pittsburgh . .	2,323	49.3	30.1	13.4	7.2	100.0

[a] Data for United States and Pennsylvania are taken from the Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1907–08, p. 872.

[b] Data for Pittsburgh are taken from the Report of the United States Immigration Commission, on The Children of Immigrants in Schools, Vol. V, p. 33.

Here again Pittsburgh reversed the natural law of school enrollments. As a city, its proportions in the upper classes of the high school should have run above that of the state as a whole.

It is certain that an un-unified and at times unintelligent

preparation in the grades, with the rigid examinations and unrelated work in the high schools, had a large share in this peculiar falling off.

To this effective agency was added another, perhaps the most potent of any. It has been repeatedly shown that convenience of access and equipment both suitable and attractive increase the high school attendance. For many students, and this is especially true of the less well to do, attendance at a building so far away as to demand carfare or a long fatiguing walk, was a potent discourager. It may well be that the large high school enrollment of Hebrews in Pittsburgh was partly due to the fact that there was a new building in the very midst of their section. The Central building, never properly constructed and now in its old age, was notoriously crowded and unsanitary. Parents who realized the injurious surroundings withdrew their children; children from remoter districts left because they could not afford carfare; teachers were limited and harassed by overcrowding and inconvenience; yet nothing was done. In view of the situation it was difficult to confine oneself to temperate language after reading the city superintendent's remarks on "The Keystone Situation of the High School,"* thus, "Let us frequently lift our eyes from the narrow plot to which our lot has confined us and enlarge it mightily by looking aloft and around to the Eternal Hills for strength, to the Sun for light, to the Stars for guidance." It is uncertain to whom this appeal was addressed, possibly to the central board, but this fixed gaze on the heavens was certainly discreet when it is considered what was going on meanwhile in mundane school matters. The money required for one or for several high school centers was in the hands of the central board, placed there in successive years by the tax payers of the city. The plain fact is that certain men who looked for plums as returns for political favors shown to members of the central board could not agree as to the division of the spoils accruing from the purchase of the land and the assignment of contracts for new buildings. On more than one occasion plans for new high schools were held up by dissension among the corrupt members of the board or protests against

* See Pittsburgh Public Schools. Annual Report, 1909.

evident graft made by the honest minority. Within ten years two most unsuitable sites for an East End high school were actually purchased at inflated prices, and sold again, to the tax payer's loss, after certain interested parties had made substantial gains. The decision in 1904 to build a new Central building was followed by a bid for competitive plans, wrangles, law suits, and further delays. During all this time, notwithstanding Pittsburgh's geographical position, her industrial prosperity, and her long established educational system, the relative numbers in the high school were few and were growing fewer.

This condition was not to be accounted for by the foreign element in the schools or by the pressure to go to work, since both these conditions exist in a greater degree in other cities with a larger proportion of school children in the high school. The vital causes lay in a disjointed school system under imperfect and unintelligent supervision, and in the failure on the part of the authorities responsible to provide convenient and suitable accommodation for the pupils. It was the culminating failure of the invertebrate system of school control.

IX

AIMS

The picture of Pittsburgh school conditions as given in the foregoing pages is one of confusions and contradictions. The drawing is not all wrong nor the coloring all muddy; there are true lines and pure tints here and there. But on the whole it portrays a jumble in which multiplied details are not related to a definite central motive.

The aim of the public schools as conceived by their early promoters was, it need hardly be said, to give to children and youth a fit preparation for the rights and duties of citizenship. Among these duties self-support was certainly not the least. But the term education was in those days never used except in the wider sense that includes moral training. And whatever enlargement in method or operation may have taken place this original aim of a rounded preparation for citizenship is still the only valid reason for a school system maintained by the people.

It can not be denied that with the successive generations this aim under the ward system was less and less realized in Pittsburgh. Groups of young people year after year left the schools less fitted by the habits and the physical conditions of their school life for economic success. Other groups, whose social circumstances ensured a less severe struggle for self-support, had health and energy fostered by a favorable school environment. The people's money was wasted through the ignorance or viciousness of those to whom it was entrusted and the children's pressing needs thereby denied. The inferior quality of the teaching in many schools and its conspicuous weakness along ethical lines was a deep injustice to the community. That community, with few exceptions, was denied the use for purposes of recreation and enlightenment of the school equipment it had itself furnished.

Was the peculiar character of the Pennsylvania school system wholly responsible for these conditions in the schools? Its defenders pointed in denial to their neighbor states, and showed Baltimore under a small central board appointed by its mayor raising the standard of equipment, instruction and ethics in its schools when it had an enlightened city and school administration, and returning to the former policy of false economy and favoritism when a political change overthrew that administration. They cited the notorious corruption in certain prosperous cities of central New York where the schools are exploited under an entirely different system.

In truth, the positive corruptness of certain parts of the citizenship and the culpable aloofness of others will be reflected in school management under any system. And since the children of today are the voters of tomorrow a management of this sort must continually turn out a community less and less fit to take in charge civic affairs of which school administration is chief.

Yet, clearly, the peril of the Pittsburgh situation was more far-reaching than that elsewhere for two reasons especially among many others. Ward control eagerly opened the doors of opportunity to self-interest and corruption of all degrees, while they remained obstinately closed to almost all efforts toward the general interests and betterment of the schools. These inherent defects had, as we have seen, become realized dangers at the

time of our report. Two years later the ward scheme was supplanted.

The only thing to do in the case of a school building so defective in its original plan that no alterations can make it safe or sanitary is to abandon it and construct another on better lines. As with school buildings, so with school systems.

THE PLAYGROUNDS OF PITTSBURGH

BEULAH KENNARD

PLAY is a social inheritance. It represents social traditions as well as collective activity and has almost no existence away from group life. In primitive culture the child is given most of his education through forms of play. The essential facts concerning any stage of civilization may be learned from a study of its symbolic and imitative plays and games, and the quality of the common life may be learned from the richness of the material so obtained.

In this light even our American children of today are seen to be poorer in imagination, ideality, and invention than were their forefathers, for they have lost many of the old games without having gained new ones. But the children among the mills of Pittsburgh were usually of foreign parentage if not of foreign birth. The fact that this population was recruited yearly from the oppressed and impoverished peasants of southeastern Europe had much to do with the lack of play spirit here. These people seemingly are not rich in play traditions and customs, or they leave behind them those which they had at home. Under any circumstances, however, they must forget the ways of their old country and adopt the play traditions of the new one.

But what suggestion of play could parents or children find in a city of iron whose monster machinery rested neither day nor night? Their surroundings were ugly and forlorn. In many places green things could not grow because of the pall of smoke which swept heavily down, clouding the sunlight, and leaving a deposit of grime on everything, including the children. If the imagination is fed by sense impressions these children could have little idea of life other than that of mere existence for the sake of work. Wanting playground or play traditions, imagination or vitality, they literally did not know how to play.

Until the opening of the first playground by the Civic Club, in 1896, Pittsburgh in her single-hearted devotion to business and her apparent indifference to any pleasure other than the satisfaction of success, had been a typical American industrial city. Her almost unlimited natural resources,—her coal and iron and oil, which might have given the people a prosperous sense of leisure, her three noble rivers,—had only served to make this "workshop of the world" a greater workshop, not to make it either beautiful or livable. From the hilltops one might see the outlines of the superb setting of this gate of the west, but at closer range the beauty was lost in narrow streets, incongruous, haphazard buildings, and smoke. Characteristically also the city which had forgotten the meaning and the uses of leisure had forgotten the value of recreation. Perhaps the Scotch-Irish settlers of an earlier day, like our English cousins, "took their pleasures sadly," but it is surprising that the large numbers of play-loving Germans should have done so little to provide wholesome amusement for their families.

In 1896 Pittsburgh was in as great need of play and of playgrounds as any city could well be. No town of its size in the country had so neglected to provide for public parks, of which there were then only two within the limits of the old city.

Of these, Highland Park was only a barren, almost treeless hill, crowned with a reservoir and encircled by a few carriage roads, and Schenley Park, which had been given to the city by Mrs. Schenley, the expatriated owner of large property holdings in the city, was a very uneven tract with valleys to be bridged and steep hillsides more ornamental than useful. A deep ravine separated this tract from the crowded section west of the park. It contained the city zoo and a fine conservatory, but was otherwise without any provision for recreation. Both parks were out of reach of the poor.

On the north side of the river the smaller city of Allegheny had planned better. Riverview Park was also on the edge of things, but through the heart of the city ran a long, narrow common which was accessible to the poorer sections. This common did not suggest or provide for play, but it was level, green, and shaded,—a pleasant resting place for tired eyes. Mothers and nurses with very little children were often seen on its walks, and once a year the school children were entertained on the grass.

A CITY WITHOUT PLAY SPACE

Not in all the mill and tenement districts of Pittsburgh, not in the river wards, the Hill District, the South Side, in West End, or Hazelwood was there a foot of land for park or common with the exception of a little thirty-foot-wide strip of grass on Second Avenue near the court house, and upon this the adjoining property holders were looking with covetous eyes. Everywhere the bluffs rose at a very short distance from the rivers, crowding mills and mill workers into uncomfortably close quarters. How could we think of parks and playgrounds when all the land and even the river banks were needed for business?

Other writers in these volumes describe the physical and social make-up of Pittsburgh, but let us look at this city of crowded hillsides and teeming workers from the standpoint of childhood as these pioneers of play saw it before them in the nineties.

Many years before congestion began the small area of level ground downtown had been built over with old, one-family houses, and these were overflowing with a dense population for which there were neither enough rooms nor proper sanitary facilities. The tiny yards of these old houses were often filled with hovels or sheds used as dwellings, and those not built upon were filled with rubbish, even as they are today. The earlier residents of these neighborhoods had either moved away or been overwhelmed by successive waves of foreigners, an alien people with lower standards of living who had thronged through the city's gates and settled down in the most crowded districts. The situation was made much worse by the high rents which caused many families who occupied but two or three rooms to take as boarders the unmarried mill operatives, whose alternate night and day shifts compelled them to live near their work. Thousands of beds in these small and ill-ventilated quarters were thus occupied day and night, creating for the children of the family intolerable conditions. Play in a steaming kitchen or a home workshop is difficult, but play in the bedroom of sleeping boarders is impossible.* The only playground of these practically homeless children then was the street with its narrow sidewalks, and the space between the curbs, filled with a constantly increasing traffic.

Play space and acquaintanceship contended against the rivers and groups of rugged hills which segregated many sections with almost impassable boundaries, and these small populations were in turn often dominated

*See Byington, Margaret F.: Homestead: The Households of a Mill Town, pp. 135, 145. (The Pittsburgh Survey.)

WASHINGTON PARK

On the crest of the "Hill" overlooking downtown Pittsburgh

Wading Pool and Pergola, Lawrence Park

by the masterful and prosaic mills. In the Penn Avenue district, for instance, was a dense tenement population of Italians, Poles, Irish, and Slavic people, with a growing colony of Greeks. The shops had strange names above their doors. The women wore kerchiefs on their heads and all the little girls seemed to be carrying babies, while streets and alleys swarmed with children, children who would have been pretty had they not been so dirty.

At the West End were Welsh and Irish families who had lived among the mills for two generations. These showed greater signs of degeneracy than the more shifting Penn Avenue population. But what could be expected of people whose homes faced the open sides of a roaring steel mill and whose back windows were overshadowed by a railroad? They had not one green or beautiful spot for their eyes except the far-away tops of the hills above. Here the boys were nearly all sneak thieves and apparently had no sense of the right of property. They stole things of no value to them, and even stole from one another. A five-year-old girl in this neighborhood asked her teacher if she had ever ridden in the police wagon and was much surprised to learn that the teacher had not. She exclaimed proudly, "My pa has ridden in it four times and ma three, and when I'm big enough I'm going to ride in it, too."

Several of the mill districts were fallen from a better estate. A large section of the South Side and some of the wards in the city of Allegheny were settled many years ago by substantial German, Welsh, and Irish families, whose heads were mill operatives. Rents then were not so high, nor houses so poor, and these men could maintain comfortable homes and a fair standard of living, and give their children a good education. A radical change had taken place since the Slavs and Poles supplanted many of these older residents. Some of their homes have no floor except the ground, and no window glass.

Among the neighborhoods away from the shadow of the mill, the Hill District, with its Roumanians and Poles, its Italians, Syrians, and Armenians, and the large numbers of colored people crowded in between the conglomerate Jewish and Gentile peoples was full of local color and charm. The children of these people were found to be eager to learn how to become worthy citizens. There are, it is true, children in Pittsburgh for whom the word "America" has little meaning, who still feel the spell of the homeland. But these seem to be far outnumbered by the foster brothers of little Jacob Molinsky, who said, "My name is Polish, but I'm an American."

Loyal little souls! Their adopted country was treating them as the proverbial step-children are treated, and not as if they were her own.

CHILDREN OF WORK

So it was that in 1896, when the Civic Club, then recently formed and looking for work, saw the crowded streets and the yardless, forlorn homes of these children, it determined to take advantage of a law enacted the previous year* and open the school yards as playgrounds. The first playground was started in a ward settled by middle class people. The club provided a few swings, toys, and sand, and by a fortunate "mistake" put two kindergartners in charge instead of one. In order to keep the teachers busy the visiting committee suggested that a little program be arranged dividing the time between stories, songs, directed games, and free play for the different groups of children. The playground in this district worked smoothly enough, though the teachers found that the children needed more assistance in their play than had been expected.

The committee then entered two mill neighborhoods and met the real difficulty. The members having never lived next to a mill and always having had yards and doorsteps of their own, could not understand that these children did not know how to play. The committee could not believe it. Some of them do not believe it now; they think that the children played while they were not looking. But the trained and experienced teachers soon discovered the spiritual starvation of their charges and set themselves immediately to do intensive work. The morning program began with a march around the yard led by a drummer boy in the full pride of his noise. Children came running from all directions. They sang and saluted the flag, and were then divided into groups for games and for free play in the sand piles and the swings. About the middle of the session, toys were put away and all the children were gathered into the kindergarten room where the teachers told stories, or taught kindergarten games and songs, accompanied by the piano. The trained teachers were usually assisted by volunteers from the committee who were not content to observe and criticize, but who spent many mornings guarding swings, taking care of babies in order to relieve the little sister-mothers, and telling stories, and who brought flowers each week for distribution. After the second year, the children's department of the Carnegie Library co-

* See p. 316.

operated with the committee by sending trained story tellers to the playgrounds and by distributing books to the children.

One pathological condition early observed among the little girls of Pittsburgh was their feverish, unchildlike desire for work—real work, not play activity.

This was found to be most intense in the Hill District, where it was encouraged by the parents. Girls would not come to the playground unless bribed with sewing classes, and parents continually asked that children only six or seven years old be given sewing. They said, "It is no good to come to play." This is a region of tobacco factories and sweat-shops into which, before the passage of the child labor law, children were put to work very early.

The boys did not reveal such abnormal industriousness. Some were rather too docile and quiet, but quite as often they had acquired the habits and the roving spirit of the tramp. The gang is found everywhere among street-bred children. In Pittsburgh it had developed in its most dangerous form in Soho, where, with the Irishman's genius for organization, the older boys had formed a band of robbers that terrorized the neighborhood, while tiny fellows just out of the kindergarten were learning the rules of the game. After taking the names of more than a dozen of these boys one morning, we accidentally learned that every name was an alias!

A playground was opened in the district north of Penn Avenue for the colored children, whose homes were indescribable and whose parents did not seem to care where their children were. These seemed singularly listless, willing to pass their time in utter idleness unless stimulated by a magnetic leader. After four years spent among the white children in a neighboring section one kindergartner said, "They cannot plan games for themselves, but they now will continue to play after we have left them, and you do not know how much that means in this place."

More than half of the Pittsburgh playgrounds were placed in these sections among children who were sub-normal and apparently tending to degeneracy because of their unfortunate surroundings, whose love of beauty was rudimentary, whose imagination was so dwarfed that they never could think of anything to make or anything to play, and whose knowledge of nature was so limited that only six out of 40 knew the robin, while one child asked if a great owl, which he saw in a collection of birds, were a humming bird.

In some of the middle class neighborhoods on both sides of the rivers the children were active and resourceful. It was a joy

to be with them, for they knew "what to do next," though even in these districts the lack of adequate playgrounds and the absence of recess periods during the school year had seriously affected their play spirit.

SCHOOLS OF PLAY

After five years' experience in playground work the committee felt that the children must be better classified and that more attention should be given to the older boys and girls. Much had been accomplished for individual children. Little sister-mothers had gone to their homes with more childlike expressions on their faces. Real mothers and fathers had come to the gates with grateful words, and many parents understood their own children better after seeing them happy and obedient in a child world. But the small yards with their limited apparatus were adapted only to the use of young children, and even these could not receive enough personal attention from the overtaxed kindergartners. The older girls would not or could not come unless given some definite training, and those who wandered in soon became restless, begging for sewing or some other form of occupation. As for the older boys, they made such nuisances of themselves that they forfeited their privileges early in the season and only remained to menace the "kindergarten" from outside.

The committee, therefore, instead of increasing the number of playgrounds, decided to extend the usefulness of those already opened. That the older children might learn to play, it was felt suitable playfellows for them must be found and their desire for work must be met. After experimenting at the Franklin School for two years with vacation school methods the committee decided to combine the vacation school with the playground. The program for the younger children was unchanged. For those over eight years of age it was revised to include some form of industrial work, music, nature study, and clay modeling, or drawing in colors. Part of the morning was always devoted to games. When 12 playground schools had been planned, however, the committee found itself unable to pay the salaries of enough teachers to take care of them. With a courage born of necessity the members themselves assumed principals' responsibilities and agreed to take charge of the new schools in person. With this understanding the

Bringing Art into a Neighborhood—

—and Color into Neighborhood Life

RECREATION: THE EQUIPPED PLAYGROUND

12 schools were then opened with only two or three trained teachers at each center. The street boys came in floods. The general chairman's memories of that summer are very vivid. As she went from school to school in her round of visiting she found in one a howling mob of colored boys surrounding the altogether helpless little teacher who had offered to give them a nature lesson; in another a stampede of Polish, Italian, and Irish boys from a drawing lesson that had failed to interest them. Everywhere there was an overpowering sense of the street. But each woman stood by her post to the end. By means of careful supervision, weekly teachers' conferences, and sheer determination, the summer was brought to a successful close.

The development of these "schools of play" has been the work of the Playground Association. It has endeavored to base each department on a normal play instinct and to keep the activities spontaneous, childlike, and joyous, without strain and without self-consciousness. In the carpenter shops, boys have been given models of toys and play inventions upon which they could exercise their own ingenuity. In the art classes they have illustrated Indian or war stories on large sheets of paper, while the girls painted flowers and birds, and stenciled dainty patterns which they had themselves designed. Live models have been used whenever possible, and parrots, puppies, cats, geese, and chickens have been carried from school to school to the great delight of the children. Dancing and rhythmic gymnastic exercise have received much attention, as the children when they come do not know how to use either hands or feet well. They can not stand or walk or throw a ball straight. Classes in cooking and nursing have been fitted in wherever time and space could be found, the boys being as anxious to cook as the girls. But to the over-industrious teachers and children one inflexible rule has been given: "The play period must not be encroached upon." With the creation of the new board of education in 1912, the association has recommended that this vacation school work be incorporated in the school system.

One charming custom of our playgrounds is the weekly flower day during the summer to which flower lovers for twenty miles around the city contribute. Great baskets of flowers are sent

from city and suburban gardens and scores of women spend Thursday evening and Friday morning in tying thousands of bouquets. The love of flowers seems to be an absorbing passion from the tiniest baby to the roughest boy, and for days after the distribution the windows of the tenements are brightened by them.

First Fruits

What have these play schools accomplished? When we go back to the mill neighborhoods we see no outward change. There is the same dirt and overcrowding. The mills have not changed in appearance and the operatives have not changed in character. The children, however, have been trained to keep the home cleaner, and their clothes are less dependent on "the strained devotion of a pin." Little girls have taught their mothers how to cook wholesome, plain food and their own care of the spoiled tenement baby has been more intelligent. At the opening of one of the schools the girls were asked if their babies ever drank coffee. Everyone answered "Yes." Now, since the babies have been put upon a milk diet, instead of on one including coffee, doughnuts, and bananas, they will lie quietly in a basket or hammock, and the little sisters that tend them can themselves rest or play with other children.

The playgrounds have been of help in solving the child labor problem. Many parents used to put their children to work during the summer vacation, not because they needed the pittance which the child could earn, but to save him from the demoralization of the street. If these boys and girls were fourteen years old they seldom returned to school. These parents now are more than willing to make use of the playground school instead of the factory or mill. Little Michel Strozzi's father had put him in the glass works for the summer, but when the vacation school opened more than a mile away from his home the father sent him there. The child, who was small and delicate for his age, besides handling tools and making toys, ran and jumped and built "pyramids" with other boys, playing with an earnestness which expanded his lungs, straightened his back, and steadied his active little brain for another year of effective study.

In some districts the gang has been tamed. The West End

gang whose ideals had been confined to baseball and pugilism became enthusiastic carpenters. Their devotion to the fine, clean young fellow who was their instructor was pathetic. In order to cure the sneak-thieving he would leave all the material for the ball game out on the ball field and go away without making any boy responsible for it. The next morning not a bat, ball, or glove would be missing. In one school the following rules were composed and written on the board by a basketry class of small boys:

You must not sass the teacher.
You must not chew gum.
You must not talk loud.
You must not break the rules.

A number of permanent results may be attributed to the schools of play. Manual training has been introduced into a number of new schools, library groups and clubs have been started, and classes in the settlements have continued the spirit of the playgrounds.

The social results of such diversified and intimate work can not be estimated. We would rather judge it, however, by the great play festival at Schenley Park which closed the season of 1908:

Three thousand children, who had been regular enough in their attendance to learn games and drills and folk dances, came from every part of the city, flying their school pennants from the car windows, waving the school colors, and shouting the school yells. They met at the top of the hill, formed in procession, and then marched down eight abreast, singing the playground marching song as they passed in review before the mayor and city officials. First came the babies with their barrows and buckets and shovels, their toys and pinwheels; then children a little older with flower chains and horse reins; boys on stilts and girls holding rag dolls of their own making; then boys and girls bearing toys, carts, and all manner of other things which they had made. And last the symbolic procession of the arts and crafts of the play schools: carpenters in caps and aprons; housewives dressed as Puritan maidens; cooks gowned in white; nurses in blue bearing the red cross on their arms; metal workers brandishing their mimic swords; gardeners in overalls and farmers' hats carrying home-made rakes over their shoulders; peasant dancers; singers; basket makers disguised as real Indians; potters and painters in blouses; weavers and needle workers,—all carrying their banners and the

tools of their craft. Teachers marched with their children, and janitors and custodians who would not be left out brought up the rear. Before the procession was ended a sudden storm drove the children, drenched but happy, into nearby buildings. After the storm they trooped out again and scattered over the field for games. Drills, dances, races, and other contests, and a wonderful circus for the boys followed quickly enough to be bewildering to the spectators. When children were not occupied in drilling or dancing they wandered freely about the park wondering at so much unused space. Then, ending with the assembly, the flag salute, and the singing of America, the long lines of children filed away in perfect order, yet without stiffness or constraint, after the "happiest day of their lives."

As the officers of the association watched the children on this joyful day they remembered the twelve years of work and were content with these first fruits.

How it was Done

The administration of the Pittsburgh playground system illustrates the disposition of the American people to let you try any method of doing things so long as you succeed. In 1895 a Pittsburgh man, Burd S. Patterson, secured the passage in Pennsylvania of a state law by which the officials and school boards of any town or borough were specifically authorized to use school yards as playgrounds, and to purchase or lease ground for recreation purposes, as well as to provide for the maintenance of such grounds. Philadelphia had been the first to make use of this law, and in that city the school playgrounds are still maintained by the board of education.

There was no general playground sentiment in Pittsburgh, when the small committee from a department of the Civic Club first asked permission in 1896 to open a few school-yard playgrounds and offered to pay all expenses including the salary of the janitor. Even this modest request was refused by the local school board first approached and was only granted by a second one after political sanction had been given. Three years later the committee received its first appropriation of $1,500 from the central board of education. In the decentralized ward system of school control, which then prevailed, however, the central board had no jurisdiction over the use of the local school buildings or yards and could

REST: ONE OF THE SUMMER GROUPS

Refreshment: One of the Swimming Pools

not carry out any consistent plan. The Civic Club was obliged, therefore, to act as the agent of the central board in expending the annual playground appropriation, and to ask each local board for the use of the school yards under its control. The school system was not changed until 1912, and the selection of schools each season was always a complicated and trying process. Even when the vacation work in a certain school had been known for years to the children in the neighborhood, a long explanation was sometimes required to persuade some newly elected director who had never heard of a playground to advocate continuing it.

In 1900 the Civic Club felt that more popular support was needed and the women's clubs were asked to co-operate with it in more extended plans. Delegates from these co-operating clubs then formed a joint committee which conducted the playgrounds for the next six years. Few of the women's clubs had been doing any kind of civic work, and they became enthusiastic, contributing liberally from their treasuries, sending many volunteers, and making playground interests an important feature of club life. In spite of gradually increased appropriation from the Central Board of Education and Councils large private contributions have always been necessary to meet the increasing expenses.

Following the school playgrounds came the city playgrounds, or recreation parks as they have been grandly styled. The history of these goes back to 1901. Pittsburgh Councils had in that year's budget appropriated $1,500 for "recreation grounds," but no one seemed to know where or how or by whom the money was to be expended. The city owned no such grounds, except Snyder's Square, at Twenty-ninth Street and Liberty Avenue, for the improvement of which there was a standing blanket appropriation of $5,000, but which was still used for the storage of city pipe. An abandoned reservoir called Bedford Basin, then being filled by contract, was a possible playground, but it did not need an appropriation that year at least. One of the joint committee members, however, had found a piece of ground adjoining the South Side high school which the owner would loan for a playground and the committee wanted. Representatives were therefore sent to the mayor to ask for half of the $1,500 appropriated. It was granted, the square was fenced, and a back-stop and a shed were built. That little square cut off

from the main street by a hideous bill-board fence, without a tree or blade of grass, and the ground filled with broken bricks and glass, was called the South Side recreation park. It became the pride and joy of the whole South Side. For three years there was no other recreation park. The committee was allowed to spend the remainder of the $1,500 there, for Bedford Basin was not ready and the central board of education had in the meantime bought this property as a protection to the high school.

In 1903 Allegheny Councils began to assume the expenses of school playgrounds on that side of the river, but they still remained under the direction of the joint committee.

The year 1904 was critical. Bedford Basin was then filled in, and had been named Washington Park, but no one seemed inclined to make it a park except in name. It consisted of a rough, uneven field of about five acres, protected on one side by a broken wall, and containing higher up on the hill a cinder heap. This was the unpromising site of the park. City Councils had appropriated new grants of money for it, but the joint committee could not put even a shed on city property without the consent of the director of public works, who was not an enthusiast on the subject of small parks. There were many conferences, and residents in the neighborhood took a hand. After many delays the plans of the committee were finally approved ten days before the summer season began. Within a few hours thereafter men were put to work on the ground and this second park was opened with a fence and a sixty-foot shelter house on the girls' playground (the cinder heap), and a back-stop, lavatory, and fence on the ball field below, the work being completed a week after the general opening day. To save confusion of terms it was then necessary to coin this definition: "When is a playground a park?" "Whenever it is not a school yard."

In 1903 and 1904 the joint committee had asked city Councils for appropriations for the recreation grounds "under its care." The payments from these appropriations were made on warrants drawn on the city treasury and the committee was obliged to assume the responsibilities of a city bureau with the title "Bureau of Recreation Grounds," acting as a branch of the department of public works and co-ordinating with the bureau of parks. There

was no ordinance creating the bureau; it simply was because it had to be. From that date on its annual estimate of expenses was submitted to the mayor and sent by him to Councils along with the estimates of other bureaus. Its contracts were made through the comptroller's office, subject to the usual restrictions as to competition and advertising, and after the plans had been approved by the director of the department of public works.

About this time the complications arising from the adjustment of diverse interests in the two cities and the difficulties due to a necessary division of the funds from two city treasuries, led to a division in the joint committee in order that Pittsburgh and Allegheny might work out their problems independently. This division occurred in 1904. In March, 1906, the Pittsburgh committee was incorporated as the Pittsburgh Playground Association. In September, 1907, the Allegheny committee was likewise incorporated for work on the north side of the river, and the two associations have continued to care for their respective districts since the consolidation of the cities. The Allegheny association has devoted itself mainly to school playgrounds and vacation schools, of which it now conducts between 20 and 30 each summer. It also maintains the Phipps playground and carries on social center work in schools on the North Side.

THE RECREATION PARKS

The Pittsburgh association has made steady progress in the development of recreation parks in its territory. Five of these parks, varying in size and equipment, have for some years been in use the twelve months round.

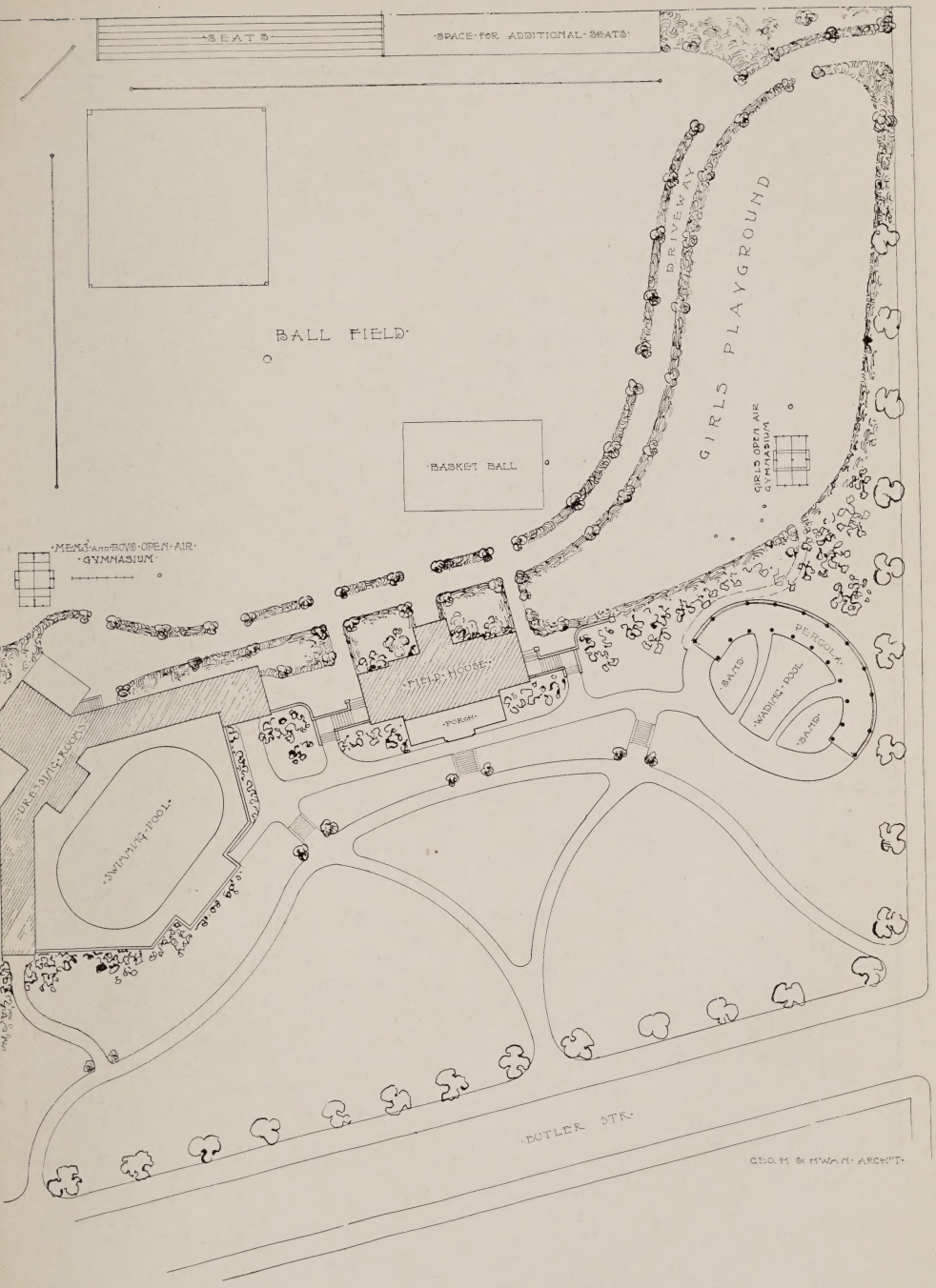
Lawrence Park, at Butler and Forty-sixth Streets, has a handsome brick field house which contains a library and reading room, gymnasium, game room, children's play room and baths, a large open-air swimming pool connected with a building which contains modern dressing rooms and baths on the first floor, and a manual training room, kitchen, club room, art room, and director's office opening upon the upper field. A beautiful pergola surrounding the wading pool and sand pit completes the equipment. Arsenal Park, at Penn Avenue and Fortieth Street, has only a remodeled government building for indoor use, but the wide porches, outdoor gymnasium, gardens, and play fields make it serviceable for all but inclement weather. Washington Park has a field house 140 feet long containing a gymnasium large enough for two simultaneous basket ball games, a smaller auditorium, club rooms, carpenter shop, cooking room, two play rooms for little children, library, game rooms, and baths. On

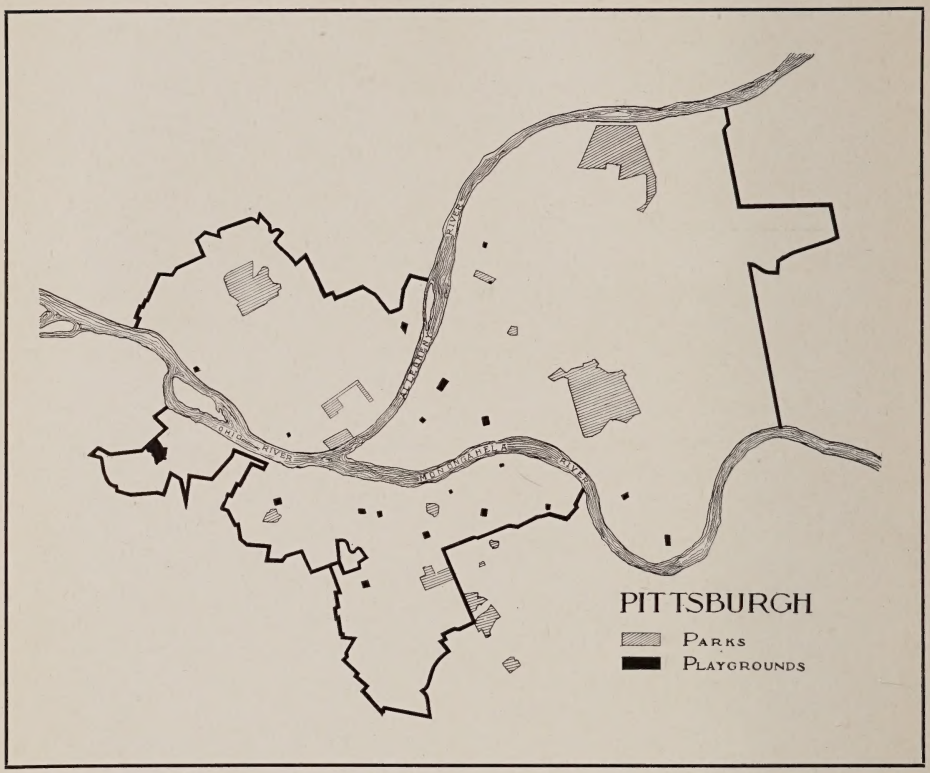
the upper field there are gardens and play houses for the little ones, and the old shelter house has been remodeled for use as a children's conservatory.

The South Side has two parks, one at Ninth Street, still called the South Side Recreation Park, which contains a small gymnasium always overflowing with children; and another, Ormsby Park, at Twenty-second Street, containing two dwelling houses fitted up for clubs and classes, one of which is also the home of many pets during the months when the smaller playgrounds are not in use. In addition, this park has a swimming pool with temporary dressing rooms, awaiting the time when a field house shall be built. Lawrence, Washington, and Ormsby Parks each have a social director and a corps of teachers in charge of the games, physical training, cooking, sewing, art, and woodwork. The other two parks have not sufficient equipment for such extensive winter activities. The buildings, however, are all in use every afternoon and evening from October to May. Classes are conducted four days in the week, and the same enthusiastic attendance and long waiting lists prevail as during the summer months. Wednesdays and Saturdays are devoted to club meetings, entertainments, and parties. Washington and Lawrence Parks have already become neighborhood centers, the weekly programs reading very much like those of an established settlement house. The groups that belong, however, are usually larger.

Washington Park lies in the famous Hill District, and in its activities one may see represented the heterogeneous population of the neighborhood. The little children of Syrian and Italian parents come regularly to the play rooms, many of them being given a refreshing bath by the matron before being allowed to go into the games. Negroes, Irish, and Jewish children, with a sprinkling of southeastern Europeans, crowd the cooking and carpentering classes. During the winter of 1908–09 about 400 boys and girls attended these classes, although it was the first year in the large building. The library had an attendance of 1,136 in one month and a circulation of over 1,200 books during the same period. Here Syrians and Jews are much in evidence. The field houses are more and more being used by older people for social parties. Some of the clubs which have met here are the ladies' literary and social club, composed of Jewish girls; the Jewish young men's civic club, whose purpose, as stated in its constitution, is "the cultivation of the power of clear thinking and good expression by means of debates, essays, orations, public readings, and discussions"; the colored men's civic club, composed of clergymen, lawyers, physicians, and some of the leading business men of the Negro race, whose object is the "development of intelligent public spirit"; and

LAWRENCE PARK





THE PLAYGROUNDS OF PITTSBURGH (1914)

From a bond issue in 1910, 15 plots of ground have been purchased by Pittsburgh, three of them on the North Side. With five older grounds and 12 new ones, 17 recreation centers varying in size from one to 23 acres in extent now come within the province of the Pittsburgh Playground Association—a city-wide system which for relative area and strategic placing is to be matched by few American cities. Pittsburgh has yet to make appropriations for equipment and supervision at all comparable to investment in grounds.

the colored women's civic club. The Lawrence Park clubs are equally interesting and the buildings of both of these parks are being used more and more by outside organizations.

The permanent corps of supervisors and instructors who care for these centers during the winter is greatly augmented each summer when the smaller playgrounds, children's gardens, and vacation schools are opened. From 1907 to 1913 one of the most thoroughly trained playground men in the country, G. E. Johnson, served as superintendent of the whole system.* Mr. Johnson brought a scholar's appreciation of the educational problem and a keen understanding of the social needs of the city. Throughout the six years of his service his personality and influence were most effective in developing a play spirit and in teaching the meaning of play. Through his executive ability a great play festival participated in by 10,000 children from nearly 100 public schools was made a successful feature of the Pittsburgh play congress in 1909. Through his efforts also the University of Pittsburgh co-operated with the Playground Association in establishing in the new school of education a two-year-course which prepares students for playground work.

In addition to the five park centers, the Playground Association in 1908–09 opened the first public school social center in Pittsburgh in the Thaddeus Stevens school. The district school board was most sympathetic with the undertaking and met more than half of the running expenses, the Playground Association providing the supervision and equipment. The response of the neighborhood was enthusiastic and at the weekly entertainments the audience tested the capacity of the assembly hall.†

CITY-WIDE PROVISION

The time had come for these recreational facilities to be extended to all the industrial sections of the city. In 1907 the Playground Association made a survey of congested neighborhoods which contained no parks and submitted to Councils a plan involving an expenditure of $2,000,000. This plan was considered by the city officials but thought too extravagant at

*Now a member of the permanent staff of the New York School of Philanthropy. His successor as superintendent is W. F. Ashe.

† See North and Kennard, op. cit. Pp. 217 and 306, respectively, of this volume.

the time. In November, 1910, however, the people voted for a bond issue of $800,000 for the purchase and improvement of new playgrounds and $200,000 to provide play facilities in the larger parks. The following year a city planning commission was appointed in accordance with an act of the state legislature of that year. One of the first subjects to be taken up by the commission was the question of playgrounds and recreation centers. Under date of December 5, 1911, the city Councils passed a resolution asking it for a comprehensive plan for choosing sites.

The commission arrived at the conclusion that playgrounds should be established at or adjacent to schools, and that recreation centers should be separate institutions in themselves, it being the belief of the commission that the playgrounds should eventually be conducted under the auspices of the board of public education, and that the recreation centers, or athletic fields, should properly be a part of the city park system and should come under the jurisdiction of the bureau of parks.

From the bond issue of 1910, 15 plots of ground have been purchased, three of them on the North Side. With its five older grounds and 12 new ones, 17 recreation centers varying in size from one to 23 acres in extent have come within the province of the Pittsburgh Playground Association. The list follows:

Old Grounds	Acres
Washington Park	3.50
Arsenal Park	11.
South Side	1.75
Lawrence	5.73
Ormsby	2.32
New Grounds	
West End	4.51
Soho	6.03
West Penn	16.55
Warrington	2.24
Cuthbertson	1.
Lewis	2.22
Ream	2.21
Garfield	4.
Sheridan	23.
Beechview	4.
Burgwin	5.
Arlington	3.2

The plans of the new board of public education include ample playgrounds for all the school buildings to be erected in the future.

There still remain middle class as well as poorer sections for which no provision has been made, but the new purchases have brought Pittsburgh to the forefront in municipal provisions.

The appropriations for maintenance have not, however, kept pace with the extension of playground property.*

* In 1910, $65,610 was provided for the maintenance of five recreation parks and 23 summer playgrounds in old Pittsburgh. (The North Side received $23,000

Yet the value or the stability of the playground ideals of Pittsburgh are not to be measured by the appropriation from her city treasury or by the number of her centers. Her citizens in 1910 had a most tangible evidence of the widespread interest in the welfare of the playgrounds and of confidence in those who had conducted them when an ordinance was introduced in Councils to take them abruptly out of the hands of the Association and to place them under the bureau of parks. Immediately there was a storm of protest from every newspaper, from the chamber of commerce, boards of trade, women's clubs, and private individuals all over the city. All agreed with the Association that while it was inevitable that the time would come and might then have arrived when the municipality should assume direct control, it should be done with such care and deliberation that the children need not suffer by the change, or the labor of years be undone.

That is the position of the Association today after four years of construction, during which the playground system has been brought to a city-wide structure and infused with community spirit.

THE PLAY SPIRIT

If there is one virtue more than another which belongs to Pittsburgh it is loyalty. To her devotion appeal can always be made. This magnificent loyalty though often a defense for established wrongs is at the same time a promise of support to the lonely fighter for a far off ideal. Incongruous and elusive are the qualities which distinguish this steel city of ours, for while Pittsburgh is a mighty workshop and is so known to the world, her virtues are those that belong to the playground. With all her mills and factories and the smoke of her furnaces, she has not yet learned how to work without the wastefulness and destruction of her most precious material, the lives and health of her citizens. She has not learned the relation of parts to the whole. She has not seen the larger ends. But that is because her work has been play to the titanic energy of her builders. With an exuberance almost like that of the elemental forces they have built their great furnaces,

the same year.) After an increase of over $11,000 in 1911, the appropriation remained stationary in 1912 and was cut by indifferent Councils to $67,000 in 1913. With the large increase in acreage, the appropriation received in 1914 ($111,000 for Old Pittsburgh and $23,000 for Allegheny) is still inadequate to meet the needs of maintenance.

forged their great engines, and have said with triumph, "Look at our railroads and our bridges, our ships and our wires which girdle the earth." Pittsburgh forgot that beside every furnace and every engine stood a man and that the man was hers. The furnaces grew so great and new men came in such throngs that the busy city lost her sense of values, and as the newcomers came from countries farther and farther away, their faces grew strange to her eyes and their tongues were "hedged with alien speech and lacking all interpreter" to her ears. They were no longer fellow-citizens and friends, but only so much brawn and muscle for the use of her captains of industry.

Yet the spirit of the artist and the playfellow abides. Pittsburgh had not been old and hardhearted, but only young and careless, and when the city remembered, she began to feel the bond of fellowship once more through the children and their play. Men of creative imagination never lose the child's heart, and this city of great workmen in its simplicity and sincerity is like her own great astronomer, Brashear. She has not the trader's spirit of gain, but the maker's love of achievement. Nowhere may one find better team work or greater willingness to subordinate self to the common purpose. Philanthropic or civic projects therefore but need to organize and find a leader for their assured success. And this spirit will accomplish whatever it sets itself to do.

The country's greatest workshop will continue to be the focal point for the workers of Europe, and in this city great racial and industrial battles must still be fought out. But the vital human quality inherent in Pittsburgh is already making her a cosmopolitan community even against some of her most cherished traditions. As the waters of the Allegheny and the Monongahela come from north and south to form here a more mighty river, so the streams of the nations from the north and the south unite here to make a still mightier people, and they shall yet come into their own in the city which Washington called the Gateway of the West. Not by the thrift and industry of the Scotch, Irish, and Germans of the first days, not by the driving wheels and smoking furnaces of a later time, not by her tonnage, and not by the congestion and municipal chaos that now prevail shall the city be known at last, but by the strength and the beauty of her children.

At an Evening Recreation Center

STORY-HOUR GROUP
Washington Park Playground Field House

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY

A SOCIAL LEAVEN IN PITTSBURGH; WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS WORK FOR CHILDREN

FRANCES JENKINS OLCOTT

THE Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh* is a type of the modern people's libraries that are being conducted in most of the smaller towns and great cities of the United States. It was founded in 1895 by Mr. Andrew Carnegie who provided $6,000,000† for the central and branch library buildings, with the understanding that the library itself should be supported by public taxation and receive an annual appropriation from the municipality.

No city in America offers a better field for the development of a people's library than Pittsburgh, yet no city has had to master more definite difficulties in working out an efficient system of book distribution. Were Pittsburgh level like Chicago or Cleveland, one center for book distribution would suffice for a district half a mile in radius; but because of the bluffs and "runs," it has been necessary in some cases to place two or more such centers within a small area.

Moreover, toward the "Iron City" the tide of immigration is continually flowing, producing crowded living conditions and

* It should be noted that Miss Olcott deals only with the library system of the old city of Pittsburgh. The North Side, formerly Allegheny, which was a separate municipality until 1908, owes its library to a gift by Mr. Carnegie in 1890. By the terms of the gift the library on the North Side is controlled by a committee of city Councils, while the Pittsburgh library is controlled by a board of trustees in which Councils has merely a minority representation. Up to the present no feasible plan for combining the library administration of Greater Pittsburgh had been devised.

The footnotes bringing statistics up to February 1, 1914, are editorial annotations to the author's text.—EDITOR.

† Mr. Carnegie, to complete the scheme of branch buildings, gave additional sums as follows: $61,000 for the South Side Branch building, and $150,000 for the Homewood Branch building. The South Side and the Homewood branches, the last of the string of branch buildings, were built in 1910 and 1911.

serious industrial problems. The United States census of 1900 reported two-thirds of the population of Pittsburgh to be foreign born, children of foreign-born parents, or persons of Negro descent. Of the 84,878 foreign born, 33,350* only came from English-speaking countries, and the percentage of illiteracy in the city was 6.3 as compared with 3.9 in Chicago and 4.7 in Cleveland. The census also showed a city of 90,000 mechanics, skilled workmen, and day laborers, as against 34,000 tradesmen, officials, clerks, and so forth, and 6,000 professional men and women.

In the face of these difficulties then, both topographical and racial, the library trustees, aided by a competent librarian, began their work of building up a people's library by a campaign carried on not merely within the walls of the library building itself, but in the field, among the wage-earners of the city.

THE CENTER OF THE SYSTEM

When the library opened in 1895 it carried on its work in one building only.† During the succeeding years the work spread rapidly, until at the time of the Pittsburgh Survey the library was sending its books into the people's homes through seven branch buildings and 177 distributing agencies.‡ Hundreds of thousands of volumes are distributed throughout the city, each one of which the library must be able to trace and reclaim. To this end, the library is organized like a business house into departments, under the control of a head librarian.

Four departments, those of reference, technology, and circulation of books for adults and for children, exist for direct work

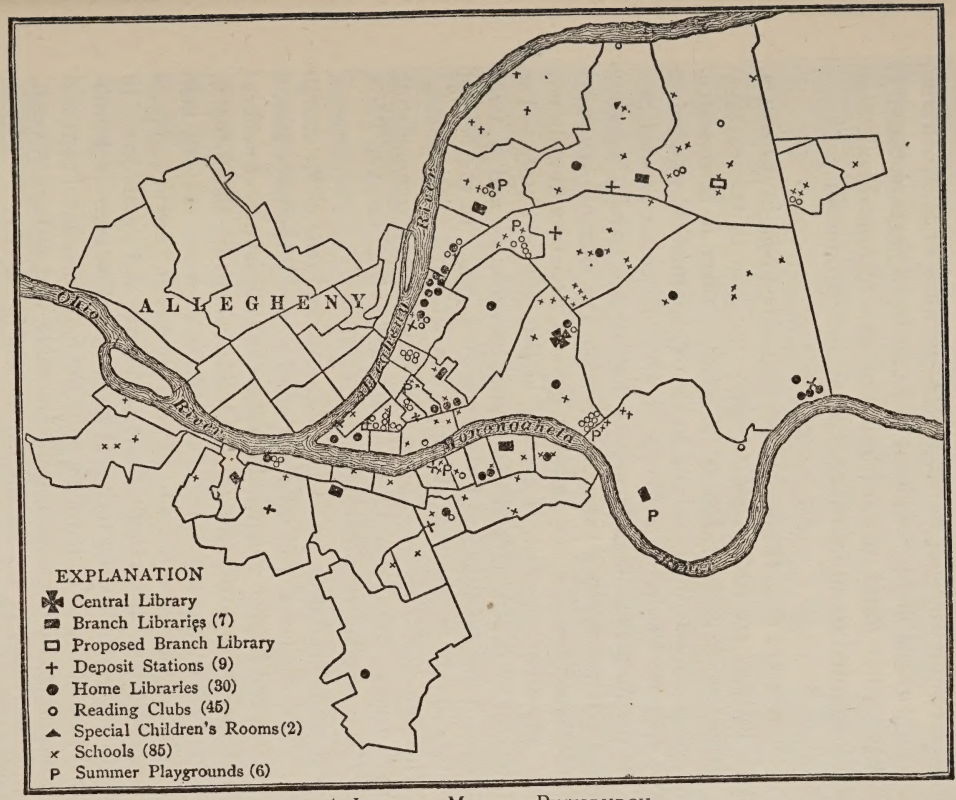
* These figures are for the old city only, exclusive of Allegheny, now North Side. The foreign-born population in Greater Pittsburgh in 1900 and 1910 compares as follows:

	1900	*1910*
Foreign-born population	114,845	140,436
From English-speaking countries	43,092	35,578
Percentage English-speaking foreign born among all foreign born	37.5	25.3

It will be noticed that the number of foreign born from English-speaking countries shows an actual decrease in the decade of 7,514.

† Under the roof of the main library building are also two departments of the Carnegie Institute, the fine arts department and the museum. The institute was endowed by Mr. Carnegie and is not a part of the library.

‡ See caption under map for numbers for 1914.



A Library Map of Pittsburgh

At the close of the fiscal year ending January 31, 1914, books were being distributed through the central library, eight branch libraries, and 285 agencies, an increase of 61 per cent over the 177 shown in the map for 1908. These sub-stations included 78 stations for adults only, one special children's room, three permanent playgrounds, 123 schools, 70 home libraries, and nine summer playgrounds.

with the public. The first two do not have to face the problem of field work and popularization. Their purpose is to put the published resources of the world into the hands of people who want to know more of a subject than is printed between two covers. But even in these two fields, the development of the library has been directed, on the one hand, toward making what it contains immediately available by telephone or letter to all parts of the city, and on the other hand, toward building up a technical collection especially adapted to an industrial center like Pittsburgh.

The reference department occupies a spacious room in the central library.* Readers are encouraged to apply for help to trained assistants whose time is entirely devoted to guiding them in their search. In response to requests by telephone and letter, information is looked up for those who are too busy to visit the library. Reference lists are prepared for the numerous literary clubs of the city and vicinity, covering generally about 750 topics a year. In addition, the reference assistants compile bibliographies for the monthly bulletin issued by the library, the most important of which is a series of lists on local history. The department has valuable files of Pittsburgh newspapers and a large collection of books published in Pittsburgh since 1786. In the field of local history and in architecture, it is especially strong.

The periodical division occupies a separate room, accommodating over 100 readers. Here may be found also dailies from London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Budapest, Stockholm, and Moscow.

The technology department is devoted to the needs of Pittsburgh manufacturers, engineers, and other technical men. It contains sets of United States and English patents, documents and official patent publications from various countries, including Canada, Germany, and Belgium. The assistants in charge, graduates of scientific institutions, not only help readers to find information but also prepare indexes on current technical literature, and collect and classify trade catalogues and pamphlets. In addition they compile lists on technical subjects and on municipal problems, such as electric driving in rolling mills and foundries, metal corrosion and protection, smoke prevention, water softening, and garbage disposal, which the department prints free for distribution in the city.

Electrical, civil, and mechanical engineers, as well as ambitious men in the mechanical trades use the library as a means of self-education.

* The number of books available in the general and technology reference rooms February 1, 1914, was 107,536.

HOMEWOOD BRANCH, ADULT READING ROOM

HOMEWOOD BRANCH, CHILDREN'S ROOM

An example of its valuable work is shown in the case of a stock man employed in a hardware company who had a taste for mechanics. He had an invalid wife and a large family and felt that he must better himself. He applied to his firm for a certain position which would give him an opportunity to work with machinery, but it was refused. He finally obtained a position as fireman in a heating plant, took out a library card, and under the guidance of the technology librarian began a course of reading in mechanics. In three months he showed his library friends an engineer's certificate and he was soon getting nearly twice the salary he had earned when with the hardware company.

To reach the workingmen, and the foreigners and their children in their homes, has been the greatest problem that the library has had to face. The solution of it has been the special charge of the department of adult circulation and the children's department.

WORK WITH ADULTS

The first of these departments aims to place books in the hands of adults of all classes. It reaches the public through the large loan rooms of the central library with their open-shelf collection, through the branch buildings, and through sub-stations for distribution in factories, department stores, institutions, fire houses, and other centers.*

It is the branch libraries, however, upon which the adult circulation department has placed its greatest dependence in reaching both wage-earners and foreigners. Each branch building is provided with a reading room for adults and one for children, a collection of books for home use, a small reference collection, and files of current magazines and newspapers. No two branch districts are alike, each supplying a community with peculiar social

* The eight sub-stations for distributing to adults in 1908 have increased to 44. Starting with one large department store in 1908 (in which the social secretary acted as librarian), six department stores are now (1914) getting books for their employes. Four small semi-public libraries are assisted, four social organizations, 22 stations of the city fire department, three factories, and two telephone exchanges. In one post office station a collection is kept for the messengers.

The most specialized circulation work for adults is that done for the blind in co-operation with the Pennsylvania Teaching Society and Free Circulating Library for the Blind, whose main office is in Philadelphia, and who have on deposit over 700 volumes. These, with the 1,600 volumes owned by the library, are available for the blind readers in western Pennsylvania in 1914.

conditions. The following comparison of three branch districts will show significant differences:

Branch A

Nationalities: American, Irish, German, Italian, Polish, Croatian and other Slav.

Social make-up: Workers from cork, cigar, and breadstuff factories in the district, living in crowded quarters; tradesmen; employes of rolling mills, furnaces, pattern shops, foundries, locomotive works, and allied industries, all classes, from the day laborer to the mechanical engineer, being represented at the library.

When times are good the men have little time to read and none in which to come to the library, many of them being reached only through the children who take books home for their parents. During the slack times of 1908 the men out of work filled the reading rooms and drew books regularly for home use.

Branch B

Nationalities: American, Hebrew (German and Russian), Negro, German, Italian, Roumanian, Hungarian, French.

Social make-up: Factory workers (mainly stogy), small tradesmen, peddlers, and hucksters living in unsanitary homes and crowded quarters. Among the Americans no one industry predominates. The Negroes are school children, porters, and waiters.

Neither the branch building nor the collection of foreign books is large enough to admit of any special effort to attract more of the industrial class than now use the library. A study club of colored women has been conducted in this branch for nine years with good results. The members are hairdressers, dressmakers, stenographers, teachers, and so forth. The branch co-operates with the public schools and settlements.

Branch C

Nationalities: American, German, Irish, Scotch, Italian, French.

Social make-up: Conservative middle class. Civil, electrical and mechanical engineers, clerks, stenographers and small trades people living in comfortable homes. Also employes of the railroads having offices in the district.

The Immigrant as a Reader

To reach the foreign adult is a difficult matter. As a rule, if he reads, he does not read English. The library had therefore

begun a collection of books in foreign languages. The collection, although it has been gradually increasing, is still inadequate.*

The following table shows the circulation of books in foreign languages from February 1, 1908, to February 1, 1909:†

Language	*Books issued*	*Language*	*Books issued*
German	12,974	Swedish	374
Polish	5,409	Spanish	205
Italian	3,742	Roumanian	13
Yiddish	3,470	Hungarian	7
French	2,525	Danish	3
Hebrew	1,401	Norwegian	3
Russian	1,387	Modern Greek	1
Total			31,514

Mill Men

Library work with Pittsburgh mill men is as discouraging as it is interesting. The distribution among them is largely through the children, who come to the library with requests for a "good book for pap." Some mill men, however, come to the library centers and many of them have discussed with librarians ways and means of attracting others. One man said: "Well, you see we fellows have to work so hard and for such long hours that we don't have time to read. There are only a few of us who like to read who feel like giving up what few hours we have to it. We want the time with our families or for recreation."

Those men who come, however, are very willing to take with their own books two or three that "the other fellows may like," especially as the library agrees not to charge for the replacement of a book lost in this way. The library posted book lists in mills with small results: it finds that personal work is the only effective

* At every distribution point patronized by foreigners the need for classes in English and Civics has been strongly felt. As such work is outside the field of work of the library, an effort has been made to get in touch with all existing classes for foreigners and to help them by offering the use of branch club rooms and by supplying literature to both the teacher and the student. Books on these topics are constantly added to the library and a list of them is always available for the use of persons interested in forming classes.

† The total number of books in foreign languages issued during the year ending January 31, 1914, was 46,469.

way to reach mill men. Books must be taken to them. Twelve-hour shifts do not leave a man much desire to improve his mind, or even to use it for diversion.

The librarian of a branch in a mill district reported, "Parents are too busy and too tired to come to the library, and they send their requests by their children." She also stated that with the hearty encouragement of the chief engineer of one of the large steel works a collection of 170 books chosen by the technology librarian was placed in the office of the company. One-third of the books were on blast furnaces and locomotive engineering. The plan was tried for eight months but it failed to attract the men. Conditions at the mill, overtime work, and the fact that the men were not readers, or that they distrusted the motives of the company, were some of the reasons given. In the same district two deposit stations opened for mill men and street railway men were not used by adults. Overwork and adjacent pool rooms were opposing factors too great to overcome.

THE WORK AMONG CHILDREN

Nearly two decades of experiments among the wage-earners and immigrants of Pittsburgh have gone to show that the solution of the reading problem, as far as the librarian can effect it, lies largely in work with children. Let the library establish the reading habit in a child, teach him to choose good books and to think independently, and he is likely to continue to do both for the rest of his life.

The library organized its children's department in 1898. The work has been largely field work, and has gradually extended to remote parts of the city. Its books are to be found in alley tenements and in the hillside shanties, as well as in the better homes.* The children seize every opportunity to draw books. They come in crowds to the library, they throng its reading rooms. Their minds are plastic and they are eager to read.

The selection of the books is the basis of the entire children's work. These books are read and reviewed by experts. Ethical value, literary style, popularity, content, make-up, all are considered. Few volumes are selected, but those that are selected are duplicated in considerable num-

* Great care is taken to prevent books from spreading contagious diseases. The collections are renovated continually. Soiled and worn books are discarded or rebound and thousands are annually washed page by page with a solution of ammonia and water. Moreover, the bureau of health sends to the library a daily report showing the houses in which there are contagious diseases. Books taken out by readers in those houses are collected by the library messenger and burned.

Library in a South Side Recreation Center

Lawrence Park Playground Library

Home Library Group

bers. They range from the linen picture books for little children and the artistically illustrated books of Walter Crane and Howard Pyle, to the literature, history, art, science, travel, and fiction which every boy or girl should have read before he or she is sixteen years of age. In the effort to reach children of all classes and all nationalities the department works through various agencies: children's reading rooms; public, private, parochial, and Sunday schools; home libraries; boys' and girls' reading clubs; settlements; bath houses; vacation schools, playgrounds, and recreation parks; and juvenile detention rooms. The department thus has the hearty co-operation of many philanthropic as well as civic institutions.

The first floor of the south wing of the central library building and a portion of each branch building are set aside as children's rooms. These rooms* are equipped with low shelving, and tables and chairs of proper height. Gay bindings, growing plants, and illustrated book lists give a touch of color which makes the rooms bright and attractive. They are in charge of trained children's librarians, selected not only for their general education and technical training, but also for their special ability to work with children. Their methods are those of informal teaching. The children come and go as they wish, there being no compulsion in their attendance. They come to read for pleasure, as well as to select books for home reading, or to look up material for school exercises.

The different devices that have been tried to lead children to read the best books include personal advice to individual children, illustrated book lists, reading aloud to groups of children, and last, but by no means least, story telling.

Story Telling

Story telling is the most successful means of introducing children to good books. The story tellers are members of the library staff or students in the training school for children's librarians conducted by the library. Each year the stories are taken from dramatic and romantic forms of world literature; for example, from Shakespeare, from the Iliad, the Odyssey, Norse Mythology and the Nibelungenlied, King Arthur and the Round Table, Charlemagne and his Paladins. Separate hours are set aside for little children. The stories told to them are taken from legends of places, historical legends, and favorite fairy tales. Most of the children want to read the stories for themselves afterward, and it is sometimes impossible to supply sufficient copies of the books containing

* In 1914 there are 12 rooms in the old city especially equipped for children: a suite in the central library, a room in each of the eight branches, one in Soho Settlement, one in Washington Park Fieldhouse, and one in Lawrence Park Playground.

them. The attendance at the story hours from the years 1900 to 1910 was 269,600.*

Story telling has been introduced also in some of the public schools. The children's librarian works closely with the public and parochial schools in her district, visiting the class rooms and keeping in touch with teachers. She also visits the children's homes and in this way learns of their surroundings and is able to assist them more intelligently.

The children's librarian is indirectly to instill lessons of courtesy, cleanliness, care of public property, respect for the rights of others and many other valuable lessons. A wash-bowl and soap are provided in each children's room and it is not an infrequent thing to see a small boy washing his face and hands, and on occasions his feet, in the wash-bowl.

In spite of the depressing effect of visiting the tenements, bits of pathos and humor filter through the uncouth surroundings, keeping the librarian level-headed and sympathetic even when facing a gang that has come to the children's room for "rough-house." She has to be keen and quick-witted to meet questions and to supply promptly such demands as that for "The kidnapper book—first he chases all the rats away then he steals the children" (Pied Piper of Hamelin).†

From time to time the library has printed lists helpful to mothers in selecting books for their children, and has held exhibitions at the central and branch buildings of books suitable for Christmas gifts. Members of the children's department have spoken at a number of mothers' meetings, and for several years Wednesday afternoon was set aside for consultation with mothers at the central library.

School and Home Libraries

The relation between the library and the city schools is very close. A collection of volumes is made up into small libraries and sent in the autumn to schools which keep them until the close of the school year and use them for class-room work and to lend to the children for home reading.‡

The home library carries the process of distribution a step farther; it places a small case of books in a child's home. At a stated time each

* The growth in attendance has been cumulative, so that in 1913 alone it was 116,755.

† "Rebecca on Sunny Jim's Farm" (Rebecca of Sunny Brook Farm); "How to keep it when you git it" (To Have and to Hold); "St. Nicholas on a crow" (Santa Claus on a Lark); "The gum-shoes of good luck" (Galoshes of Fortune); "The pound of flesh book" (Merchant of Venice); "The acrobat of the breakfast table" (The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table); "Pontius Pilate, the book with the soup explosion in it" (Moral Pirates); "A book about our hinges" (a physiology), might be added.

‡ The number of schools supplied in 1913 was 129 and the number of volumes circulated, 415,211.

week ten or twelve children of the neighborhood meet in the home and a visitor from the library gives out the books, reads aloud or tells stories, and in various ways makes the "library hour" pass pleasantly and with profit to the children. This method was originated by Charles W. Birtwell, when secretary of the Boston Children's Aid Society. The Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh has since 1898 conducted home libraries in neighborhoods so remote that the children could not make use of the public reading rooms. The parents of some of the children speak no English, and a great variety of nationalities is represented among these home library groups: English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, German, Swedish, Dutch, French, Italian, Hebrew, Hungarian, Polish, other Slav races, and Negro. The friendly visitors are either members of the library staff, students in the Training School for Children's Librarians, or young people who volunteer their services.

A number of these small libraries have been given by philanthropic citizens and all are under the direction of a separate supervisor who cooperates with the philanthropic agencies of the city, such as the Association for the Improvement of the Poor, the Toy Mission, the juvenile court, settlement houses, the Bath House Association, church missions, and the Kindergarten Association. Kingsley House Association each summer takes groups of home library children to its country house, Lillian Home.

Reading Clubs and Books in City Playgrounds

In districts where the supervisor of home libraries finds it impossible to organize libraries in the children's homes, she establishes reading clubs. Schools, bath houses, the detention rooms of the Juvenile Court, a Jewish synagogue, and even the Pittsburgh post-office and a room in a large manufacturing establishment have been the meeting centers of these reading clubs.

The management of these clubs is much the same as that of the home library groups, with the exception that the members are usually working girls and boys, such as newsboys, special delivery boys, telegraph messengers and factory and mill workers. The library also does a special work among boys' gangs, organizing troublesome street boys into reading clubs. As Jacob Riis said, "It is through the Boys' Club that the street is hardest hit. In the fight for the lad it is the club which knocks out the 'gang' and with its own weapon—the weapon of organization."

Since 1899 the Playground Association of Pittsburgh has cooperated with the library in the distribution of books. Each summer the library sends collections to the playgrounds, and assistants go from the library to issue the books and to tell the children stories. Now that the

Playground Association has opened recreation centers in winter as well as in summer, it provides the necessary reading rooms in its new buildings.

The annual circulation of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh passed the million mark by the close of 1908, while the roll of registered borrowers the same year was well toward 100,000. This registration does not include the membership in the home libraries, boys' and girls' reading clubs, playgrounds, or the enrollment in the public, private, parochial and Sunday schools to which the library sends books, nor does it show the number of readers who use the reference and technology departments.*

Without the close co-operation and sympathy manifested by educators, social workers, representatives of technical societies, and other interested citizens, it would be impossible for the library to reach the many homes into which its books now go. In the process of their distribution they illustrate Lord Rosebery's saying that "books are the greatest democratic agent of the world." Through books speak history, the acts of great men, the force of the world's thought and civilization. Ancient and medieval libraries were the repositories of this heritage, but it has remained for the progressive public libraries as we know them today, to make books accessible alike to rich and poor, young and old, and thus to become an educational force and an important socializing factor in modern life.

* The following figures will give some idea of the growth, since the library's organization, in home use of adult and juvenile books: In 1895, 23,197 books were circulated; in 1900, 428,686; in 1905, 661,891; in 1910, 1,134,789; and in 1913, 1,417,089. During 1913 there were 150,349 borrowers' cards in force.

PITTSBURGH AS A FOSTER MOTHER

FLORENCE L. LATTIMORE

I

THE PITTSBURGH DISTRICT AS A FOSTER MOTHER

SIX thousand children of wage-earners, supposedly sound in mind and limb, were cared for by the children's institutions of Allegheny County in the year 1907. Half of this number drifted in, and as many drifted out during the twelve-month, but night and day, the year round, there was a steady institutional population of 3,000 boys and girls. The majority of them were American born and Pittsburgh bred,—children whose fathers and mothers had previously been, or were in 1907, producers in this industrial district.

These 6,000 children did not include the classes made up of "special children"; that is, those who passed into the Industrial Home for Crippled Children, those who went from Allegheny County to the various state educational institutions for the blind, the deaf, or the feeble-minded; nor those committed to the Pennsylvania Reform School at Morganza. This total omitted the 320 children whom the Juvenile Court Association reported as sent from this county or from the state to correctional schools situated elsewhere because Allegheny County or Pennsylvania as a whole lacked provision for them. It did not take into account the 1,000 delinquent children constantly under the care of probation officers, and those held in the detention rooms of the juvenile court. Nor did it include the undeterminable number of destitute, under-aged girls who drifted into the numerous rescue homes which were filled most of the time by older inmates. The 3,000 children whom the day nurseries reported having cared for, the 7,626 children the Pittsburgh department of charities stated as the number included in families to which the city gave out-door relief, and the 1,643 children belonging to other families which were given aid by the county authorities were also omitted. Nor were the hundreds of other

boys and girls who had enjoyed country outings at fresh-air homes included.

Here was a situation that challenged one's sympathies and one's wits; an educators', church-goers', and tax payers', as well as a parents' and social workers' problem; one that was not yet recognized in all its dangers and ramifications, but which involved fundamental questions of municipal responsibility for the hidden as well as exposed causes of poverty and distress. What tributaries from the Pittsburgh hills fed this living stream and toward what was it flowing?

The most natural approach to this problem was through a survey of the institutions which the community had sympathetically prepared for these children. Institution doors had been thrown open to them by the state, county, and city, and by the untiring personal efforts of the District's well-to-do for the District's struggling poor. Everywhere they found a welcome. In the very heart of Pittsburgh, a home for boys, temporarily housed in an old gray church, was making its fight against the odds of an unregenerate street. Just across the Allegheny River, in the thick of a lodging-house neighborhood, near the waterfront, was another such home. Up in the Hill District with its congestion of mixed races, was still another, and here and there, in the residence sections of the two merged cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, in their outskirts, and springing up in the open country, were other charitable asylums for children. Some were small, occupying old residences that housed from 15 to 30; others sheltered groups ranging all the way up to 1,200 in one vast plant. No fewer than 33 private institutions and three almshouses were engaged in this work in Allegheny County, the year through.* In detail, the receipts of the institutions were as shown in the following table:

* Four more institutions in the counties of Butler, Indiana, Washington, and Venango, were largely used by Allegheny.

The act covering county payment for destitute cases was approved April 15, 1903, as follows:

Sec. 1. BE IT ENACTED, etc., That whenever a child shall have been committed by a court or judge thereof to any industrial school, or other institution of like character, or shall become an inmate thereof, whose parents or guardian are not of sufficient ability to pay the expense of maintaining and instructing such child, such maintenance and instruction shall be paid by the county from which such child shall have been committed: PROVIDED, HOWEVER, That the actual cost of maintaining and instructing such child shall be paid only, and in no event shall such per capita maintenance and instruction exceed the amount of per capita cost of maintenance and instruction of inmates of the House of Refuge, etc.

TABLE I.—AMOUNT AND SOURCES OF INCOME OF CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS, ALLEGHENY COUNTY, DURING ONE YEAR[a]

Source	Funds from Each Specified Source	
	Amount	*Per Cent*
Public sources		
State of Pennsylvania	$36,700	8.4
Allegheny County	10,236	2.4
Total	**$46,936[b]**	**10.8**
Private sources		
Endowments and investments	$106,480	24.4
Voluntary contributions	145,520	33.4
Board paid for children by relatives and friends	46,121	10.6
Other private moneys [b]	90,735	20.8
Total	**$388,856**	**89.2**
Grand total	**$435,792**	**100.0**

[a] No table for expenditures can be given because the institution bookkeeping defied classification, and in some instances no definite total could be secured. "We spend what we get" was the statement of one institutional treasurer.

The financial statements made by all the various institutions upon which this table was based did not cover identical calendar months,—the fiscal year of some being from January to January, of others from June to June, and so forth.

[b] The item entered above as "Other private moneys" is the difference between the total secured by adding the three other classifications and the total sum reported as "received from private sources." The amount, $90,735, should, of course, have been distributed so as to come under one of the other heads, but no itemized statement of it could be secured.

Leaving out the initial cost of the plant, these institutions were maintained at an annual average per capita expense of $145, the large amount of unpaid work done by the Roman Catholic orders making this per capita cost low for the labor actually performed. They boarded children, committed through the juvenile court, as dependents and delinquents, at a per capita rate of 37 cents a day collected from the county treasury.

In round numbers, the annual income and the cost for maintaining these institution children was well over $435,000. This was $125,000 more than was spent in the same year by the Pittsburgh bureau of health,* and $235,000 more than was spent for

* The expenditures of the bureau of health of the city of Pittsburgh for the year ending January 1, 1908, were $310,189, and for the Carnegie Library, for the same year, the appropriation was $200,000—of which $160,000 was for the maintenance of the library, which includes the entire system, central building and branches.

the maintenance of the entire system of the Carnegie Library, central building, branches and all. Of the total about 10 per cent was derived from public funds and about 90 per cent from private sources.

"PLACED-OUT" CHILDREN

It will simplify matters, before entering into the discussion of the institutions, to mention an alternative method of dealing with children who become dependent upon charity; namely, placing them out in foster homes where they may have the advantage of family life. Strangely enough this method, so successful in eastern Pennsylvania, and known throughout the country as the "Pennsylvania System," has been practically untried in the most populous western county.

Allegheny County made her deliberate choice of methods in 1887. The history of this decision throws some light upon the situation which we found in the District. In 1883, nearly twenty-five years before the date of our study, the so-called "Children's Law" had been passed, largely through the influence of the Children's Aid Society, newly organized under private management in Philadelphia. This law prohibited the retention in almshouses of children between the ages of two and sixteen years for periods of more than sixty days at a time, unless they belonged to the defective classes.

When the statute was passed, both the eastern and western parts of the state were liberally supplied with institutions for dependent children, and the now wellknown "Pennsylvania System" sprang into existence when the Children's Aid Society induced the county and city authorities to refer dependent children, such as had previously been sent to an almshouse, directly to the society and to pay their board in family homes chosen and supervised by the society. There was no counterpart of this placing-out work in the western part of the state, and to further such a plan there, the society, two years after the children's law went into effect, organized a branch in Pittsburgh.

For two years the Children's Aid Society supported the Pittsburgh branch from its own funds, secured entirely from private sources. In 1887, when this financial help was withdrawn, the Allegheny branch separated from the parent organization and joined with interested people in 26 other counties who then formed the Children's Aid Society of Western Pennsylvania. This new society applied for and received a state appropriation.

How little the placing-out system had taken root in the Pittsburgh District was shown by the report of the Allegheny County branch of the Children's Aid Society of Western Pennsylvania for 1907. In that year, 62 children were received and 28 were placed in free homes. Similarly, the Children's Home Society of Pennsylvania, which entered the field nine years after the Children's Aid Society had received, in the year ending March 31, 1908, according to the statement of the superintendent, 15 Allegheny County children for placement, and had placed eight within the Allegheny County lines.

Provision for cases of cruelty and neglect was made by the Western Pennsylvania Humane Society which dated back to 1873. This society occasionally placed out children, although most of those coming under its care remained with their own families, or, if the home was broken up, were left in the custody of one or the other parent. This society reported that in 1907 it had placed 39 Allegheny County children in family homes other than those of relatives.

The Allegheny County Association for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children had the same object as the Humane Society, but both of its charters, one giving it authority over children and the aged, the other over animals, were revoked for cause in 1907. Although the association was in operation in the early part of that year, and had at its disposal a small reception home for children, the work was so limited and disorganized that the association could not be counted as an active agency.

Another organization, the Pittsburgh Association for the Improvement of the Poor, combined institutional care, placing out, and relief in the home. To it the county and city authorities would not naturally turn for provision for "homeless" children, as it was primarily a private organization giving outdoor relief. But within the families which appealed to it for aid were children suffering from all manner of catastrophes. During 1906–07 the association placed 13 children in private families and sent 173 to institutions; 140 of these 173 were put into temporary homes which the association maintained. This means that but 33 were distributed among the other institutions and these were in most cases children who needed permanent care, or different care from that offered by the temporary home of the association.

One other agency which did some placing-out work is still to be mentioned—the juvenile court with its affiliated organizations. Its creation, under the act of 1901, was the most thought-provoking step in behalf of children ever taken in the District, and its decisions are modifying and stimulating public opinion and bringing to the front the needs of the delinquent wards of the county. Although the court was not equipped

to place out children, yet in the absence of a working agreement with the regular child-placing agencies, it placed, in 1907, 58 children in family homes; it committed 184 to Allegheny County institutions, 90 to institutions in other Pennsylvania counties, and sent 124 to institutions outside of the state.

While the agencies enumerated above were the only ones that placed out children directly, without giving them a period of institutional life, it should be said here that more than half of the institutions in Allegheny County did such work themselves for the children they housed.

All told, the proportion of supposedly normal children handled by direct home-finding or placing-out agencies in the year studied was negligible compared with those taken into the institutions. It is to the institutions then that we must turn for an understanding of the social policies of the Pittsburgh District with respect to the vast majority of its dependent children.

TABLE 2.—CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY, BY RELIGIOUS CONTROL AND BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

Type of Institution	Institutions				
	Protestant	*Catholic*	*Hebrew*	*Nonsectarian*	*Total*
Public					
Almshouses (one county and two city)	..	..	..	3	3
Private					
Institutions for infants only	1	..	..	..	1
Institutions for boys only	3	1	..	..	4
Institutions for girls only	2	2	..	..	4
Institutions for both boys and girls	16	4	1	..	21
Total	22	7	1	3	33

SCOPE OF CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS

THE ALMSHOUSE. The first type of institution to be considered is that rudimentary philanthropic agency, the almshouse, which historically has been the catch-all for all sorts of human dependency and which knows no distinctions of religion, sex or, too often, of age. Evolution was in Allegheny County, as elsewhere, bringing about the removal from almshouses of those public dependents for whom other provision was needed—the insane, the feeble-

PLAYMATES IN THE ALLEGHENY COUNTY ALMSHOUSE
Pennsylvania law permits children like these to be kept sixty days in almshouses. Some are kept longer.

LITTLE ORPHAN ANNIE
An almshouse waif. Was there no better home for her in all western Pennsylvania?

LUNCH TIME, PITTSBURGH CITY HOME
Kind-hearted almshouse nurse, happy children, one spoon for all, and skin disease

HAPPINESS AGAINST ODDS
In the children's pavilion, Pittsburgh City Home

minded, the epileptic, and the children, and limiting it to its proper function, the care of the aged and infirm.

The Pittsburgh District boasted no fewer than three almshouses, one for the county, one for the former city of Allegheny, now merged with Pittsburgh, and one for Pittsburgh itself. At the Pittsburgh almshouse, called the City Home, a modern and attractive little pavilion had been set apart for the children's use. It was light, and had a small yard which contained swings and toys. Children were sometimes kept there illegally for many months, when, for instance, the mother was ill in the almshouse hospital. There was no concealment of this fact by the management, which would have welcomed the help of some agency in relieving it of such a burden. At the Allegheny City Home the law was strictly enforced, although one might, of course, find babies there that had been born in the institution. At the County Home in Woodville, however, conditions were startlingly bad. Here, the objectionable almshouse features which led to the framing and passage of the Children's Law in 1883 still persisted. There were no separate quarters in which the children could either sleep or play. The sanitary conditions were particularly objectionable; one room in which 10 babies and little girls and four women were crowded day and night, contained a toilet built boldly into one corner, and separated from it only by a thin wooden partition. The only provision for ventilation in this living-sleeping room, as in the other rooms where children were kept, was by windows which were rarely opened; the heating was by gas, the air was foul. Little boys over two years of age slept in the open ward occupied by disabled men—cripples, paralytics, and locomotor ataxia cases; during the day these little fellows had no place in which to play except the sitting room where the men smoked and played cards. Even the sixty days to which their stay was limited was too long a period to spend in such surroundings.*

The visitor to this institution upon two occasions found 40

* At the instigation of one of the directors of the poor of Allegheny County a bill was introduced in the 1913 legislature enabling poor directors to establish children's homes in connection with almshouses. This bill was defeated.

In the spring of 1914 there were 49 child inmates at Woodville. This fact was brought out in an inquiry directed at the removal of these children and the formulation of a plan which would make further commitment of children unnecessary, instituted by the Child Welfare Association and the Public Charities Association.

children, most of them between the ages of four and sixteen, standing about in listless groups. Nowhere else in the county were there such flagrant instances of charitable and civic inertia in work for children as in this county home at Woodville, although the detention rooms for juvenile court children,* illegally situated in the Allegheny County jail in Pittsburgh, were a close second.

PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS. The general scope of the private institutions may be briefly stated:

ORPHANAGE. But four institutions limited their work to orphans and half orphans, a point in which these institutions differed from the majority in the eastern part of the state.

DESTITUTION. Counting out the almshouses, none of the institutions for normal children made economic destitution a condition of entrance, and in all of them money was required for board,—if the institution knew there was any one to pay it. Some reported that they did not usually allow children to be taken out until any existing arrears were paid.

RACE. Several institutions admitted colored children only. One of these revealed an interesting effort made by the colored people themselves; a temporary home for children from infancy to twelve years. Another was maintained by the Women's Christian Association, and received colored children between four and twelve years of age. Third and last was the Avery Trade College. Two of the three Pittsburgh homes for boys and one of the day nurseries also received colored children. There was no race discrimination at any of the institutions for special children maintained entirely by public funds. The colored people of Pittsburgh did not seek institutional care for their children to any great extent except in cases of illness. They usually had strong home ties and were willing to adopt a lower standard of living than the white population before giving up their children.

RELIGION. While no institution which is declared to be sectarian is eligible for state funds, there were in the District receiving public moneys Roman Catholic institutions in which Protestant ministers never set foot, and vice versa. The term "non-sectarian" as commonly used, applied to the rules governing the admission of applicants and not to the religious management of the institution itself.

MATERNITY. But one institution admitted infants only. It cared for 24 at a time, kept intelligent physical records, was doing excellent nutri-

*These rooms have since been removed, but there is still crying need for a modern detention home for delinquent children and for medical and psychological examination.

Children's Pavilion
The City Home, Marshalsea

At the Allegheny County Home, Woodville
With a toilet installed alongside the beds, it was used as both sleeping room and children's play-room

THE "PLAYGROUND"
Allegheny County Home, Woodville

MEN'S—AND LITTLE BOYS'—WARD, WOODVILLE
These little boys played in this men's community room, ate with them, and slept in the open ward with paralytic and otherwise disabled men

tional work, and should, no doubt, have been expanded. A popular demand existed for more places which would receive well babies, but the meagerness of provision for such children was, on the whole, a beneficial one.

The existence of eight rescue homes for wayward and fallen girls indicated an illegitimate source of the demand for places where babies might be sent without their mothers. In the experience of workers with such girls, strong and persistent effort was required to induce them to keep their children, and young mothers needed assistance in finding work in country homes where they might support themselves as well as their babies. The need for an agency for boarding out infants was great and legitimate, but institutions which admitted babies only too often fostered the irresponsibility of unmarried mothers and should not have been multiplied. Such boarding homes were occasionally found for individuals, but the plan was not being pushed as a general program. One of these institutions did what it termed "preservation work"; that is, it received girls who were inclined to be unruly at home, but who were not considered actually delinquent. The majority of the girls were above the compulsory school age; yet frequently they could neither read nor write, and their education in the practical duties of life was extremely meager. At this juncture they presented an educational problem. Many girls were in the homes as a direct result of economic maladjustment; they were in the main girls who could not earn a fair living wage without more training than had been given them. Some were feeble-minded and should have been receiving custodial care, to continue for the remainder of their lives. Yet in only one institution was the work regarded in its broader aspects, and in that institution effort was being made to bring the law to bear on the problem. In all these homes the inmates did the ordinary housework and in addition learned to sew. The most the managements did beyond that was to help each girl secure some sort of employment, usually as a domestic servant in a private home.*

SEX. Of the 29 institutions admitting children, 21, or three-fourths, received both boys and girls. It was characteristic of these institutions that they admitted children who were very young and kept them for a number of years. Boys were usually discharged at about the age of twelve when they were liable to become increasingly restive. The girls, however, were frequently held five or six years longer because of the assistance they were able to give in caring for the buildings and for the younger children.

* There was a common rule among rescue homes that no girl could hope for admittance a second time. In the absence of follow-up work, it was obvious then that the institution did not know whether or not its influence had been lasting. Very little was learned of the girls after they were discharged.

But whether for orphans or not, whether for colored or white, almost without exception the 33 institutions, with their half-million dollar budget, were filled to the extent of their capacity, and a number were spilling over. Yet 1907 was not a record breaking year in the matter of child dependence. A review of the few years which preceded it revealed the same conditions, and a careful watch throughout 1908 showed no diminution in the size of the problem. While certain local factors had stimulated the growth of children's institutions in Allegheny County, the situation there was neither exceptional nor unique. It was quite similar to that in other counties than Allegheny and in other states than Pennsylvania. Wherever charitable impulses have been allowed to run riot while the spirit of scientific inquiry has been napping, such conditions inevitably follow.

THE SITUATION AS A WHOLE

It might seem natural to look upon each institution as an isolated household, having an independent career along its chosen path. Such an angle of vision, however, is bound to give way to the broader one which considers the problem of child care in the district as a whole and lays stress upon the common methods used, upon the typical features of institutional life, upon the relation of each institution to the others, and upon the combined service of all for the creation of a normal community.

At the time this study was made there was in the whole county no association to serve as a clearing house or common meeting ground for charities, and there was no full list of institutions in which children were received; the existing agencies knew little of one another. The few reports published were generally much out of date by the time they appeared, and contained little or nothing but a statement of financial receipts, expenditures, and alterations made to the buildings. They reflected nothing of the life which lay beneath the institutional machinery. From them it was impossible to learn at what ages these wage-earners' children had become dependent, or whether the majority of them were boys or girls. Upon one point, however, the evidence of the reports was conclusive. They presented ample proof that large numbers of sincerely interested men and women were giving time,

strength, and money to support the never ending procession of children who came under their charge. But of the forces that had wrecked the homes which should have been theirs, these reports did not drop even a hint.

ADMISSION. Many omissions in the reports were due to the accepted methods of procedure for admission to most of the institutions. Applications were made directly to, or were referred to, the chairman of the admission committee. Sometimes references were asked for and inquiry was made from these by letter; sometimes the whole matter was decided after interviews with relatives at the institution. Cases that were not emergent were usually held until a board meeting, and if passed upon and accepted the applicant was notified. In but one institution was there systematic effort to have the home visited by a representative of the institution in advance of the decision by the board.

DISCHARGE. One of three things was likely to happen when a child left one of these Pittsburgh institutions: he would be returned to parents or relatives; placed out in a home for adoption or under agreement that he should give some return in service and perhaps continue in school at the same time; or he would shift for himself and fall into unskilled work from which he could rarely advance.

The records were so defective and scattered that the number of children placed in families free, to board, or for wages by indenture could not be determined. It has been pointed out that in the absence of a strong placing-out agency in western Pennsylvania we found more than half of the Allegheny County institutions doing this work for themselves. It is a crucial point in the life of the child when he starts out, alone, to make his way among strangers. The motives of persons who apply for a child are not always in his interest and he needs the continued supervision and friendship of the institution.

The methods, in 1907, were as follows:

> Only three of some 20 institutions from which children were placed out sent visitors into the home before the application for a child was approved; of these but one employed a paid agent. The usual method was to send a blank to the applicant, to correspond with the applicant's references,—preferably a minister, a physician, and a business man,—

and then, if all seemed right, to give the child out on trial under an agreement that the institution should be notified in case there was discontent on either side. Where these methods had been used, almost no children had been returned. Painstaking placing-out agencies elsewhere have found that many such apparently satisfactory placements mean intimidation or exploitation of the child by unscrupulous foster parents and their refusal to allow him to write freely and truthfully of his life.

One of the largest institutions for dependent children allowed them to be taken out by any woman of respectable appearance who applied at the institution, filled out a blank, and waited for the child to be dressed. It was frankly admitted by one of the managers that careful investigations should be made and that the child should be carefully followed up, but neither step was taken and the old ways continued. In the Roman Catholic institutions, following up of discharged children was usually left to the priests in the places to which the child was sent, who were to report if anything went wrong. Indentures were, fortunately, not common among these institutions, and only one institution was found that limited its placing out to the indenture system.

As a matter of fact, the majority of institutional children in the Pittsburgh District were returned to relatives or friends whenever these people wanted them. But the institutions did not definitely know what became of more than a few children; did not know whether or not they drifted into the glass-works and mines, although several of the managers stated that they suspected such exploitation. Managers might infer that a home was a dangerous one for the child because of the character of the relatives who came to see him or because some neighbor had told tales, but the family was always given the benefit of the doubt.*

* The president of a board of managers, in discussing the question of investigating families from which the children came and those to which they returned, said, "It is impossible for us to investigate the different cases, for the ladies of our board cannot, of course, go into neighborhoods where there is a suspicion of immorality. We have to be very careful."

The attorney of a wellknown and respected institution in Pittsburgh was asked what protection his institution gave its outgoing children and what policy he advised when parents whom the institution suspected of being unfit guardians came to take the children home again. His written answer was: "Of course, as you readily understand, the —— Asylum cannot refuse to return a child to its parents on mere suspicion that the child may not be properly taken care of." It is only fair to add that this attorney believed in thorough inquiry concerning each and every child taken into the institution in the first place. He did not think, however, that thorough investigation need include visitation to the child's home.

SUPERVISION. Nor was there, at the time of our study, such public supervision or visitation as would prevent the lapses of any institution in its human stewardship. The regulative powers of the state were vested in the Pennsylvania board of public charities, composed of five unpaid members appointed by the governor for periods of ten years each. A salaried agent and assistant agents were appointed by the board. The duties of the board were distinctly advisory and its reports were supposed to be the main source of information to guide the legislature in making appropriations.*

The subsidy system of Pennsylvania, however, was notoriously lax. The ordinary procedure followed to secure an appropriation from the state was nothing short of travesty. Usually each institution made its request to the board of public charities, members of which visited the institution, inquired as to the amount of charity work done, looked over the books and went away. When the legislature convened the board submitted a list of the appropriations requested, together with its own recommendations. If an institution chose to ignore the board of public charities, it sometimes presented its own bill directly to the legislature.

In many instances the legislature decided the appropriation according to the political influence of the district in which the institution was situated or the interests which were behind it.

* So imperfectly were the supervising powers of the board of public charities understood that the act creating it is here quoted.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ACT CREATING A BOARD OF PUBLIC CHARITIES.
(APPROVED APRIL 24, 1869.)

Section 5. The said commissioners shall have full power either by themselves or the general agent, at all times to look into and examine the condition of all charitable, reformatory, or correctional institutions within the state, financially and otherwise, to inquire and examine into their methods of instruction, the government and management of their inmates, the official conduct of trustees, directors, and other officers and employes of the same, the condition of the buildings, grounds, and other property connected therewith, and into all other matters pertaining to their usefulness and good management; and for these purposes they shall have free access to the grounds, buildings, and all books and papers relating to said institutions; and all persons now or hereafter connected with the same are hereby directed and required to give such information and afford such facilities for inspection as the said commissioners may require; and any neglect or refusal on the part of any officer or person connected with such institution to comply with any of the requirements of this act shall subject the offender to a penalty of one hundred dollars, to be sued for and collected by the general agent, in the name of the board.

There may have been truth in the statement often made that were more responsibility placed upon the board its work would be more thorough. Associated with the board was a woman's auxiliary, not limited in number, the members of which were supposed to visit the various institutions and to report back to the boards. This auxiliary had never taken advantage of its opportunity and was practically non-existent.

Without attempting to review the difficulties confronted by the board of public charities or the character of its work, it is in point here to state that its investigations in Allegheny County were extremely superficial and that it did not require high and clearly defined standards of work in the institutions and agencies for which it recommended public money. From a supervisory point of view it was inadequately officered, having in 1907 one underpaid inspector for the 28 counties in the western part of the state. Its current reports were meager and unsatisfactory.

The other provision for a supervisory body of official stamp was so little known as to claim our special attention. A board of visitation, composed of five or more unsalaried officers, was required, under provision of the amended juvenile court law (1903), to make yearly visits to all institutions and agencies receiving children from the juvenile court, and to hand lists of such agencies as they approved to the juvenile court judges. The duties of this board were more personal in nature than those of the board of public charities. The law provided that the board of public charities should supply the board of visitation with forms upon which to report upon conditions found; and the board of visitation was to acquaint the court with the facts discovered. As neither provision was enforced, the juvenile court had received no help from either of these important bodies. No such list of investigated agencies for the use of the judges had been provided even as late as 1907, and further than this, a schedule for the reports of the board of visitation had never been drawn up and the board of public charities had therefore no records of the work of this board.

These bodies were supposed to be the social auditors of the state. Their reports should have shown the social value of the ex-

penditure of the large amounts of tax payers' money appropriated to the subsidized institutions. Without adequate supervision, the work of these institutions often hitched and halted, sometimes at the most crucial point. Efficient co-operation between societies, institutions, and courts was needlessly impeded. The public was not informed through these official sources either of excellent management or the reverse.

Except in rarest instances, the managers themselves confined their attention to that section of the child's life which was cut off at one end by admission and at the other end by discharge. A brief survey of the chief factors of institutional equipment and administration will describe the way they were meeting their responsibility within the bounds they had thus set. A discussion of their broader responsibilities will be considered later.

II

THE CHILDREN'S INSTITUTION AND THE CHILD

It may be said that the old conception regarding the work of an institution was the supplying of material relief in the form of food, clothing, and shelter; food as opposed to starvation, clothing as opposed to nakedness, and shelter as opposed to exposure to the winds of heaven. These three provisions may be compared to the three R's of the old educational methods. And nothing is more evident than the fact that when managers limit their efforts to these requirements alone, they fall as far short of furnishing an adequate regimen for childhood as instruction in the three R's falls short of meeting a child's educational needs.

What is a fair and logical basis of comparison in discussing the various standards of life within children's institutions? Undoubtedly such a comparison must be with normal life. That is, the advantages of life for normal children in such institutions should be compared with the advantages of a possible home life; institutional schools with public schools; the social influences surrounding the children whose school work is done within the institution with the social influences within the private home—and so on through the whole list of factors that enter into the life of a child. Among these factors stand out with new significance

those great questions which were under pointed discussion in Pittsburgh at the time our study was made, such as housing, sanitation, physical welfare, education, and play.

HOUSING. Few who have not been through a large number of institutions of various kinds can realize what such matters as the width of doorways, length and breadth of play rooms, arrangement of dining rooms, division of dormitories, and sanitary provisions mean to the life carried on within the buildings. The more attention one gives to the subject the more he becomes impressed with the tyranny of institutional plan and equipment over the happiness and welfare of the institution population. A building may be satisfactorily equipped with reference to fire protection, sanitation, ventilation, and light, and yet be entirely unsuited to the needs of growing children.

The dependent children of Allegheny County were found in every conceivable variety of housing with the exception of the pure cottage system. Under the cottage system, now recommended by progressive managers everywhere, each small group of inmates forms a unit having its own kitchen, dining room, play room, and sleeping apartments.

Just when an institution which increases its capacity beyond 20 becomes congregate is difficult to say, but the congregate system has arrived at that moment when the group of children has to be managed with inadequate attention to the individual child. The question of housing, formerly a matter of shelter and bed space, has veered round until it has now become one of educational opportunities and group feeling. The cottage system means flexibility. It has come with the recognition that the congregate system is not effective in developing children for the normal duties of life that are ahead of them. Of this, these Pittsburgh institutions afforded repeated evidence.

Where large groups of children were herded together they usually marched out of the dormitories in the morning, marched back again at night, waited in long rows for the use of the lavatories, and lost individuality and tone. Where there was but one dining room for all, meal times were usually spent in silence, the children marching in to the tables and marching out again. Where corridors were narrow they shuffled along two by two in straight

CHILDHOOD EN MASSE
Children of a great Catholic orphan asylum in Pittsburgh.

THE MARCH TO SUPPER
Illustrative of the congregate system. 1,454 children were cared for in this institution during 1907.

WHY DO CHILDREN HAVE SPINAL CURVATURE, CROOKED SHOULDERS, AND EYESTRAIN?
A typical institution class room, under one teacher.

lines. In the institutions where no play rooms existed or where too many children played in one room at the same hour, or in the dreary toyless places sometimes called "play rooms," the children found were listless and idle.

The housing accommodations varied from old and new residences and remodeled structures originally built for church or school purposes, to large, old or new buildings of a kind that showed how firmly the congregate system was entrenched in western Pennsylvania, even when institutions owned enough available land to permit the adoption of the cottage plan. The economy of administration possible in the old congregate plan had been taken as conclusive argument in favor of this system in Allegheny County and, as was to be expected, genuinely homelike features were hard to find.

But irrespective of the advantages, from the social and educational point of view, of one system over another, arose the question of the suitability of these Pittsburgh plants for the purposes to which they were put; that is, whether the institutions planned on congregate lines were suited to do congregate work, and whether the smaller institutions were achieving the practical cottage idea. A case in point was that of one of the oldest and richest orphanages which housed an average of 200 children. It had sold its old congregate plant in the city with the idea of using its excellent farm for a development of the cottage system. At the last minute, however, it had abandoned this plan and bought the buildings formerly occupied by a university. At the time of the study the managers had already spent more than $125,000 upon this aggregate of corridors and class rooms, $80,000 having been paid for the building and over $45,000 worth of alterations having been made. The result was a plant which lacked even the points that advocates of the congregate system most approve. In another institution, housed in a cottage, such crowding existed that the worst, most repressive features of the congregate system were present, the 20 children there having practically no freedom of expression.

Sanitation and Hygiene. Sanitary conditions varied to a great extent. Many of the buildings were equipped with modern open plumbing, but in others the plumbing was old and in need of repair. In some, toilet arrangements which were sanitary from a physical point of view were not suitable from a moral one. While there are certain advantages in doing away with single bath rooms and toilet rooms, substitutes which do not take account of modesty and decency were seriously open to criticism.

In a number of newly equipped institutions two or three children were bathed in a tub together. "Oh, yes," said one well meaning matron, "they do get ringworm and sore eyes, but I have to bathe them three at a time so that they can help each other. The institution cannot afford enough help to make any other arrangement possible."

The writer visited one institution which had a population of more than 100, of whom 40 per cent had been treated for itch the day before. The physician had been amazed to learn that these children were sleeping two and three in a bed and were bathed together in the same water.

The smaller the group of children, the more emphasis can be laid upon training in personal hygiene. In all of the institutions there was an effort to prevent interchange of the children's clothing by keeping it marked. In the matter of towels, however, efforts of this kind were not so universal nor so successful. The spread of skin and eye diseases was often directly traceable to a common towel. A little boy, whose father had been killed in a trade accident and whose mother had gone insane from grief and had later died in the almshouse, was sent to a certain institution. In the group with which he was put were a number of children who had sore eyes. All washed in the same lavatory and used the same towel. This little fellow became totally blind and was sent back to live with his poverty-stricken grandmother in one of the Pittsburgh "Runs." Fortunately through the help of outside agencies his sight was afterward partially restored.

Ventilation and Sleeping Arrangements. The great pressure of applicants at the institutions had created a tendency to put as many children as possible into the same dormitory, with more regard for the economical use of floor space than for the amount of air given each child. Generally speaking, however, means of ventilation were adequate but were imperfectly used. From the point of physical welfare, it is immaterial whether the means of ventilation are sufficient or not if advantage is not taken of them.

The visitor saw in one asylum a dormitory which held between 115 and 150 beds, another which held 80, two which held 100 beds each, three which held 70, and others having from 30 to 40 beds in them. Such multiple dormitories are unequivocally bad, if the opinion of institutional leaders throughout this country and Europe is to be heeded.

Extreme instances existed in Pittsburgh where large numbers of children were herded in sleeping apartments so ineffectively ventilated

that had these been ten-cent lodging houses the health authorities would have closed them. Some of the children slept in rooms that were almost air-tight and perfectly dark. What air and light were received came through transoms which opened into dim halls. One dormitory had an unprotected toilet in the corner nearest the windows; yet the institution in which these conditions were found made a special point of domestic science.

It was not unusual to find the foulest air in rooms equipped with special and complex ventilating apparatus. In some of these, on bright spring days before the steam heat was turned off, the windows were kept tightly closed because to open them would upset the "system" of ventilation. On the other hand the air in some of the oldest institutions was sweet and fresh. It was not uncommon to find that dormitory windows were kept securely shut all night, that opportunities for ventilation were unheeded, and the rooms aired only during the day when the children were out of them. Expenditures of funds for slippers and wrappers, which open windows would have made necessary, were considered unjustifiable.

Beds were usually single and of iron. In but one institution were the old double-deckers in service, and an effort was being made to abolish them altogether. These double-deckers increase the sleeping capacity of a dormitory to twice the number it can otherwise hold, and seriously interfere with good ventilation; it is the type of bed which the Pittsburgh bureau of health will no longer permit even in the cheapest lodging house. Unsanitary as the double-deckers were, however, they were without doubt better than beds that held two or three children side by side. In nine institutions two children occupied the same bed, and beds in two of these held three. Years ago one of the most prosperous orphanages in the county ordered a number of extra width beds which would accommodate three children each, and some of these were still in use. Some were also found in another institution for children which had moved into a building formerly used by this orphanage. These beds, seen side by side with single, new ones, indicated one of the many ways in which institutional ideals had progressed.

Fire Protection. The need of apparatus for protection against fire varied according to the height and construction of a building. As a rule there was fair equipment as to fire escapes; old-fashioned buckets were being replaced by extinguishers, and occasionally tanks were found. Telephone connection was universal and a few institutions had night watches. But there was a

grave lack of prearranged danger signals, and in those institutions which did have a gong, its power to "alarm" was impaired by its daily use in calling the children to meals. Only two reported any fire drills whatsoever.

In most instances this latter safeguard had simply been overlooked, but some institutions believed that drills were not desirable because of the danger of panic among the children although public school experience was to the contrary. But even where it might not have been wise to suggest the possibility of fire, the point of obedience to orders in case of emergency could have been gained through drills and marches. There was no excuse for the absence of fire drill among the employes, and certainly children should have been taught, as a matter of common information, what to do in case of fire. No community should wait for a repetition, within its own borders, of the terrible experiences from fire in children's institutions elsewhere. The rigid fire drills which are found in cities where such catastrophes have occurred show the tragedy of a belated attention.

Clothing and Food. The visitor to these homes found many groups of children who, in appearance, did not differ from the average children of the public schools. With jaunty ribbons in their hair and dresses of great variety of material and cut, some of the old institutional stigma had been removed. But elsewhere the traditional institution children who, with shaven heads and blue and white uniforms, trooped two and two down long bare halls into barrack-like dining rooms, were still to be seen.

The question of food was one which needed a great deal more attention than had yet been given to it. There are always certain children who do not thrive on an ordinary diet, and it is in large institutions where there are the greatest number of these children that such matters usually pass unnoticed. The fact that a change in dietary is almost certain to increase the food item in the budget is largely responsible in asylums for lack of variety both in the materials chosen and in their preparation, while the failure to weigh and measure the children and to keep health records often conceals the evils of an unbalanced diet. In many of the children's institutions in the Pittsburgh District the food was nutritious and varied, but this was so far from true of all that the

bills of fare of some could mean nothing but semi-starvation for growing bones and tissues.

A dietary used alike by five institutions housing many children from four to fourteen years of age is here given to show how restricted some of the menus had become:

Breakfast: Coffee, bread and a little butter.
Dinner: Stew, bread, water.
Supper: Tea, bread with spoonful of molasses on it.
(Infirmary children were given milk.)

At each of the institutions regret was expressed that a more varied diet could not be afforded. But what are we to say of our vaunted progress when the children for whom we have assumed parental responsibility can not have milk and other proper foods because such foods cost money?

The meals supplied to dependent and delinquent children held by the juvenile court in the detention rooms of the county jail were regular jail rations; allowance for breakfast, one quart of clear coffee apiece, without milk, and half a loaf of white bread. The dinner was soup or stew, with bread and water. Supper consisted of bread and molasses. Children fed on this sort of diet were frequently fat, but undertoned and anemic.

The responsibility for balanced diets properly belonged to the medical adviser of the institutions, since trained dietitians were not employed. The physician in one institution for girls spoke of their unaccountable nervousness, and when asked what their diet was, said he had never inquired. He was startled to learn from the superintendent that most of them drank six large bowls of coffee a day.

In large institutions the tableware was often enamel, chipped into an unsanitary state, and the tables usually had no cloths. But in most of the institutions a higher standard had been reached, and table cloths were used as well as napkins. Sometimes enamel ware was given to the smaller children while the older ones had stoneware or china, and the table utensils were such as are found in the average home. This was a marked step in advance.

Physical Welfare. Provisions for sleep, food, and shelter are inevitably bound up with the whole question of a child's development. Study of his physical condition should begin at the time of his first contact with any charitable agency. We have

seen a yearly intake of some 3,000 minors of whose antecedents the institutions had little knowledge. Of their physical and mental make-up still less was known at the time of admission.

To be sure, it was a general rule that the child for whom application was made should be free from disease. Most of the institutions required a statement to that effect from either their own or another physician. The physicians appointed by the institution managers usually examined the child's scalp, looked at his throat, and inspected his chest for eruption. If the child had conspicuous trouble of any sort the fact was usually noted, but of such defects as those of the teeth, spine, ears, or eyes, there was general disregard. In the early days of institutions, examining physicians were connected with the staff in order to guard against epidemics of disease. Pittsburgh institutions still laid emphasis chiefly upon contagion, in spite of recent revelations as to the prevalence of abnormal conditions in children who easily pass a superficial examination but who have defects which, if neglected, mean lifelong handicaps.

In many institutions, after the physician had granted the health certificate, the case was acted upon by a committee of persons who usually had not seen the child. They depended upon the physician for knowledge of the child's physical condition; he depended upon the managers for the detailed work; all depended upon the superintendent or matron for notification of impending trouble, and superintendent or matron depended upon the managers and physicians for direction. These superintendents or matrons were not required to know how to read the meaning of such signals as enlarged glands, adenoids, slight chorea, orthopedic deformities, and the stigmata of defective mentality. As a result, the child remained a practically unknown bundle of tendencies.

Although workers in the institutions that cared for children between the ages of two and twelve constantly spoke of the low mortality rates and the small amount of acute illness, such facts meant but little, inasmuch as the death rate for children between these ages is normally far lower than the death rate for children from one to two years of age, or during the first twelve months of life. Moreover, mortality statistics did not directly reveal the physical devastations which were due to wrong feeding. Failure

to keep children up to physical tone impaired their normal ability to resist disease. The death certificates told only the immediate illness and said nothing of the lowered vitality which was oftentimes responsible.

With the desire to present as graphically as possible the urgent need for the protection of the health of institution children, the following quotations are selected as typical of the answers we received to inquiries on the subject:

"Death records reported lost." (Information given by physician.)

"No records kept. Some typhoid." (Information given by physician.)

"I don't remember. There were 16 or 18 deaths—perhaps more. Most of them were due to tubercular and syphilitic conditions." (Information given by physician.)

The superintendent of a very large institution for children reported the number who died in one year as "Some," and in the next year as "Several."

In one institution physical examinations were made of the girls who entered and their ailments were recorded under 51 heads, such as "heart, heartburn, headache, neuralgia, vertigo, nervousness, acne, hysteria," and so forth.

The chief executive of one large institution said: "I didn't keep a list; had it all in my head. But there is a hospital record that tells a good deal. It does not record the little diseases like glands and things like that—just the important ones like typhoid. But I can't find it. I guess the ladies tore it up on board day."

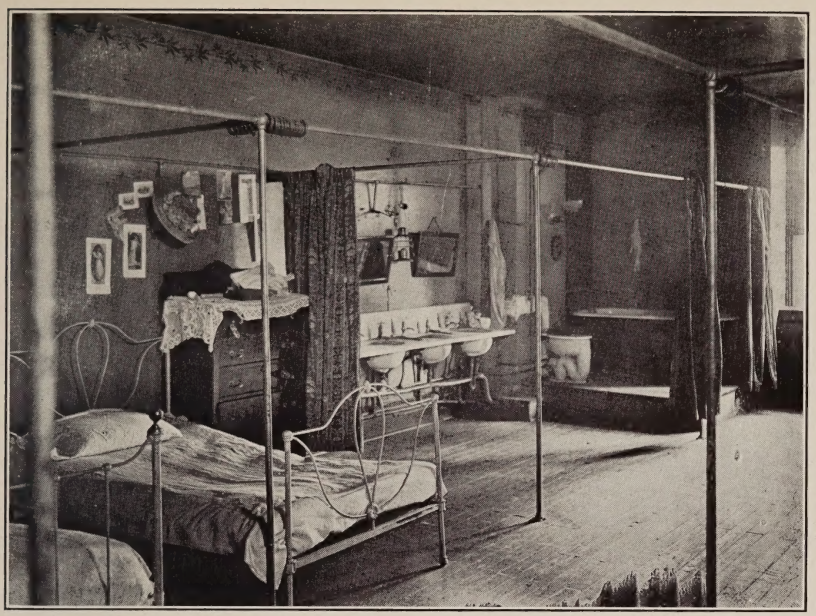
An employe of another large asylum, in submitting her records, wrote with spirit: "Of course there were many other children treated, but owing to the frequent change of matrons, or to the carelessness of some, there were no records kept part of the time. We will hope for better management in the future." Halfway through the long list which was arranged in a form that showed age, nationality, and sex of each patient, were entered, under "Diagnosis," the following: "Sore throat, sore ear, sore nose, hat pin stuck in eye, sore chin, eczema"; then this employe interpolated the following note: "Of these cases there is no record as to improvement or time of dismissal. I came to the Home on the first of August, 1907, and have tried to keep a complete record since, but can find no record for February and part of March, although I know there were quite a number of cases of diphtheria and measles during that time."

In the face of such lack of health work it is pertinent to cite the case of a little girl who had been for four years in the entire charge of an institution and was taken thence to a hospital in an advanced stage of tuberculosis. What excuse was there for the fact that mouth breathers and conspicuous cases of eyestrain had been neglected, and that many institutions were obliged because of preventable disease within their walls to close their doors to applicants during long weeks of quarantine, at the time of the year when the community needed them most? Why should a little girl have been allowed to live for years in an institution with the lower half of her arm, broken in early childhood, set the wrong way around by the institution physician? The list of such actual instances is too long to be given here.

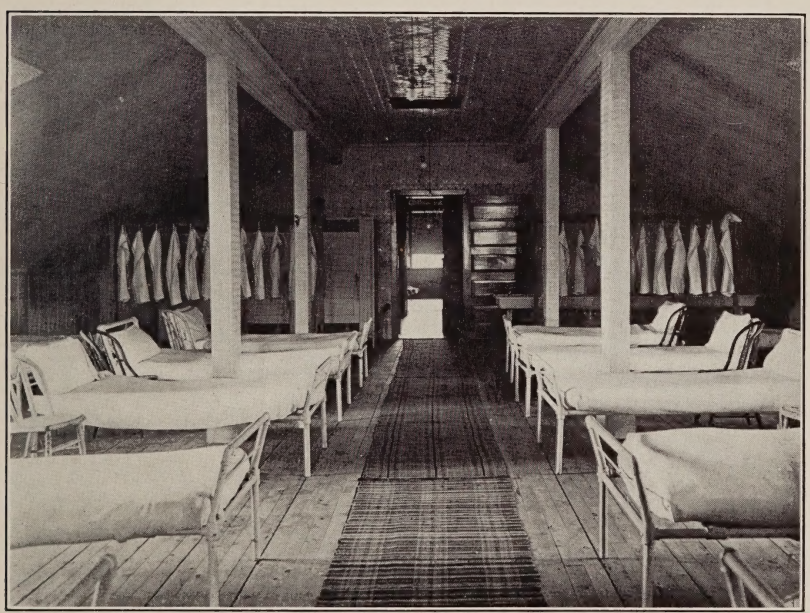
Serious though the health losses were, there were still other losses involved in such situations. There was family disintegration resulting from extended quarantines during which parents were not allowed to see their children, and as a result, lost their sense of responsibility for them. There were educational losses when an epidemic broke out in an institution which sent its children to public school, since all the inmates were excluded from attending because the management failed to provide isolation for newcomers. One institution was found in which incoming children were quarantined for two weeks before joining the others. This rule should have been a general one.

Childhood is the time for storing energy, for getting a start, and the first test of the success of an institution in caring for children over two years of age lies in the children's rate of increase in height, weight, and endurance. Careful inquiry did not reveal record of weight, height, or general development in any of the institutions which we are discussing; nor had even casual health or mortality records been preserved. Only the state schools and a few private institutions appeared to have paid any attention to these points.

Recreation. Outside of institution walls it is recognized that "mental training" must be linked with healthy recreational life. A small amount of apparatus, such as clubs, wands, and dumb-bells, was found in some of the institutions. In one, boys were given two half-hour lessons, and girls one half-hour lesson a week. In one



Dormitory, Avery Trade School
What standards of sanitation could this dormitory teach?



Girls' Dormitory, Morganza (1908)
Note open toilets at far end of room, also the lack of light and air. Since abandoned

The Running Track
Pennsylvania Reform School, Morganza.

Under the Trees at Morganza

so-called gymnasium there was no instruction whatever and the boys merely "rough-housed" there. An excellent gymnasium was to be found in the school for the blind, and the reform school at Morganza had one in process of erection; but in the institutions for normal children in Allegheny County there was no real physical training in or out of gymnasiums.

There is an honest difference of opinion as to the advisability of gymnasiums in institutions for little children. But it is difficult to find anyone who does not take for granted provision for some play space both indoors and out. Various responses had been made to this need.

Some institutions had no outdoor space beyond small yards where the inviting earth was battened down under firm concrete. Eleven institutions had no space set aside for play. In many others the day's program was so arranged that great masses of children crowded into the play room at the same time. Repeatedly was the statement made by the institution workers that it was quite impossible to have playthings or to organize helpful games among so many children congested into small space.

In contrast one institution had some interesting arrangements. Indoors there was a huge play room with blackboards all around the walls on which the children delighted to scribble. The room contained swings and toys. Outside there was a large pavilion, more swings, and the visitor saw traces of various childish attempts at carpentry and railway construction that had been encouraged. The children went to a nearby public playground and came back to introduce into their own domain the games and ideas they had learned there. The institution had not as much outdoor space for play as had many of the others, but it possessed that elusive thing, the play spirit.

In *opportunities* for outdoor recreation many of the institutions were exceedingly well off, having grounds that spread out temptingly, with suggestions of play house sites and nice corners in which to dig, as well as space for team play. These attractions, however, demanded leadership and direction before they could yield the fullest advantage. More than children in free, community life do children in institutions lack initiative. They need direction. Failure to supply it is educationally wasteful. Anyone who had stood by the writer one spring day, and watched the children of a certain Pittsburgh orphan asylum at play time, would have noticed that Mary never caught anybody at tag, so that after a few failures she stopped playing and leaned up against the

building to sulk; that John, always the center of a commotion in the corner of the yard was a bully, and that all the little fellows began to cry when he came around. No children in all this large group needed the deep lessons of play more than did Mary and John, and the weaklings who were afraid of John. Had there been a play director to teach the Marys the true spirit of sportsmanship—which they were going to need all their lives; to teach the Johns to respect the rights of others, and the weaklings to respect their own, there would have been different spectacles at play times as well as happier, less passive, or nervous sets of children to deal with outside of play hours in the Pittsburgh institutions for children.*

Moral Education. In moral training, as in physical care, we found constant traces of the great and desensitizing influence of the congregate system. It is true that the attitude of those in charge when helpfully and skilfully expressed did sometimes bring good tone and spirit even into congregate grouping, as an unsympathetic and depressing attitude may make child life miserable in the most approved cottage grouping. But in the institutions of the Pittsburgh District the brick and mortar of the congregate building usually succeeded in dominating the spirit of the household.

Closely linked with the need for physical training and moral instruction for both boys and girls was the need for instruction in sex hygiene and for stimulating moral leadership. This sort of education and example are essential to the future safety of these institutional wards, yet, in sharp contrast to the elaborate provisions for theological teaching, was the absence even in the "preservation class" for unruly girls, in the homes for wage-earning boys, and in the reform school and rescue homes, of instruction in the care and protection of their bodies.

Moral education in institutions for children, taken in a formal sense, depends upon the rules of the management. Attendance at church, Sunday school, or other religious services was everywhere required. In Catholic institutions there were daily services in the institution chapels; in the Jewish orphanage, Hebrew was taught on week days and the

* The reform school at Morganza was the first institution to form working relations with the Pittsburgh Playground Association. Since 1907, however, one private orphanage has added a resident play director to its staff and others are beginning to think favorably of trained recreation officers.

synagogue was attended on the Sabbath; in other institutions the children usually went outside to church.

But discipline, which may be considered as moral education applied, was, with the exception of the rules which were made by the managing board, in the hands of those in immediate charge of the children. The usual punishment was deprivation of rights or privileges; for example, the revoking of the privilege of talking during meals, or the granting of it only on good behavior. In 15 of the institutions, five of which were Roman Catholic, where no conversation was allowed at meals, unless perhaps on feast days, other deprivations were more common.

Corporal punishment was most commonly found in institutions where equipment was meager, where there was little play, where few children, if any, had individual possessions, and where the number of privileges was small. Discipline was said to be more difficult in small and informal institutions, while the testimony of those in charge of large congregate plants was that the children are easily managed without much special effort. This is significant. It is the difference between the expression and the repression of natural childish impulses.

EDUCATION. Twelve institutions educated their children entirely within the institution walls, 13 in public schools, one in a parochial school; five sent their older children to the public schools and had classes at home for the others. Academic work was not applicable to five; while the almshouse provided no schooling at all. In size of classes, courses, and equipment, the institutional school rooms were abnormal.

Few of the institutions which conducted their own schools were large enough to instruct the different grades separately, and the usual method was to place the children under one teacher, reverting to old district school standards. Neither did these institutions always adhere to the public school classification, although it was invariably the standard of comparison. For example, 60 little girls were found trying to gain an education without either histories or geographies.

The average number of children to each teacher in the institution schools was 10 to 20 in four institutions; 20 to 30 in one; 30 to 40 in two; 40 to 50 in one; 60 to 70 in one; 70 to 115 in one; and from 80 to 90 in one. The class in which 115 children were enrolled under one teacher was doing elementary work. One of the huge classes was being taught by a girl of fifteen years who had been raised in the institution. She taught during the regular public school hours, worked in the dining room before and after

school sessions, and although she received no remuneration, seemed to be proud and happy in her work. Many of the teachers in the institution schools were of high grade, both in training and personality, but this could not be claimed for all.

The president of one board said that it was easy to find teachers for her institution; but that she had to select someone for the kindergarten who knew how to play games, though even this was not necessary for the primary children. She said she had "a nice girl" in charge of the primary department who had almost finished the grammar grades in Pittsburgh schools, and the teacher of the intermediate department had been, she thought, through the first year of the high school.

There were but two real kindergartens among these institution schools and the teacher in one of these was supplied by the Pittsburgh Kindergarten Association. Many so-called kindergarten classes were in charge of caretakers, but these did not have the value of standardized kindergarten work. The lack of regular kindergartens was largely due to prejudice against them. Their cost was not regarded as justified by the "results." Yet no tests to determine "results" were to be found in the institution records.

Even when institutions possess the wherewithal to provide the best school equipment, there are well recognized advantages to be had in utilizing the public schools. Here children come into contact with others of their own ages and acquire an amount of general information which they can not find in classes made up exclusively of children whose experiences are no broader than their own. In the Pittsburgh District, however, one incidental result of having children taught in the regular public schools called for remedy. In institutions where schools had been abolished the teachers were no longer found in residence, and the evening and holiday activities devolved upon the overburdened matron, caretakers, and seamstresses. Yet these after school hours, in which the boys and girls were left to their own resources, were the very ones which in normal homes offer to parents the most valuable opportunities for directing children in the best use of their own powers and faculties.

Underlying the whole unsatisfactory educational situation in the institutions for children lay the truth of the observation made by several teachers in orphan asylums; namely, that the most advanced pupils were soon taken or placed out and that the residue was a slow, backward class almost uniformly low in tone.

The consciousness that a child might be taken out of a

class at any time was said to interfere somewhat with the attitude of both teacher and pupil in the institution schools. The continual arrival of new children and departure of old ones was prejudicial to the work and made it difficult to hold the children's attention. There was a need then for special ability and high qualifications in the teaching staff that handled these charges. Students of child development in Pittsburgh were urging the training of hand and foot, mentality tests, and industrial education for the best development of the children of the community, but these needs were all but unrecognized in the institutions.

Vocational Training. There is another phase of educational work which puts a special obligation upon institutions for dependent children; namely, vocational guidance and industrial training. Earlier even than the children who live at home are these boys and girls likely to be thrown in whole or in part upon their own resources.

Some of the fundamental principles for industrial work for children are that it shall be physically developmental, varied, full of suggestion, and not too technical in character. In the industrial work of the more progressive public schools there were for girls, classes in domestic science, including cooking, under the supervision of a teacher trained in food values; instruction in the selection of raw foodstuffs; sewing under a teacher who sought not only to make the training of permanent value, but to make needlework attractive as well as practically useful; and for boys, training in the use of tools and the guiding of their handiwork through the various manipulations to the finished product.

Such definition of industrial work was not that of the Pittsburgh institutions which are under discussion. They described as "industrial training" the help given by the children in the scrubbing and cleaning of the building, the oiling of miles of hallways, the routine preparation of food in the kitchen, the serving of meals, as well as the making and mending of clothes for institution use.

Coupled with the desire to teach the practical things which must be done in the ordinary home was the necessity for renewing the institutional

supply of clothing, table and bed linen at the least possible expense. There was also too little rotation of tasks, and the child who answered the door nicely or who had a special dexterity in the dining room or mending room was liable to be kept indefinitely at one branch of work. So-called "industrial" work sometimes interfered with regular school work and came dangerously near being child labor. It was stated by those in charge of one institution that children over eight years old went to school from 8 until 10 in the morning, then did routine work in the sewing room, kitchen, or other parts of the building until 4:30 or 5 p. m. From 5 to 5:30 p. m. they were free to play outdoors; then they had supper with its attendant work, a little more time for recreation, and they went to school again from 7 : 15 or 7 : 30 until 8 : 30 or later in the evening.

Such industrial work was not individual nor was it presented as an educational accomplishment on a par with arithmetic and spelling; but as a duty to be performed obediently because it was a necessary task. Experience in cooking rarely covered more than the limited institution dietary. In the congregate institutions, where food was prepared in large quantities and where laundry work was done by machinery, the children did not gain much experience in ordinary housework.

Delinquents especially need skilled teachers. With most of these children the ordinary school has failed and they have only the most imperfect kind of education. It would be well if trade standards could be given to the manual work of unruly boys and girls, but so long a period is needed for the undoing of bad ways and the drilling in of good new ones, that the educational task of a reform school is unusually difficult. The raw material contained in the Pennsylvania Reform School at Morganza needed the best that educators could give. Special branches taught the boys included mechanical and architectural drawing, bricklaying, carpentry, wood-turning, smithing, painting, plumbing, gasfitting, tailoring, printing, stenography, typewriting, telegraphy, and baking. The girls' department was rather undeveloped. It offered sewing, some domestic science, and laundry work. Its activities had been grouped around the needs of the institution rather than around the needs of the girls themselves, and the boys' department was parasitical upon that of the girls in the amount of laundry work it required.*

The only institutions which in 1907 made a point of special industrial features for normal children were the Boys' Industrial Home at Oakdale, where some manual training as well as practical farm work was

* A complete report was made by the Pittsburgh Survey to the trustees of this school in March, 1908. This institution has shown a progressive spirit in adopting a physical record blank, starting a gymnasium and family dwellings of newest type, as well as developing clubs and recreation activities.

given; the Newsboys' Home, which offered some printing and carpentry; St. Joseph's Protectory and Industrial School for Boys, which contained a printing shop and bakery; the Avery Trade College, which offered courses to colored girls in domestic science, millinery, dressmaking, and nursing, and also classes to boys in catering and tailoring.*

There was in 1907 no institution in the county where normal white dependent girls could be maintained and given vocational training. The District sadly lacked educational provision for them.

How many children brought up in institutions actually secured education or trade training after discharge it was impossible to learn. The chances were slim that a child would have further schooling after leaving the institution; it was probable that what he received while there would decide much of his future growth, and that what he missed would create lasting future limitation.

One danger to a child who was discharged to a parent or to other relatives who had paid but scant attention to him while he had been in the institution, was that he would be exploited by a false affidavit on a work certificate. This evil was rampant in Pennsylvania. In obtaining a work certificate no signature from school authorities was required, no documentary evidence of age. Children of twelve years were easily passed off as fourteen on age certificates of brothers or sisters or on false ones of their own. Instances of this sort were found in the course of the survey.

Children who had grown up in one of the institutions which did not keep them beyond their twelfth year and who had no home to return to, faced a perilous fork of the roads. Our records showed

* This last institution was not on a satisfactory basis and reached few who needed such advantages as it was intended to supply.

In contrast, well planned industrial training for special children had been started in the Industrial Home for Crippled Children and in the state schools for the blind and deaf. The crippled children were too young to have more than simple branches, but the school for the deaf offered housekeeping, paper hanging, upholstering, shoemaking, printing, carpentry, dressmaking and cooking. An interesting experiment in domestic science was provided in a completely furnished house for girls—an opportunity intended to give them what shop work furnished the boys. In detachments of about eight, the girls were taught home-making on the same scale to which they would probably have to gauge their efforts later on. The Western Pennsylvania Institution for the Blind stands in the front ranks of schools offering such training. Its industrial features in 1907 were chair-caning, broom-making, printing, a business course with practical lessons in salesmanship, piano tuning, typewriting, and sloyd for boys; instrumental and vocal music were offered both sexes, and for the girls there were sewing, music, and massage.

that unless these children were placed out in the first few years of life they were not in demand again until old enough to be of use. In the case of normal boys unclaimed by relatives, an effort was made to place them out as early as possible. In this way the institutions escaped their problems of education and vocational training But the majority remained in the institutions until fourteen or over and it was of vital importance that before their discharge they should have had their ambitions stirred in the right direction and have had as much experience as possible along developmental lines.

The girls, moreover, were commonly kept in the institutions until the maximum age was reached as prescribed under the institution rules. In a number of the institutions effort was made to keep them until they were eighteen. As has been seen, the discharged boys were as a rule exposed to the community forces earlier than the girls. They usually went from the institution to the job, but if under fourteen they drifted for two dangerous years—often into child labor.

There was a popular conception among the philanthropic boards that all dependent boys ought to do farm work and that all girls should jump at the chance of being "trained for domestic service." This is a sadly mistaken and obstinate idea. While some children are found who are vocationally fitted for farm or housework, as a rule the brightest girls and boys look forward to some sort of a business career. It is dangerous to force boys to work on farms or girls to become servants against their persistent objection; their training should be directed with its future use in mind and should be a vocational asset if possible. There was a general failure in the institutions to recognize the fact that women had entered industry to stay, and that girls of certain types and ages would profit by lessons in salesmanship and trade teaching of a practical sort, in addition to experience in housework.

A mother said that her daughter had been greatly spoiled by her years in a certain children's institution. She had been allowed to devote most of her time to fancy embroidery under the impression that she was learning a trade. After being discharged she found that no one could make a living at that kind of work and she did not like domestic service, which was the only other alterna-

The only sort of "industrial training" given boys in one congregate plant.

Shop work for boys. Pennsylvania Reform School, Morganza.

The laundry of a congregate plant.

A new departure for the girls. Pennsylvania Reform School, Morganza.

tive that seemed open to her. We came across another mother, bright and overworked, who had herself lived in an institution from the time she was eight until she was seventeen. She was sorry she had not been given the chance to learn a "real trade" or get a start in some profession before she left the asylum. She complained that the only things the girls had been taught besides ordinary lessons were mending, darning, and general housework; that it was hard to go out washing every day in the week for a bare living, and that if she had had more opportunity herself while at the institution, her two little sons would not have had to be put back upon the charity of the very asylum in which she herself had been brought up.

These considerations make very clear that the work carried on within institutional walls can not be successful as a thing apart, detached from the practical demands of life outside them. The future wellbeing of the children cared for is the social test of such provision (physical care, education, character building and equipment for life) as institutions make for their child tenants. They are under obligation to safeguard the futures of their children after discharge and to learn from the experiences of the youth they have already sent out into the competitive world how to guide those still under their protection.

Recapitulation

We have reached a point then where we can recapitulate the services accorded their charges by this group of institutions in comparison with the services accorded non-institutional children by the community. Life in the cottage type of institution approaches the intimate care which the family life affords; life in the barracks type obviously falls below it. Yet as we have seen, the latter predominated in the Pittsburgh District. Unquestionably, children were sheltered and nurtured by these philanthropies on a far higher scale of care than was the case in many of the homes from which they came. One of the most common and specious arguments which can possibly be put forth is that the child is better provided for in the institution, even without special care, than he would be in his own home. This argument limits the work of institutions which have undertaken the protection of children to the most primitive meaning of the three

R's of hospitality, and throws back upon many poor and ignorant families from which the children come, the curse of their low standards. Where should we demand that health measures be more progressive than in institutions for those children who have suffered the denial of a strong foundation for health? We do not judge the sanitary equipment of a hospital by comparing it with the attic from which a fever-stricken patient has been taken.

There was urgent need, then, in Allegheny County for adequate public supervision which should set institutional standards of building construction, sanitation, medical supervision, and education; which through its investigations would rout out old evils and afford an adequate basis of fact for the giver and legislator. The situation was too large and too serious to be considered merely from the doorsteps of one particular agency. The results of adequate supervisory work would bring encouragement, sane criticism, and support to the many earnest people contributing.

The recipe for healthy childhood has been written large of late, and scattered broadcast. As with other recipes, it has been used with variation of method and of minor ingredients. But proper food, enough sleep, good environment, a suitable division of work and play, with fresh air and happiness, have proven so all-important that, taking these things together, there has been established a more or less definite standard to apply to any person, place, or circumstance which controls a child.

As the result of a general movement which owes much of its strength to those sad cases of physical misfortune arising from civic as well as parental neglect,—cases of children who have not had proper food, enough sleep, right surroundings, and suitable activities,—children everywhere have become increasingly conspicuous objects of study in the schools, in their homes, at play, and at work. In Pittsburgh at the time of this investigation, many changes were taking place. Medical inspection in schools and home nursing were being discussed and adopted. The housing problem with stress laid upon the need of proper sanitary conditions and the evils of overcrowding, was being agitated. Manual training, domestic science, vocational guidance, and trade teaching were being developed; settlement activities, legislation against

child labor, improved methods in the giving of relief, were being pushed to the front. All these were affecting the life of the child in the outside community to a degree which our analysis of conditions shows was not true of life within the average institution.

Physicians have been maintaining that, were they allowed to direct the life of a child without interference, they could produce astonishing results. Teachers have asserted that they could accomplish twice as much for each pupil if they could control the hours spent outside of the school room as well as those spent within. Economists and experts in all fields of children's work have deplored the lack of co-ordination in the life of the child and have recommended laboratory methods of research in the complex problems of health and education. While it had been within the power of the children's institutions, in the Pittsburgh District as well as elsewhere, to work for the child with all these factors within their control, we found that, with a few notable exceptions, the children's institutions here as elsewhere had remained on the remote edges of great forward movements of the day.

III

THE CHILDREN'S INSTITUTION AND THE FAMILY

Visiting day in a children's institution of the Pittsburgh District vividly reveals many social and educational responsibilities and brings to the managers a thousand clues leading down into well-to-do districts of the town, into its small-shop quarters, into its fashionable East End, and into its low-rent neighborhoods, —in fact, into all the snares of the city's interwoven life. This is the day when parents and friends are allowed to come and to bring the children gifts.

Many types of the native born are to be seen on these visiting days. There are hardworking men from the mill and factory; there are, as well, flashily dressed women and well dressed men whose prosperous appearance leads one to inquire what reason they can have for placing their children in an institution. That young woman there, for instance, dressed in the height of fashion with the little boy on her knee, says that his father is dead and that she has married again but, although her new husband earns $200 a month he will not support the boy. She occasionally pays a

dollar out of her pin money and expects to take the child home soon; meanwhile state and private charity unquestioningly support him. The respectable looking woman next her, dressed in black, feeding fruit to her group of five boys and girls, lost her husband by typhoid fever three weeks ago. She is working out now and can not afford a home for the children. It is impossible for her to pay board at the institution and to save for a home too; still she would rather pay her margin of income for board than have the children fed by charity. Next sit two children whose parents are in jail for drunkenness; their aunt, a mill hand, supports them in the institution although she has to go out without a winter coat to do it. Next is a family group, comfortably clothed, calling upon the oldest daughter, who is boarded in the institution at a nominal charge because of its "educational advantages."

Which of the children had been placed in the institution because of economic disaster too powerful for the household to sustain, and which as the results of situations that could have been controlled and straightened out through wisely directed human effort? The task of discriminating between the children who should be admitted to institutional life and those who should not is one calling for great nicety of insight and knowledge. A clear distinction must be made between the apparent causes and the underlying causes of distress.

The weighing of these causes is a responsibility which the institution owes even before it gives such simple services as food and shelter for other than emergency cases needing temporary care. The first step is to determine whether the possibility of life in his own home still exists for a child; the second is, if he does require charitable provision, to ascertain whether or not institutional care is what he needs most. It is not sufficient to learn that the father is out of work or that the mother is in the hospital. Modern philanthropy has demonstrated that the unemployment of a father and the illness of a mother are mere starting points for the determination of the real cause of trouble. Is the unemployment necessary, and why? Can work be found for the father and health be found for the mother? These questions must be settled before a child can be justly pronounced to be in need of new guardianship or of institutional care.

At the time of our inquiry, reliance was placed by children's institutions of Pittsburgh upon the brief and defective records already referred to, supplemented sometimes by the casual memory of employes. The matron of one institution by talking with the people who came to see the children had gained more or less information about the beneficiaries. According to her running comment, while going over the books with us, there were in the institution early in 1908, 105 boys and 91 girls, a total of 196 children. She thought that, of these, 191 were American, four German, and one Polish. The total number of families represented was 102. She said that both father and mother were dead in one family, in eight nothing was known of the parents, in 23 desertion caused the dependency of the children, in five sickness, in two insanity, and in one it was due to the feeble-mindedness of a parent. Of the other 62 families the institution knew nothing sufficiently definite to explain the cause of the application; out of the 102 families represented, therefore, there was definite information regarding only 40 (or 39 per cent). Yet to these unknown families it had contributed many thousands of dollars in what may be called indoor relief for their children.

Many of the managers had come to feel that there was some mysterious justification for grouping the children together upon the basis of family misfortune—a point of view which was reflected by a little institution boy in Pittsburgh.

"Who are you?" he asked a newly arrived little institution girl.

"I'm an orphan," replied the little girl.

"So am I," said the little boy, "let's play together."

Other managers, however, were seriously beginning to question the results which were secured by the usual institutional methods.

A social worker, just after a hard winter's study of children's institutions, stood one day beside a woman who had been the balance-wheel of a children's institution in Pittsburgh for many years. They were watching 200 boys and girls playing in the institution yard.

"What brought all these children here?" asked the social worker.

"Well," said the manager, "most of them came because they

were whole orphans or half orphans. But some of them have both fathers and mothers living, who, for one reason or another, can't provide for them, and really such children need us as much as though they had no parents at all."

"Yes," said the social worker, "but before you took them what was the matter with the parents? Why were the children orphans, or, if both parents were living, why did their children come to an institution? Does anybody know?"

"Oh," said the manager easily, "in a way we all know why. They are here because their parents were ill or dead or out of work; most of the fathers drank and deserted, or the mothers neglected the children and let them run wild. Some of the mothers are good, self-respecting women, but they have to work all day and can't keep up a home. The burden of these children rests heavily upon every admission committee. Worst of all, the number of applications for our care increases all the time. We refuse them nearly every day."

The social worker thought this over for a moment, and said, "Couldn't we do something to stem the tide if we knew why the fathers and mothers were ill, or dead, or out of work; why so many of them drank and deserted; why the good parents should have given up their children just because of poverty?"

"I have often wished," said the manager slowly, "that someone would help us to get as far back as that."

The Family Background

As a small beginning toward getting "as far back as that," the quick survey of the children's institutions of Allegheny County, described in a previous chapter, was followed by a limited case study of some of the institution children and their families. In this undertaking five typical institutions for supposedly normal children co-operated by giving us access to the records concerning their wards and by allowing us to call upon the relatives and friends of the children whenever they could be found. The five visitors on our staff were recognized, for the time being, as temporary workers for these institutions. One was a Roman Catholic asylum with a population of 300, admitting girls and boys from infancy up to the age of ten or twelve, and keeping the girls,

if necessary, until they were eighteen. The four other asylums were Protestant, undenominational. Two, each with a capacity and usual population of about 200, received boys and girls from infancy up to twelve or thereabouts, discharging or placing out the boys at the age of twelve or fourteen but keeping the girls longer if it seemed best to do so. One of the institutions was exclusively for boys from eight to sixteen years of age and the other received girls from four years up.*

As we have already seen, the machinery in Pittsburgh for handling applications for institutional care was the same as in the days when the city was a comparatively simple community and when managers were able to keep fairly well informed of conditions among their clientele.

In three of the five institutions co-operating in this special study, applications for admission were made to the chairman of an admission committee and in the others to the superintendent. If these persons felt that conference with the applicant was insufficient, they communicated with the references by telephone or correspondence. Occasionally information was asked from sources other than the references given. The Roman Catholic asylum took pains to secure letters from parish priests as to the standing of the applicants and their claims upon charity, but oftentimes applicants were not known to the priests and the asylum did not get the desired information. The superintendent of this asylum had a keen appreciation of the need for information and was trying to devise some way of establishing an adequate system of inquiry upon an inadequate income.

One of the institutions employed a paid secretary who usually visited the homes of the children at the time of application and discharge. The object of her inquiry was more to make certain that the family needed help and to inform the institution

* The data presented in this chapter do not, however, refer only to these five originally co-operating institutions. Many of the families they had touched had been dealt with by a number of different agencies, and so many of the children had been transferred from one to another of these that before our study was concluded we had been brought into contact with the work of every child-caring institution of the District. Except in a few special instances which thus overlapped, our study did not include the children committed by the juvenile court. It did not deal with the children in the care of the regular placing-out organizations, but was restricted to those children who were received and directed by institutional authorities.

of the general circumstances surrounding the child, than to discover and record for study and action the conditions which created the need behind the application. She also helped the dismission committee to look after children who were discharged, and accomplished valuable results.

The other institutions had no special facilities for such work. None of them had definite knowledge of the lives of more than a small percentage of the children who had been discharged. From the institutional records we were usually able to learn the following points only: the child's name; by whom he had been sent (although as the entry in regard to this item was sometimes "friend," "church," "deaconess," and so forth, it was not always a clue); whether or not he had a juvenile court record; the child's sex, religion, nationality, birthplace and date of birth, present age; whether or not the parents had been living at the time of the application, the date when the child was received into the institution and the date when he was discharged. Additional scattering facts were sometimes discovered, such as the number of other members of the family in the same or in other institutions, the rate of payment, and the family or person to whom the child had been discharged. We were sometimes able to learn from the institutions the supposed reason for institutional care and the plan for the child's future, but there was not enough such information to make tabulation possible.

We were obliged, therefore, to forage to an unexpected extent for the needed information concerning the children and their families. Some of the sources were almost inaccessible because of the bad traction facilities and the mountainous character of the back country, and were reached only after persistent effort requiring much time and ingenuity on the part of our visitors. Many of the families had moved.

The records of the children who had been cared for in the preceding four years by the five co-operating institutions were made the basis of our inquiry. Of these there were some 1,300, but many of the records had to be discarded at the outset because they contained no addresses upon which we could make a start. Out of the remainder, 645, chosen at random, were followed up (during fifteen months of 1908 and 1909) before our study closed.

Sixty-six records had finally to be abandoned because the few clues we had for them were defective beyond repair.

We thus secured for study fairly complete histories of 579 children representing 275 families. In these families there were, besides the 579 children for whom records were secured, 84 children who were or had been in co-operating institutions.*

Immediate Grounds of Appeal

The classification in Table 3 shows in outline the immediate grounds of appeal which sent the applicants to the institution doors. These grounds were of course not necessarily the causes of dependency, but they were manifestations of causes, some of them beyond the control of the families.

As shown in Table 3, foremost among the apparent grounds for institutional care was half-orphanage. Death of the father or mother was found in 103 cases, or in 37 per cent of the 275 families studied. In 46 families it was the father who had died and in 57 the mother. In only 17 (6.2 per cent) of the families were both parents dead. It was among the cases of half-orphanage that we found the largest number of self-respecting mothers out at work, and of honest fathers who, in the absence of the mothers, had not been able to hold the home together. These were families which had oftenest expected to reorganize when the children became of age, and which had especially needed sustained encouragement and resourceful help. Desertion in 40 families (15 per cent) gave us the next highest figure: desertion by the father in 36; by the mother in two; and abandonment of the children by both parents in two. The mere fact that one or the other parent, or that both, had left their families in the lurch was the immediate reason for precipitating 96 children upon the institutions. Next in numerical importance came separation in 22 families (8 per cent); defects of character in 17 families (6.2 per cent); death and defects of character in 16 families (5.8 per cent); death of mother and subsequent abandonment of children by father in 16 cases (5.8 per cent); so-called incorrigibility and defectiveness of child in 14 families (5.1 per cent); desertion and defects of character in 11 families (4 per cent); illness of parents

* Information concerning all the children, 663 in number, is given in two of the tables of this chapter.

TABLE 3.—IMMEDIATE REASONS DISCOVERED TO UNDERLIE APPLICATIONS FOR INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF CHILDREN, IN 275 FAMILIES HAVING CHILDREN IN INSTITUTIONS

Immediate Reasons Underlying Application for Institutional Care of Children	Families with Children Receiving Institutional Care		Children Receiving Institutional Care	
	Number	*Per Cent*	*Number*	*Per Cent*
1. Death				
Of father	46		123	
Of mother	57		156	
Of both parents	17		32	
Total	120	43.6	311	47.0
2. Desertion or abandonment				
By father	36		84	
By mother	2		5	
By both parents	2		7	
Total	40	14.5	96	14.5
3. Separation of parents	22	8.0	44	6.6
4. Defects of character				
Of father	6		21	
Of both parents	11		21	
Total	17	6.2	42	6.3
5. Illness				
Of father	3		9	
Of mother	6		14	
Of both parents	1		4	
Total	10	3.7	27	4.1
6. Death of mother, subsequent abandonment of children by father	16	5.8	36	5.4
7. Death and defects of character				
Death of father, defects of character of mother	6		12	
Death of mother, defects of character of father	10		29	
Total	16	5.8	41	6.2
8. Desertion and defects of character				
Desertion by father, defects of character of mother	8		21	
Desertion by mother, defects of character of father	3		7	
Total	11	4.0	28	4.2
9. Child incorrigible or feeble-minded	14	5.1	16	2.4
10. Insufficient income	3	1.1	8	1.2
11. Not classified	6	2.2	14	2.1
Grand total	275	100.0	663	100.0

in 10 families (3.6 per cent); unclassified misfortunes in six families (2.2 per cent); insufficient income in three families (1.1 per cent). Poverty entered as a factor in many of the other classes, but in these last three families only was insufficient income the immediate causal factor.

According to Miss Byington's study of household budgets in Homestead*—which is fairly typical of the District as a whole—only when a man's earnings averaged more than $15† a week could we expect a working margin above those expenditures which should go for the mere physical necessities of a family. Our data as to the seasonal and overcrowded occupations, when the earnings of the men fell below $15, and as to the supplemental earnings of wives outside the home, were not trustworthy enough to furnish a statistical basis for generalizations as to yearly incomes, although information on both these points helped us in individual cases to judge a family's potential resources. Judged, however, by the most reliable statements we could secure for 205 male heads of families, 61.9 per cent had earned above $15 when working.

It was significant (see Tables 4 to 10 on the following pages) that in more than half of these families the parents were American born; that in a third of the cases both parents were still living; that a very large proportion of parents were under fifty years of age when their children became dependent, and nearly 50 per cent of the fathers and over 40 per cent of the mothers were between 30 and 40, and over 11 per cent of the fathers and 43 per cent of the mothers were in their twenties. Premature orphanage is shown by the fact that of 77 fathers who had died, three-fifths, and of the 89 mothers who had died, nearly two-thirds were under forty years of age. In over half of the families there were only from one to three children; and so far as we could discover only one-third of the families had received relief from charitable agencies or other organizations before applying to the institutions. But these facts become still more significant when coupled with another created by the admission rules of the institutions; namely, that more than half of the children in the institutions were between the ages of five and ten—a period when they particularly needed home influences and individual care.

* Byington, Margaret F.: Homestead: The Households of a Mill Town.

† We found instances, of course, where a man working steadily at $15 or under a week, was better off than a man who worked part time at $20.

TABLE 4.—NATIVITY OF PARENTS IN 247 FAMILIES HAVING CHILDREN IN INSTITUTIONS[a]

Nativity of Parents	Families	
	Number	*Per Cent*
Both parents native born	137	55.5
Both parents foreign born	73	29.5
One parent native born and the other foreign born	37	15.0
Total	247	100.0

[a] For 28 of the 275 families studied, the nativity of parents is unknown.

TABLE 5.—VITAL STATUS WHEN THE INVESTIGATION WAS MADE OF PARENTS IN 275 FAMILIES HAVING CHILDREN IN INSTITUTIONS

Vital Status	Families	
	Number	*Per Cent*
Both parents living	90	32.7
Both parents dead	21	7.6
Father dead, mother living	69	25.1
Father dead, status of mother not known	1	.4
Mother dead, father living	86	31.3
Mother dead, status of father not known	3	1.1
Mother living, status of father not known	5	1.8
Total	275	100.0

TABLE 6.—AGES AT THE TIME THEIR CHILDREN BECAME DEPENDENT OF 159 FATHERS AND 144 MOTHERS HAVING CHILDREN IN INSTITUTIONS AND KNOWN TO BE LIVING AT THE TIME OF THE INVESTIGATION[a]

Age of Parents at Time Children Became Dependent	Fathers		Mothers	
	Number	*Per Cent*	*Number*	*Per Cent*
Less than 20 years	..	..	2	1.4
20 years and less than 30 years	18	11.3	62	43.0
30 years and less than 40 years	79	49.7	58	40.3
40 years and less than 50 years	50	31.4	20	13.9
50 years and less than 60 years	10	6.3	2	1.4
60 years and more	2	1.3	..	..
Total	159	100.0	144	100.0

[a] Information could not be secured as to the ages of 17 of the 176 fathers known to be living and of 20 of the 164 mothers known to be living.

TABLE 7.—AGES AT DEATH OF 77 FATHERS AND 89 MOTHERS HAVING CHILDREN IN INSTITUTIONS[a]

Age of Parent at Death	Fathers		Mothers	
	Number	*Per Cent*	*Number*	*Per Cent*
20 years and less than 30 years	12	15.6	13	14.6
30 years and less than 40 years	35	45.4	44	49.5
40 years and less than 50 years	26	33.8	30	33.7
50 years and less than 60 years	4	5.2	2	2.2
Total	77	100.0	89	100.0

[a] Information could not be secured as to the ages of 14 of the 91 fathers known to be dead and of 21 of the 110 mothers known to be dead.

TABLE 8.—CHILDREN PER FAMILY IN 275 FAMILIES HAVING CHILDREN IN INSTITUTIONS[a]

The heavy type indicates families in which all the children were or had been in institutions.

Number of Children per Family	Families Having in Institutions						All Families	*Children in Institutions from Families Having Each Specified Number of Children*
	One Child	*Two Children*	*Three Children*	*Four Children*	*Five Children*	*Six Children*		
One	**26**						26	26
Two	13	**41**					54	95
Three	10	23	**32**				65	152
Four	5	15	21	**17**			58	166
Five	7	7	11	5	**5**		35	99
Six	3	3	6	3	6	**2**	23	81
Seven	1	2	..	2	2	..	7	23
Eight	1	..	..	1	1	..	3	10
Nine	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Ten	..	1	..	2	..	..	3	10
Total	67	92	70	30	14	2	275	663[a]

[a] Of the 663 institutional children enumerated in this table, 579 were the children studied in the co-operating institutions, and 84 were children from the same 275 families who were or had been in co-operating institutions.

TABLE 9.—RELIEF SITUATION IN 275 FAMILIES HAVING CHILDREN IN INSTITUTIONS[a]

Relief Situation	Families	
	Number	*Per Cent*
No evidence of relief discovered	140	50.9
Relief received from relatives only	43	15.6
Relief received from charitable agencies or other organizations	92	33.5
Total	275	100.0

[a] One hundred thirteen fathers and 32 mothers were found to have belonged to organizations yielding benefits, such as fraternal orders, unions, insurance companies, etc., but no reliable data could be secured as to the amounts of benefits derived from these sources except in eight cases in which limited pensions from benefit societies were paid to the families of workmen killed in trade accidents and one case in which a father received compensation during temporary disability due to a trade accident.

TABLE 10.—AGE AND SEX OF 557 CHILDREN IN INSTITUTIONS STUDIED[a]

Age Period	Children in Each Age Period			
	Boys	*Girls*	*All Children*	
			Number	*Per Cent*
Less than 1 year	3	4	7	1.3
1 year and less than 5 years	88	61	149	26.7
5 years and less than 10 years	160	128	288	51.7
10 years and less than 15 years	82	25	107	19.2
15 years and more	5	1	6	1.1
Total	338	219	557	100.0

[a] The ages of 11 of the boys and 11 of the girls included in the study could not be ascertained.

The situation revealed by these tables was surely serious enough to call for the closest scrutiny of any and all grounds which were considered sufficient warrant for so radical an upheaval of the natural relationships of all these children as was involved in substituting institutional care for home surroundings. The situation called, secondly, for facts to show whether the temporary guardians of this great fund of childhood were fulfilling the functions of foster parents which they claimed to

be, and whether their work, from the social point of view, was sound and good. Or, putting the situation more tersely: What justification was there for the intervention of the institution? If the intervention was justified, was the institution performing its functions effectively?

The institutions had no data by which they could describe statistically their stewardship of child bodies and minds, and our house to house visits were of course such as to throw little light as to how much the children had gained from them in stature and health, education and equipment for life. There was no practicable way, therefore, by which we could answer the second question more fully than has been done in Chapter II, by measuring inductively the results of institutional life upon the development of the children given over to the charge of the five co-operating agencies.

Home Life of the Children's Families

It was possible, however, to classify the families investigated so as to throw light upon the primary questions, whether the institutions were doing unnecessary work by caring for children whose families could and should have maintained them; whether or not they in any way attempted to strengthen the homes temporarily unfitted to keep the children, or to protect the children from future control by parents who were unfit. To this end we divided the 275 families into three groups according to their degree of social cohesion:

Group A.—Those families where two or more members of the original family group were living together at the time of the investigation, or where a parent was maintaining a home to which a child might return. Of these there were 128, or 46 per cent.

Group B.—Those families where a parent or parents were found at the time of the investigation, but were not living with any member of the original family group nor maintaining homes to which a child might return. This group includes mothers and fathers living in boarding houses or with relatives, and mothers working out as domestics. Of these there were 101, or 37 per cent.

Group C.—Families in which the parents were dead, insane, or could not be found. Of these there were 46, or 17 per cent.

The result of this gathering and assembling of data was as follows:

TABLE 11.—HOME INFLUENCES, PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND RESOURCES AT THE TIME OF THE INVESTIGATION IN 111 FAMILIES OF GROUP A[a]

Influences within Home	Families, by Physical Environment and Resources				All Families	
	Environment Favorable, Resources Adequate	*Environment Favorable, Resources Inadequate*	*Environment Unfavorable, Resources Adequate*	*Environment Unfavorable, Resources Inadequate*	*Number*	*Per Cent*
Class I Parents who were adjudged self respecting, conscious of parental responsibility, and solicitous of the future good of their children . . .	8	17	1	26	52	46.9
Class II Parents who were adjudged respectable, but had habits or standards of living that would be detrimental to a child's welfare; whose standards, because of weakness of character, inefficiency or inability did not tend to rise . .	1	8	1	22	32	28.8
Class III Parents who had habits or standards of living that would be a distinct menace to a child's welfare; who were of questionable character, immoral in conjugal relationships, lacking in parental responsibility or mentally defective	..	2	1	24	27	24.3
Total	9	27	3	72	111	100.0

[a] See preceding text. The Group A families are those where two or more members were living together or where a parent was maintaining a home to which a child might return. Of the 128 families in Group A, three could not be classified as to either home influences, environment, or resources, and three placed in Class I, seven placed in Class II, and four placed in Class III, according to home influences, could not be classified as to environment and resources. These are, therefore, omitted from the table.

Group A

It was amazing to find that out of our 275 families 128, or nearly one-half, had homes of varying degrees of desirability and comfort. These fell into Group A. This did not mean that all of these homes were suitable or adequately supported; it merely meant that out of 275 families in which there were dependent children, 128 still had homes while institutional care was given.

To arrive at a clearer basis for judgment with respect to them, these 128 families in Group A were again divided into three classes, according to the character of the parents, and then in turn for purposes of analysis were cross classified as to environment and resources. Those families in which the parent or parents were self-supporting, conscious of parental responsibility, and solicitous for the future good of their children, were entered in Class 1. Fifty-five of the families visited fell into this class. It will readily be seen that a child should not have been separated from such families unless he had some special physical need which his own relatives could not meet, and which the institution was in a position to supply. For example, take the case of the following family:

The neighborhood was rural, in a market gardening section. The house had vegetable gardens on either side, was comfortable and in good condition. The father was once a farmer but having injured his leg, had had to give up farming. He had then invested in real estate and stocks, and had earned enough money to provide a comfortable income. Just before our inquiry the stocks had depreciated somewhat in value, and he was not getting on so well. His six sons were all bright. Five years previous three of them had typhoid fever. One of the youngest had not been expected to live, but had finally pulled through, though he never again was of normal mentality and continued to be extremely nervous. The mother, tired out from the strain of nursing, had herself developed typhoid fever and died. The father took the place of housewife; he attended to the cooking, put up the fruit, cleaned the house, and did the washing, although he hired a woman to come in and iron. Of all this he made a success, but he could not cope with the serious after effects of Henry's illness. He sent him to a public school for five years, but the boy no longer liked to study because he could not learn. The father then boarded him in an institution with the idea of having him receive industrial training. He paid at the

rate of $4.00 a week and also supplied his clothes. The physician who had treated the boy said that he might improve after the adolescent period and that he needed careful guidance for some years. The institution was not accustomed to give special attention to exceptional children and the boy had not progressed there.

In seven other cases, the families falling into Class I had adequate resources and homes in favorable environments. In two the fathers were widowers; in two more the mothers had died and the fathers had remarried. In another case a normal family of father and mother with several children had sent one son to an institution as "incorrigible." One widow was keeping a number of her children with her, while another mother was living alone in her house. In contrast to these families, 43 falling in our class of respectable homes had inadequate resources. An example of this latter type was:

Mrs. Bates, widow with three children. The father had died insane ten years prior to our inquiry. He had been a steady, skilful mechanic, earning upon an average $24 a week. The mother had struggled along for three years, and then broken down. She placed the children in an institution, and went out as a night cleaner in an office building for $7.00 a week. Through a philanthropic housing enterprise, the mother and her son had secured two rooms at a rent of $2.00 a month, but she could not pay board for the children at the institution. She was an excellent little woman in every way and possessed the happy art of home-making. The boy had been discharged from the institution two years before and was now cash boy in a department store. The two little girls, aged ten and twelve, were still in the institution.

It may be mentioned in passing, that until the discharge of the boy the institution had been spending more money upon these children every week than the mother was able to earn. This was the sort of family where a pension to the mother would seem to have been not only financially more economical than institutional provision, but the best possible way to protect the children.

A similar case was that of a family whose wage-earner, a structural worker, had been killed in a trade accident. Fair compensation had been made by the company and by the Carnegie Relief Fund, but having no one to advise her wisely, the widow had lost this capital in trying to enter the business world, and had finally become a department store clerk. Her wage of $7.00 a week was inadequate to support her children. She was thrifty, intelligent, and desirous to re-establish her home.

In one of the typical homes in which both negative factors entered, that is, in which the surroundings were not favorable and the resources were inadequate,—of this kind there were 26 in all,—the father was a laborer in the street car barns at a weekly wage of $10. We found him to be tuberculous, and the mother had never been strong since an attack of typhoid fever contracted from a contaminated water supply in her house. It was at the time of her illness that the children were placed in an institution. The home was in a district in which mills, saloons, and railroad tracks abounded.

Class II was on the median line. It included those homes in which the parent or parents were respectable, but had habits and standards of living which would be detrimental to a child's welfare; homes in which the parents lacked a tendency or desire to raise those standards, who were weak in character or inefficient. Thirty-nine families were represented. A typical example of this class follows:

Mr. Cairns' children were regarded as the "nicest children in the asylum." He had come from a good old Scottish family. His wife, who had died of tuberculosis, had been a woman of exceptional character, but her illness had made her an invalid for a number of years, during which time her husband had done everything in his power for her. He was a tinner earning from $20 to $25 a week. After his wife's death the father had tried to keep the home together by engaging a housekeeper, but this had not proved satisfactory. Following the advice of his minister, he finally put three of his four children into an institution and went out to board. He had been a drinking man before his marriage, but Mrs. Cairns had had a restraining influence upon him and he had stopped using liquor until after her death, when he again became intemperate. The relatives tried to persuade him to move to more respectable quarters than those in which he lived, but he refused to pay more rent. Some of them even asked permission to take the children, but the father was unwilling to scatter them in different families. He kept his life insurance policies for them and wanted to give them college educations. He was trying to save up in order to bring them home, but was drinking heavily.

A typical family in Class II whose environment was favorable, but whose resources were inadequate, was that of the Dodges.

The father had died five years previously. He had been a bricklayer earning an average of $24 a week. At the time of the smallpox

epidemic in 1904, two of his eight children had had the disease. Being quarantined the father was deprived of work, and none of the children were allowed to go to school. After the first child recovered and the quarantine was lifted, another child came down with the disease, and the situation was repeated. Mr. Dodge became discouraged and drank more than usual. He was afraid he would not be able to pay his debts. Shortly after this his shoulder was injured and his arm broken in a trade accident. The arm healed but the shoulder caused him much distress up to the time of his death from "heart failure" two months later. Mrs. Dodge went out washing by the day, taking her youngest child with her; her eldest son went to work, and five of the other children were placed in an institution. Two years afterward one of these, a son, was old enough to work and the two boys were able to pay the household expenses without their mother's help. While she was a good woman, Mrs. Dodge was not as solicitous a mother as one might wish. She needed encouragement and a friendly visitor.

Class III represented the homes in which the parent or parents had habits or standards which were a distinct menace to a child's welfare; those in which the parents were questionable characters, immoral in conjugal relationships, lacking a sense of parental responsibility, or in some cases having defective mentality. Obviously none of the 31 families falling into this class were among those to whom children should be returned.

There were the three Eaton children whose father was a teamster earning from $10 to $12 a week. He drank to excess and had deserted. The mother and her children had gone to live with a sister, who provided for them all until the burden became too heavy. The mother had then sent the children to an institution and worked out by the day. She never sued her husband for non-support, "as the children were being provided for" and she "did not want to bother." He soon returned and she went to live with him. At the time of our inquiry one of the managers had requested a special report upon the family, as the mother had sent some board money and had asked that it all be credited to one account. She had already paid up her indebtedness on one child and been able to take her out. She intended to secure a second child in this way. Inquiry showed that she was an unfit guardian for them and that the father periodically drank to excess.

TABLE 12.—HOME INFLUENCES AND CONJUGAL RELATIONSHIP OF PARENTS AT THE TIME OF THE INVESTIGATION IN 96 FAMILIES OF GROUP B[a]

Influences within Home	Families, by Conjugal Relationship of Parents			All Families	
	Fathers Widowed or Deserted	*Mothers Widowed or Deserted*	*Parents Separated*	*Number*	*Per Cent*
Class I					
Parents who were adjudged self respecting, conscious of parental responsibility, and solicitous for the future good of their children . . .	14	17	..	31	32.3
Class II					
Parents who were adjudged respectable but had habits or standards of living that would be detrimental to a child's welfare; whose standards, because of weakness of character, inefficiency, or inability, did not tend to rise . .	14	13	1	28	29.2
Class III					
Parents who had habits or standards of living that would be a distinct menace to a child's welfare; who were of questionable character, immoral in conjugal relationships, lacking in parental responsibility or mentally defective	17	16	4	37	38.5
Total	45	46	5	96	100.0

[a] See text preceding Table 11. The Group B families are those where a parent or parents were found at the time of the investigation, but were not living with any member of the original family group nor maintaining homes to which a child might return. The group includes mothers and fathers living in boarding houses or with relatives, and mothers working out as domestics. Of the 101 families in Group B, one, consisting of a father, widowed or deserted, two, consisting of mothers, widowed or deserted, and two, where the parents were separated, could not be classified as to parental influences.

Conditions comparable to these were found in families where the fathers or mothers were mentally defective.

Group B

To return to our major grouping, 101 families (37 per cent) were not maintaining homes and thus fell into Group B. This group, as has been stated, is made up of parents who were located at the time of the inquiry but who, because of death, desertion, or separation, were not living with any member of the original family. It includes cases where a parent lived in a boarding house, or with relatives, and cases of mothers living out as domestics. With this description in mind, the group may be given the same sub-classification of parental influences as that applied to Group A, and may be further classified as to the conjugal relationship of parents.

As an illustration of the problems and struggles of widowers in Class I of Group B, Mr. Federheis may be mentioned:

> Federheis and his wife, German Lutherans, had lived happily on a farm. The wife had died of typhoid fever at the time of an epidemic. After her death the father had kept a housekeeper for nearly four years, but had found it impossible to get an efficient woman to live in the country for the price he could pay. He moved to the city, but even then did not succeed in making satisfactory arrangements to preserve his home, so he put the two children into an orphan asylum. Being a farmer by training he could not obtain skilled work in the city and became a teamster. The best position he could find was one in which he had to cover 12 routes a day, necessitating very long hours. He worked hard, paid the children's board, but finally, after four years, broke down, crippled by rheumatism, and the children became dependent upon the charity of an institution. He was a man of excellent reputation, whose ambition in life was to have his children go through the high school and profit by industrial training. He was naturally strong and rugged, and his breakdown appears to have been of an easily preventable kind. This man seemed to have needed a change in conditions of work and the children a well father. They had already been in the institution six years at an estimated outlay of some $2,000. How much would it have cost to preserve this home or the father's health?

A widowed mother of this class is represented in the following case:

Mrs. Gimbel had three children; her two little sons were in an institution. Her husband, a temperate, strong, and industrious man, had been killed in an open-switch collision while employed on a railroad. The wife had received no damages beyond the funeral expenses, because her husband had worked for the company only about three months, and the neighbors told her that she had no right to expect anything more. She was an excellent woman. We found her clerking in a cheap department store. Her health had become wrecked from overtime work in insanitary surroundings. She impressed the visitor as being tuberculous and in imminent danger of a complete physical breakdown. Her wages were small and irregular because she was often too ill to work more than two or three days a week. She was living with a sister who was also poor. In exchange for this home she was doing the housework, cooking, and so forth, before going to work in the morning and after she returned at night. She had an aunt, a woman of superior intelligence, who took a deep interest in the children and their welfare. She was educating her eldest niece, who lived with the grandmother, and hoped later to send one of the little boys to Girard College where he could be educated without cost.

In Class II are cases such as the following:

A typical father of this class was Mr. Hawks, a mill worker, forty-five years old, earning $3.00 a day. After the death of his first wife, a prosperous aunt had taken the three little boys for a time, but was sorry she had done so because she thought it had relieved the father too much of his responsibility. He was fond of having a good time, was intemperate, and neglected his children. They had later been placed in an institution. When the father had remarried he had taken the boys home. His second wife had eight children, five of whom had died. When her own death occurred the relatives did not feel able to assume the responsibilities of the five remaining children, who were accordingly placed in two institutions. The father was working irregularly and the relatives were helping to pay the children's board.

Wilma Ives was the mother of a three-year-old illegitimate child who had been born at the city home. Both had stayed there for two years. One of the officers had tried to secure some money from the child's father but without success, so the mother had been advised to put the child into an institution and to go out as a domestic. We found her living in a boarding house and working in a hotel. She seemed exceedingly fond of her little girl and afraid to have her placed out in a family for fear that the people might either abuse her or grow so fond of her that they

would want to keep her. She also thought she would not be allowed to visit her child in a private family as often as she could in an institution. A year after we first saw this mother the child had become so affected by a congenital disease that she had been removed to a hospital, where she was dying.

The men of Class III whose control would be a menace to childhood are represented by the following:

Mr. James, a clerk thirty-seven years old, earned $12 a week. He drank to excess, was dishonest, and had neglected his children. The mother, a respectable and honest woman, had died of tuberculosis, worn out from trying to keep the family together. There were a number of good relatives on the mother's side who had cared for the children for a year after her death and would have liked to take them again, but they could not afford to do so because the father had not kept his promise about contributing toward their support. The relatives paid a little to the institution now and then. No steps were being taken to protect the two children legally from their father.

The women of Class III may be briefly characterized by the mention of Mrs. Kelly, who drank heavily:

Although the managers suspected that Mrs. Kelly was addicted to some drug habit, they had made no investigation, and did not know that she drank. The winter our inquiry was made she had gone to the institution with a hard luck story about being out of work and unable to pay for her children. She played so successfully upon the emotions of the managers that she was temporarily employed by the institution as resident seamstress and came into frequent contact with her children. After a report of the true conditions was sent to the managers they filed a petition at the juvenile court and secured legal custody of the children.

Group C

Group C contains the 46 families (17 per cent) in which the parents were dead, insane, or could not be found,—the wholly destroyed households. The immediate reasons for the institutional care of the children in these families was death of both parents in 20, death of father and insanity of mother in one, abandonment in 25. But it could not have been said with justice that even these children were homeless until their resources had

been determined by an exhaustive inquiry concerning their relatives and friends. It was not possible for us to push such an inquiry into these cases; therefore we give no illustration of this class.

SUMMARY. The foregoing classification of investigated families puts the situation before us in its broad phases. In the view of the institutions, the homes of all these children were failures. Only upon such belief would the institutions be justified in stepping in to assume the responsibilities of father, mother, and often school teacher, to these hundreds of growing children. That such was the case with the 46 families of Group C may be granted, although not without reservation, and also with the 31 families in Group A and the 37 in Group B.* All these were put into the lowest class because the parents were defectives, confirmed drunkards, or otherwise obviously unfitted for guardianship. Together with the families of Group C these make 114 families, or 41 per cent of the total 275. At the other tip end of the scale are the eight homes of Group A, Class I, in which the parents were not only concerned for the welfare of their children, but were able to care for them and to live in respectable neighborhoods.

Between these extremes, manifesting every grade of character, resource, and environment, lie the remaining families—over half of the total in number.

No one, after meditating upon these tables, would attempt to generalize and to say, offhand, that the households they describe were worthless, or vicious, or failures beyond repair, or that the children were homeless, friendless, or destitute. It would be presumptuous, on the basis of an investigation which was not followed by treatment, to say how many of these families could have been rehabilitated at the date upon which they came to the attention of the institutions. But a glance at the tables in which are indicated the number of parents who still had homes and habits needing a little bracing, or who, having lost their homes, were eager to re-establish them and might have been helped to that end, can scarcely fail to make apparent the fact that a great number of children might have been knitted into their natural households by wisely directed social work. Such work was not being done.

* See Tables 11 and 12, pp. 384 and 389.

A reading of the illustrative cases themselves leaves no doubt that in many cases knotted problems could have been untied and pending entanglements avoided. Here indeed we find that failure to combine good intent and knowledge of the material dealt with, which cripples the work of these children's institutions and makes the technique of their management contrast so unfavorably with that of the factories of the Pittsburgh District.

Social Bookkeeping

We have already pointed out how fundamentally important are methods of securing, preserving, and, above all, of utilizing social information. Our inquiry into the methods employed by the five co-operating institutions showed in detail how much painstaking work had been lost because effort had not been made to learn the salient facts in every case. Too often the labors of managers and employes, and the possible benefits from expenditures of money, were nullified, and the welfare and happiness of fathers, mothers, and children destroyed by administrative gaps which began at the first point of contact between the families and the institution.

Let us take by way of illustration those 66 cases in which the records at first gave promise that the families could be found, but which we had to drop because of imperfect clues. The visitors exhausted every conceivable source of information in their efforts to find these families. Yet in 17 cases the children were still in the institution, 48 had been discharged, and one had died.

Some of the reasons for receiving these children had been recorded at the institutions in this wise: "Mother deserted; father cannot provide." "Father deserted; mother works and cannot keep." "Mother remarried." "Parents separated." "Institution says mother drinks; no address." A particularly flagrant instance was that of certain children who had been discharged to their mother by one private institution, and who afterward spent two years at the county almshouse with her. She claimed that their father had deserted them. After the mother was discharged from the almshouse she entered the children at a second private institution. Although this last institution stated

that the mother was known to be immoral, the children were, upon her request, returned to her for a second time; but no addresses, either of her or of her relatives, had been recorded. There were no clues to this family at any of the three institutions which had helped to care for them.

The length of time these "no clue" cases had spent in the institutions varied from three days to the fifty-four years of one woman who, entering very young, and not being very bright, had never been discharged. Her life history, blank as it was, lies before us—with the exception of the all-important first chapter. But what had become of the little "no clue" children who had been returned to the care of unknown guardians or placed in forgotten foster homes? This no one could say. Yet meager as the records were, they indicated that the families to which these children belonged had been sadly in need of help, and there was no indication that any constructive measures had been taken for them.

One institution showed the visitor a regular teacher's register. The names of the children had been entered at one side and on the first of every month a line had been drawn in the square opposite the name of each child still in the institution. When some empty squares were noticed, the person in charge said, "That means that those children have left. We do not know when or with whom."

The loss of identity caused by careless records is one of the tragic points involved. In later years, information which may seem trivial at the time of a child's entrance may be of incalculable value. For instance:

The progressive superintendent of a large Catholic orphanage received a letter from a woman sixty-five years old, living in another state, who said she had been brought up in that orphanage from her early babyhood. She dimly recalled that some brothers and sisters of hers were inmates at the same time. She had come into possession of quite a fortune and was anxious to share it with them and to gather them about her. Could this priest tell her how to reach them? The priest eagerly looked back over the records and found the names of the children, but all that was entered in the "Discharged Column" was the date when they went away.

A discharged boy told us that he remembered a little brother who

had been in the institution with him years before, but who had been placed out later on. He had never been able to learn anything more about this brother—not because the institution thought it unwise for him to have this information, but because it had not kept a record of the placement.

The clerk of a county home had sent some children to an institution under a name which the institution thought was wrong although it continued to use it. When, in an effort to find the children's parents and relatives, we appealed to the clerk for verification of it, he said, "We put names down the way they sound; hardly ever ask anybody to spell them nowadays, because we get so used to foreigners who do not know how."

One little boy, who had twice been admitted to an institution, was reported as a whole orphan. He was unsatisfactorily placed out for adoption in four different families. After the last placement the institution had not kept track of him. It happened that, through a relief society, we stumbled across the boy's family and learned that there was a drunken mother to whom he had returned. Under her influence he had also become a drunkard, and both had disappeared.

Many other such instances might be given. The day is past when, for fear of seeming to under-rate the charity of those who have generously given to the poor children of the community, the community should fail to hold the managers to their social responsibilities in this respect as in others.

The number of the cases concerning which no detailed information was secured would have been larger if the visitors had shown less persistence in developing clues in out-of-the-way quarters. For example, one enterprising young woman on our staff started off with no other information than that a certain family might have been known in a vaguely defined district on the north side of Pittsburgh. She went to this district and began making inquiries upon a mere chance of stumbling across the information. After her twentieth effort she found a shopkeeper who identified the family and was familiar with its history. The father was a tramp who sometimes begged at his door; in fact, this vagabond had made a covert retreat over the shopkeeper's back fence, with a pie, that very week. As a result of the information the visitor gained it was possible to work out a constructive program for the vagabond's little daughter.

Some of the institutions had accepted addresses of mothers "care of the General Delivery" at the city post office and had insisted upon no others. In two such cases we found the mothers living in disreputable resorts. They were scheming to deceive the institution managers by a show of respectability at the time of making application for their children's discharge. The true situation would then have been concealed in case the institution had tardily chosen to investigate. This demonstrated not only the need for first hand study of families by skilled workers, but also the danger of relying for information upon visits made at times when families are especially interested in creating a favorable impression.

It is plain that such careless record keeping as is shown by the illustrations given above, puts an institution at a disadvantage in dealing with applicants; it is equally plain that it prevents any inventory on the part of the institution as to the success or failure of its own work. It leads to such concealment of results that it is perhaps natural enough that the managers have not seen the need for remedial and constructive programs in dealing with their charges, but have been content with what they have done for them while they have slept in the institution dormitories and eaten at the institution tables. Failure on the part of an institution to co-operate with other social agencies aggravated this loose and inadequate system of record keeping. The ready way these two factors in conjunction played into the hands of community evils was seen in a number of instances where, in the course of such a general inquiry as our own, certain families turned up again and again in the charitable and correctional field. The institutions placed so little value upon records, that, even in the cases of transferred children, they did not exchange information.

One father refused to support his six children "because they were mostly girls." One was a boy. The mother lacked affection for them and they were put first into the county home and then into an institution. Twice she took them all out, but three of them were re-admitted a third time and stayed there seven years. Then the institution placed one of them, Lou, with an apparently suitable woman who, however, gave her to an immoral aunt who abused her. Later the girl married. Another sister, Helen, was placed out in a good home but was not allowed to

have fun or friends. One day on the street a girl called to her "Hello Helen! Don't you know your own sister Lou?" Helen was so delighted that she followed Lou home. This displeased the foster mother so that she would not allow them to have anything to do with each other afterward. When the little boy found two of his sisters had been placed out he was so lonesome that he ran away and went home. The influences of the home were not good. He became demoralized and disappeared. One of the daughters who had not been returned to the institution a third time eventually went to live with her mother. Later it became necessary to send her to a rescue home for girls. She was then committed three times to the reform school. After her discharge the family secured a place for her with a private family. She finally married and was doing fairly well. Two of the other children who did not go back to the institution a third time, contracted tuberculosis from their mother and died just before she did. The father died in the county home.

Or again:

The mother of one family of degenerates was described in the institution records as "a poor dejected kind of woman, who had had 15 children." The father was in the workhouse. The various children had come under the care of four children's institutions, a placing-out agency, the humane society, and the reform school.

In all the dealings with these last three families—dealings which had cost the state and the charitable public an untold amount of money—the agencies concerned had made no studies of the homes, had exchanged no records and had suggested no constructive programs for the protection of the public or for keeping the families themselves from recurrent misfortunes.

Conservation of Family Ties

The failure to take fully into account and to conserve possible margins of family strength led to needless child dependency, not because of intentional imposition upon an institution but because affairs needed a skilful turn which the applicants themselves could not, or had not tried to give.

Among the cases studied in Class A the failure of the outer circle of relatives to join hands around the children in an unfortunate family was sometimes caused by differences of standards and religion, by family peculiarities, or by sheer poverty. Sometimes, however, it was due to the fact that no one of wisdom and exper-

ience had befriended the children and attempted to bring relatives together at the right time. Trivial as some of the complaints of kinsfolk against kinsfolk seemed to be, the authorities had usually accepted them as insuperable obstacles to other than institutional care for the children. Occasionally, no doubt, some of the obstacles were insuperable, but others would have given way before the flexible program of a vigorous friendly visitor to the children's homes.

A father who had been through a sad experience said, "No relatives for me. When I want help, I go to strangers." An amiable widower stated that he had no objection to having his children placed out as long as they were not put with any of his kin. Another complained that his relatives "was raised too low." A quiet little woman said, "My best friends are not my relatives but the little dollars that I earn every week." The kindred had their own grievances. One group of conscientious but struggling relatives was afraid to be friendly to a mother who had placed four out of her nine children in institutions, because they believed such an encouragement would lead her "to land in on them with a whole bundle." Contrasted with such instances we found undeveloped situations in which the institutions had voluntarily assumed responsibilities which relatives could and would have carried. For example, one can not help admiring the good aunt, of aggressive temperament, who had never been looked up until we found her, but who checkmated the plans of the three institutions among which charitable folk had scattered the children of a destitute relative. Two had been placed out in different parts of the country and one was still in an institution. Against all obstacles she collected them and reunited them under her own roof.

Here is another case in point:

Three children recorded by the institution as "Homeless. No one to care for." The father had been killed in a trade accident. The mother had died of tuberculosis, and, prior to her death, had placed the children in an institution, against the wishes of her relatives who were eager to take them. Five years after this we visited an aunt who had always wanted to bring up one of the boys. She had not questioned the action of the mother in sending the children to an asylum because it was a dying wish. The institution authorities had never made the aunt feel that she had a

part in the children's future. She had a comfortable home of nine rooms in the suburbs. Around it was a large yard. It was supplied with a piano, telephone, and plenty of books. The aunt herself had been a teacher. As a result of our call, she took the three children to live with her.

Even in those cases where such arrangements were not, perhaps, possible at the time of application there was often such a change in the circumstances of their relatives that children could, after a while, go back to them. Of such opportunities the child-caring agencies should have been the first to know. There were many instances that showed the necessity for continuous knowledge of the families.

One typical record stated that certain children were "Homeless, to be placed. Mother dead." Following the clue offered by the address of the maternal grandparents the visitor found these latter comfortably housed and cherishing warm affection for the little grandchildren. Not only the grandparents, but many relatives, aunts, uncles, and cousins lived in the neighborhood. The mother had died of tuberculosis and although the grandparents had wished to keep the children they could not afford to do so at the time the children were put in the institution, as the father was out of work and could not then contribute toward their expenses. Inquiry revealed the fact that he had secured steady work as a stationary engineer; consequently the children were soon discharged to him and they all went to live with the delighted grandparents.

And again:

The institution told us of two boys who were absolutely homeless. It wanted to place them out on farms. From the meager institution record we learned that the parents had come to Pittsburgh from Baltimore. We immediately sent a letter to the Federated Charities of Baltimore, stating that the family of a group of institutional children had left the city in 1889, twenty years before, and that any information concerning it would be of use. A report from this society soon came stating that there were six branches of that family in Baltimore and giving in detail the reason why none of them was financially able, although morally suitable, to take the children and giving assurance that the agency would keep in touch with the situation. Three weeks later another letter was received saying that the visitor found conditions had changed, that one of the uncles had married a woman who loved children and wanted the boys. The home was comfortable and the people were of excellent character. The boys were sent to her.

We found that the breaking up of families often augmented by unnecessary separation of brothers and sisters, the sons being accepted by institutions receiving boys only, while the daughters were sent to institutions that received only girls. Even in co-educational asylums there was sometimes an undesirable division of interest between brothers and sisters. This was largely due to the sharp distinction made between the activities of boys and girls. For instance, one widower told us that he had selected a co-educational institution so that his children should not forget each other. He had been greatly disappointed because although they had lived in the same asylum for two years, they rarely met. Even when brothers or sisters were in the same division of an institution they were sometimes kept apart by the "system." A grandmother said that her little granddaughters who were in the same orphanage, did not see each other except when they were in chapel, because one was in the big girls' department and the other was in the little girls' department. Such instances as these did not occur in all the institutions, but we found them to be more common than was generally supposed.

The rules governing the visits of relatives to institution children, and the treatment accorded them on visiting days, had an important influence also in holding family interest intact. Of one institution where great sympathy had been shown her, a hardworking mother said, "They know how to help you up there and don't keep reminding you of the rules. When my little boy was sick with measles they let me come and stay with him every night." Another mother said, "On visiting days the managers and the matron talked a great deal to me about the training they wanted to give my little boy, and when he came out he was a manly little gentleman—just made over." But these were rare exceptions. The opportunities given to good relatives for contact with the children were usually inadequate to foster family unity as much as was desirable and possible. In many of the institutions Sunday was not a visiting day. Yet most wage-earning parents were obliged to lose valuable time unless they were allowed to see their children on Sunday. For example:

An industrious, big-hearted washwoman, after the death of her husband, placed her two little boys, aged four and six, in an orphanage.

They had been there two months when one of her patrons learned of the fact.

"Do you go often to see your little boys?" she asked the mother.

"No, I haven't been at all yet," was the answer. "You see there is just one visiting day and that's Thursday. They won't let you come on Sundays. The ladies say that the children go to church in the morning, and Sunday school in the afternoon, and what with keeping them dressed up and getting the meals through, they can't be bothered with having visitors around. Well, during the week it keeps me hustling to get that board money. You see Wednesday and Thursday I wash for Mrs. Weston. Those are her days and she can't very well change them. But even if she did I should have to wash on all the other days to get along."

It may seriously be asked which was of greater value in safeguarding the future welfare of these children; to have had Sunday school, church, dinner, and best clothes to the exclusion of a visit from such a mother as this one happened to be, or to have included her in the services of the institution and to have strengthened, instead of weakened, her sense of maternal responsibility.

If the institutions had possessed such knowledge of the families as would have enabled them to know which parents to encourage and which ones to keep away from their children and proceed against by law, such rules as the following could have been abolished. They were printed on a large placard and framed in the reception room of one of the foremost institutions of the District, although it was not one of the five especially studied.

RULES

1. Visitors may visit children Thursdays and Saturdays from 4 to 8 p. m.
2. Visitors must go promptly at the end of visiting hours.
3. Visitors are strictly prohibited from bringing eatables to the children.
4. Sabbath visiting is not allowed.
5. The Sunday papers MUST NOT be brought to the Home.
6. Visitors violating any of these rules may be prohibited from visiting the Home.

Certainly such an implied attitude toward the parents and relatives was not calculated to make them feel welcome and did not act as a deterrent to the abandonment of which we heard so much complaint from the managers in connection with child dependency. Visiting days at the institutions were excellent opportunities for educating the relatives and for winning their co-operation in helpful plans for the children's future. Such days should have been made attractive, and no stone left unturned to prepare the family for the child who was to be returned to it. Child hygiene should have been a topic of frequent discussion. And the formation of a fathers' and mothers' club was not unpractical by way of suggestion.

The opportunities that were too few and far between for good parents to see their children were, however, ample for the preservation of perilous ties between unfit relatives and the children who should have been legally protected from them. The connection between children and homes which were found to be hopelessly unfit should have been severed. In the children's institutions, community and institution met face to face.

We discovered that the managers generally hoped that the children of parents of doubtful morality would automatically become institutional wards by virtue of the law which read:

"If the father or mother from drunkenness, profligacy, or other causes, shall have neglected or refused to provide for his or her child or children for the period of one year or upwards, proven to the court, with the consent of the non-neglecting father or mother alone, or if none, of the next friend of such child, or of the guardians or overseers of the poor or of such charitable institution as shall have supported such child for at least one year, the court may decree that such child shall assume the name of the adopting parents, and have all the rights of a child and heir," and so forth. (Pamphlet Laws of Pa., 1887, p. 125.)

While the act quoted gave authority only for adoption yet its purpose and effect had been construed by the courts to mean that the disposition of the child whose parents had abandoned him for more than twelve months, fell to anyone who had cared for him in the meantime. The right to give consent to the adoption of a child and to change his name would seem to include

all of the parental rights. It was common observation among the institutions that as the wage-earning age approached parents shrewdly averted the loss of a child who would be useful by a sudden show of interest or by paying money just often enough to control his career. Many parents, considered by superintendents or matrons to be unfit guardians, and to whom the institutions had not the slightest intention of returning their children, had nevertheless been allowed to come and see them every visiting day for years. This had a demoralizing effect upon the children and was not fair treatment to the fathers and mothers.

It would seem that the main point of keeping in institutions normal children whose parents were of doubtful morality, would be in order to give the institutions time to make careful investigations of the true state of affairs. If after investigation of these families the situation is found to be hopeful, no pains should be spared, nor time lost, in trying out possible remedies for the wrongs discovered. If, however, the investigation proves that the parent or parents are unfit, legal protection should be secured and the children placed in family homes. As it was, the institutions seldom took advantage of the interval to get at the root of a case, and usually seldom accumulated more information about the real character of families whose children had received several years of institutional care, than they had gotten at the time of application.

Strange to say, the institutions had not learned to use the juvenile court in Allegheny County, which in 1907 had been in operation for five years, although they constantly accepted children from it. The probation officers could find but one case in which an institution had petitioned the court for legal guardianship in order to protect children from unfit parents. The institution lost this case because it did not have enough evidence to support its claim and it had never given the juvenile court another trial.

Legal advice was also sometimes necessary for the mother or father if the interests of the child were to be safeguarded, to say nothing of helping the parents for their own sakes. As a social worker of large legal experience remarked: "It is quite as necessary to have every case which presents any need of

legal advice checked up by a socially minded lawyer as to have the health of incoming children passed upon by the institution physician." However, although lawyers were connected with the institutions they were rarely called upon for advice.

In spite of the fact that a large proportion of the families had been broken up by desertion, the institutions had taken no steps to combat this evil. Desertion had actually occurred in 79 out of our 275 families. In 51 families (18.5 per cent) it was the immediate cause of child dependency. This crime had direct bearing upon the very foundation of community life—the integrity of the home. No attempt had been made to solve the difficulties of these desertion cases by means of the laws designed to protect deserted parents and their children. A few of the wives had resorted to legal procedure, but without success. There had been no enforcement of the court orders served upon fathers requiring them to pay their wives certain weekly sums.

This deadlock was due to several causes. There were serious defects in the legal machinery in Allegheny County; the political situation hampered the proper serving of warrants and balked efforts to gain results at magistrates' hearings; and those in charge of children's institutions were either unaware of their powers and responsibilities, or were indifferent and pessimistic about bringing cases to trial. "Our board is composed entirely of *women*," said one manager while discussing this subject. "Moreover, we have no money to spend on unsuccessful lawsuits." Quick calculation will, however, prove beyond question that they had spent more for the maintenance of individual children in the institution than it would have cost to secure legal protection for them and perhaps for other members of their families as well. As a result of this stand, many a deserted wife whose children had been received into an institution had remained uninformed of legal rights which might have safeguarded her whole future happiness and that of her children.

Neither had the institutions taken steps toward securing legal advice for such cases as the following:

A father, earning from $20 to $25 a week, was placed under court order to pay $5.00 a week alimony to the mother. Three years had

passed and she had received nothing. Her little boy had spent these three years in an institution because the mother had not been able to support him outside.

The wife of one man, who was in the penitentiary for a serious crime, received a letter from the institution head stating that her husband's term would be up during the next month, and advising her to secure a divorce. The mother said she wished to be protected by the law but did not know how to go about it. The question of the mother's protection would necessarily affect the whole lives of the children yet the institution in whose charge they were had made no provision to this end and did not cooperate with or refer the woman to the agency that could have helped her.

An almost indefinite number of such cases could be cited from among the families touched by children's institutions. It was true that conditions in the Pittsburgh courts made it unlikely that action taken by the institution would have secured alimony for the wife or support for the families of deserting fathers. The unsatisfactory legal procedure of the courts needed attack, and to such a program the very difficulties of securing justice should have spurred the institutions. But everybody took these evils as a matter of course and there was at the time of our inquiry no movement on foot to remedy them.*

Conservation of Family Resources

It is important then to develop the active support of kindred, and on the other hand to break family ties if inherently menacing to the child. It is no less important to develop whatever economic resources the families possess in order that parents and children may be brought to self-dependence.

Not only was there no program of constructive work directed toward bettering the conditions of life and labor among the families with which these institutions came into contact, but such economic relations as the institutions had with the families tended in some cases to depress rather than to strengthen them.

Contrary to popular opinion, we found that there was quite as much danger that an institution which had not made thorough

*A family desertion law, providing for the payment of the husband's earnings and a probation system was passed by the legislature of 1913. Act of the General Assembly, 1913. No. 330, Section 1.

investigation would impose upon the parents as there was that parents would impose upon the institution. Without clear understanding of the characters and histories of the parents, as well as knowledge of their income, managers could not make wise decisions about their resources and the rates which should be charged for the children's care and board. Occasionally we found parents who were in position to pay more than they did pay, but much oftener we found conscientious fathers and mothers pushed dangerously near the breaking point by being required to make even small payments out of their scanty wages.

Here is the case of a mother whom the managers would doubtless have been glad to help if they had known the facts. Her hope for a home to which the child might return needed conservation.

Mrs. Scott was an industrious woman and was wearing herself out with worry over her future. In the expectation of securing a position as domestic at a weekly wage of $5.00 she had agreed to pay $1.50 a week to the institution for her child's board. She found that she could earn but $3.00 a week and could not keep up the full amount and save for the future at the same time. When asked why she did not let the managers know, she said she was afraid to ask for a reduction of the charge because she had overheard a manager say one visiting day to another mother who had asked for a temporary reduction that she "would have to stand by her original agreement."

In some instances, as has been said, managers ruled that children could not be taken out as long as board bills were in arrears.

One father, aged forty years, a sub-brakeman on a railroad, who earned $80 a month when on full pay, was forced into debt by the long illness of his tuberculous wife. After her death he tried to keep his daughter and two little sons in the homes of relatives, but this was not satisfactory and he finally put them into an institution. He had been struggling to settle his debts and to keep up the payments for his children, although, because of the hard times, he had been on half pay. We found him boarding with a good motherly woman who was perfectly willing to take care of the children as well. The father hoped to have her do this as soon as he could pay his bill at the institution.

In such a case as this it seemed as if the children's dependence upon charity might have been terminated, with profit to all concerned, if they had been discharged to their father at once. The waiving of his financial obligation to the institution was about the last suggestion which his pride would have allowed him to make.

We found institutional care being given to many children because their fathers or mothers were ill or impoverished from work that did not yield a living wage, or that was unhealthful, or both. Moreover, in some of these cases it was clear that if more lucrative or healthful employment had been secured for the parents their homes might have been built up in anticipation of the children's return to them. The chance of reuniting a family was sometimes increased, sometimes destroyed, by the kind of work which sympathetic institution managers provided.

A husband had failed to support his family and had then deserted. The managers had taken the children into the institution and had provided work for the wife. Such was the record when we found her, two years after the children's admission. She was in a very nervous and exhausted state, had a great deal of pain in her lungs, and was tuberculous. We learned that her mother and sister had both died of this disease. The position secured for her was that of a cleaner in an office building where she earned $6.00 a week. She was obliged to dress in a dark cellar room of the building and to do wet cleaning. Her shoes were frequently soaked through for hours at a time. The oldest daughter was helping to support the family by wrapping candy at the wage of $4.00 a week. This mother's efficiency had been fatally weakened by unhealthful, underpaid work.

Wage-earning mothers made, as a rule, from one-third to one-half as large an income as their husbands had earned. While the homes of the widows and deserted wives were often broken up because they could not afford the bare necessities of life, we found the widowers and the deserted husbands abandoning their homes because they had not the means to duplicate the services of the wives by hiring housekeepers—even if satisfactory ones could have been found. Some of the mothers had had practically no experience in managing household expenditures until they were suddenly confronted with the problems of desertion or widowhood.

We learned that in a number of families the husbands had done all the providing and buying, leaving the wives in ignorance of the distribution of the family funds. Consequently, when deprived of the wage-earner, they did not know how much money was required to keep up the family, nor how to purchase supplies in an economical way. The evils of the instalment plan, for example, were rampant in one of the homes which a working mother was attempting to re-establish. Yet their children were all that was left to these women and for those mothers who were suitable guardians, friendly guidance was essential for the safety of the children as well as for their own welfare.

Two children, a boy and a girl, had been in an institution for eight years. The father's health had been impaired by an insanitary home and the extremes of heat and cold in the mill in which he worked. He died of typhoid pneumonia. The mother, an industrious but ignorant woman, secured work for her two oldest daughters as domestics, and sent the other two to an asylum. She was extremely poor. The father had carried a thousand dollar life insurance policy, but had allowed it to lapse during a period of unemployment. He had also belonged to a loan association into which he had paid a good deal of money, but after his death some technical difficulty arose and the family received nothing. A place as domestic was secured for the mother, but hard work, coming after a period of great strain, broke her down completely, and she was supported out of the scanty wages of her two young daughters. The difficulty over the loan association and the breakdown of the mother were unknown to the institution authorities because they did not keep in touch with the families of their children. The experience of this woman is not an uncommon one.

Here was a case where not the income, but the character of occupation stood in the way of a united family:

Mrs. James was an intelligent, respectable woman of fine physique, whose husband, a professional man, had been killed in a railroad accident. She had put her little boy of six years into an institution and accepted a position as cook in a private family where she had remained for six years at a wage of $9.00 a week. She belonged to a lodge and carried other insurance. She said her mistress would never consent to have the boy join her. She intended to board him at the institution for 50 cents a week until he was old enough to work. Long separation and freedom from responsibility for his care had developed an indifference to the child,

but at the suggestion that she might change her position, take the boy home and give him a technical training, she became very much interested. She was the kind of woman for whom other work than that of domestic service could be easily secured.

Consider the fathers also:

A poor, struggling Slav laborer, who had been seven years in the steel district, was left, when his wife died, with three small sons and a little girl. He was steady, reliable, and earned $1.75 per day, for five and one-half days a week in a mill. For ten months after the mother's death, he took care of the children, and did the housework with the help of a "wife" who did the washing. As matters were not going well, he tearfully placed them in an institution. At this time we asked the Associated Charities which had just been organized, to co-operate in securing more remunerative work for the father and to aid in placing the children in a home where he might also live. This organization interested a priest of the Slavic church in the case. He set about finding a family who had been brought up in the same class to which the man had belonged in the old country—a point which Americans would probably have overlooked, and which illustrated the value of this particular kind of co-operation.

Take the case of the father of six children, a pale, delicate, undersized widower. After the death of his wife, he placed four children with relatives and two in an institution. All those who knew him spoke of his grit and his keen sense of parental responsibility. He had worked fourteen years in a coal mine and had then gathered chimneys in a glass house, but he went back to the mine because there was more money for him there. When we found him he was working in a dangerous pit for eighteen hours a day with no definite time for lunch—"It is just a bite whenever you can get it." He had fallen once and hurt his head, being dizzy for weeks afterward. His arm was hurt at another time and later a finger was crushed, but he had not stopped for either of these injuries. He paid board for his children out of earnings that averaged $15 and $18 a week.

Should an institution have stood by and not have offered to help, preferably by co-operation with some agency equipped to undertake such work, in finding safe employment for such a father of six motherless little children?

Through all these instances it is overwhelmingly borne in

upon us that the institution can not fulfil its obligation toward the child as an individual human being without knowledge of the problems back of him. This responsibility is revealed with especial vividness at the time of discharge, when the boy or girl is returned to household and community. A review of the circumstances of the children discharged during the year of our inquiry threw light also on some of the results of institutional guardianship measured in terms of child welfare.

TABLE 13.—WHEREABOUTS, AT THE TIME OF THE INVESTIGATION, OF 208 CHILDREN DISCHARGED FROM INSTITUTIONS[a]

Whereabouts of Children	Children Residing as Specified	
	Number	*Per Cent*
With parents	158	76.0
With relatives	10	4.8
In foster homes	20	9.6
In the care of other institutions or societies	11	5.3
In boarding houses	7	3.4
Dead	2	.9
Total	208	100.0

[a] Of the 232 children discharged from institutions during the year, 24 could not be found at the time of the investigation.

Hazards of Discharged Children

Moral Hazards. During the year of our inquiry, 232 of the 579 children studied were discharged; 158 of these went back to their own parents; 10 went to relatives; 20 were placed out in foster homes by the institutions; 11 were transferred to children's agencies other than those from which they had been discharged; seven went into boarding houses or working boys' homes; two had died; 24 could not be found. Thus 76 per cent of the discharged children who could be traced went to their own parents and their homes could be classified according to the method already employed.

TABLE 14.—HOME INFLUENCES, PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT AND RESOURCES IN 140 FAMILIES IN WHICH CHILDREN WHO WERE DISCHARGED TO A PARENT OR PARENTS[a] WERE FOUND TO BE LIVING AT THE TIME OF THE INVESTIGATION

Influences within Home	Families, by Physical Environment and Resources				All Families	
	Environment Favorable, Resources Adequate	*Environment Favorable, Resources Inadequate*	*Environment Unfavorable, Resources Adequate*	*Environment Unfavorable, Resources Inadequate*	*Number*	*Per Cent*
Class I Parents who were adjudged self-respecting, conscious of parental responsibility, and solicitous of the future good of their children . . .	7	21	..	38	66	47.2
Class II Parents who were adjudged respectable but had habits or standards of living that would be detrimental to a child's welfare; whose standards because of weakness of character, inefficiency, or inability, did not tend to rise	..	10	1	32	43	30.7
Class III Parents who had habits or standards of living that would be a distinct menace to a child's welfare; who were of questionable character, immoral in conjugal relationships, lacking in parental responsibility, or mentally defective	..	1	2	28	31	22.1
Total	7	32	3	98	140	100.0

[a] Of the 158 families of children discharged from institutions and found in the care of a parent or parents, eight could not be classified as to either home influences, environment, or resources, and four placed in Class II and six placed in Class III, according to home influences, could not be classified as to environment and resources.

Considering that the institutions had made no study of these people it was not surprising to find that more than half these homes belonged to families in Classes II and III; that 47 were adjudged respectable but had standards and habits detrimental to a child's welfare. In only seven homes were all the factors favorable for a child, while 37 were distinctly menacing to a child's mental and moral welfare. Emphasis has been laid upon the necessity for rehabilitating families, for the rejoining of normal ties whenever possible. Vigorous protest should be made, however, against the return of children to family groups unfitted or unequipped to care for them.

An instance of the need for thorough methods of securing information about questionable parents was found in the case of one little five-year-old girl who had been discharged to her drunken mother after two years in an institution.

When the visitor found her, she was playing on the floor while her mother, intoxicated, lay upon the couch. The house was filthy. This mere baby, who was getting her own dinner, naïvely remarked, "We all have whiskey but we don't all get drunk like our mother." The visitor learned that the family had been a menace to the neighborhood for years. The father had murdered some one and was in jail. An older sister, aged ten, still in the institution, was about to be returned to this home by the managers. Her board had been paid by another sister who earned $2.50 a week as a domestic. This girl was in delicate health. A brother, aged seventeen, was helping to support the family.

Even a greater obligation held with respect to foster homes in which children were placed—homes having no claim whatever upon the boys and girls, but selected by the institutions to guide and mold the children entrusted to them. It was found to be common practice for the institutions, without securing legal record of transferred guardianship, to place in foster homes children whose parents were considered to be unsuitable guardians. Such methods made it largely a matter of luck as to whether the results were beneficial or bad.

When she was ten years old, Emily, with two younger sisters and a younger brother, was admitted to an institution. Another children's agency had temporarily cared for them, but its records were not available

to us. The second institution knew that the mother was immoral and that she had deserted her husband and children; that the father, in despair, had sent the children to the institution and had then gone West. He had contributed toward their support for one year, but after that the payments had stopped and all trace of him was lost. The institution said that the mother had written to the children from California, but that it had not been thought best to let them see her letters.

Emily had been kept at the institution nearly four years and had then been placed with a family living upon the outskirts of Pittsburgh. Ten and a half months after this placement the institution asked us for a report upon the foster home because Emily, then nearly sixteen, had just written the matron a letter in which she mentioned that the foster father kept a saloon. The institution had not known this and feared that the girl was not safe.

A study of the situation confirmed these fears. The reputation of the family was most unsatisfactory. Shortly before our visits, the foster father had twice been refused licenses because he had been guilty of selling liquor to minors. On the other hand we discovered that Emily had many well-to-do relatives. She proved to be a girl of unusual force and personality. Her school record showed that she possessed marked ability and her greatest desire was to study medicine or law. She had a warm personal friendship for her teacher and loved good literature. The foster parents were illiterate. Emily had made herself invaluable to them by carrying on the family correspondence and by keeping the books. She also did much of the housework and cared for the babies.

After learning these facts and being told also that Emily would pass out of the jurisdiction of the juvenile court upon her sixteenth birthday, the institution was desirous of rescuing Emily from her dangerous position, but the foster parents refused to give her up. The relatives were taken into consultation and the institution, disliking the publicity of petitioning the juvenile court for the custody of the girl, hoped to persuade the relatives to take this step. They had done a great deal for the children both before and after the family had been broken up, but had been unable to provide for them at the time application was made for institutional care. They had visited the children until the authorities, assuming that they were probably as bad as the mother, refused to let them come any more on the ground that they did not contribute toward the board bill. They had been told also that Emily was placed out but her address had been refused them. Naturally such treatment was resented, but they did not protest because they supposed that the father, who was said to be steady and affectionate, was managing the children's welfare.

They now agreed to help the institution save Emily, offering her a permanent home and an opportunity to secure a higher education. Meanwhile the institution made ineffectual attempts to persuade the foster father to let the girl go to them, but he quietly went before the orphan's court and forced her to select him as her guardian—a right which she possessed because she had become fourteen years of age. The relatives were therefore notified that this had been accomplished. The girl had been eager to go to her relatives but the foster parents had reminded her of their past neglect and the institution had lost its hold upon her affections by keeping from her the letters from her mother, by placing her with unknown people, and by neglecting to visit her afterward. The lawyer connected with the institution did not advise habeas-corpus proceedings unless positive evidence could be secured showing maltreatment by the foster parents. Such evidence was not forthcoming. A year afterward the girl was still with the saloon keeper and his guardianship had not been legally tested.

This case is not cited as being entirely typical; it was extreme. It presented, in sharp outline, the connection between institutional policies and child welfare. Had an initial investigation of the family been made and recorded, it was entirely possible that the dependency of these children might have been altogether avoided; if the investigation had proved that the mother was unsuitable but that the father was as industrious and affectionate as we were told he was, legal steps could easily have been taken to protect the children from the mother and possibly the father could have boarded them with relatives. But if investigation had proved both parents to be unfit guardians, legal custody could have been secured either by the relatives or, if necessary, by the institution and the children placed out in family homes. Or, even if none of these measures had been taken at the time application was made for institutional care, at least part of this tragedy would have been avoided if pains had been taken to investigate the foster home or to supervise the girl's life after placement. Or, in the absence of all these measures, some degree of restitution might have been made if the institution had responded quickly to the need for legal action, as shown by the investigation, before the girl became sixteen years old.

It seems unnecessary to point out here the urgent necessity

for the supervision of children who are placed out in foster homes among strangers who do not know their temperaments and habits. Even when children are placed with families wellknown to the institution authorities, there should be positive and continuous information about the status of the child in the home.

An efficient manager, who had successfully placed out many institution children, spoke of the difficulties she had in safeguarding them. "You can't be safe in depending upon the references nor upon what the child tells you," she said. "I have just removed one of our girls from a private home in which we had the greatest confidence. She reported that she liked the place. One day, when talking with another girl who had to milk four cows, our girl said, 'Oh that's nothing, I have to milk eight.' We heard of this and brought her back. We find that she has spinal trouble and the work was making it worse."

One day in going through the county jail the writer's attention was directed to Walter Paterson, fifteen years old, who had been arrested for stealing and who, because the detention rooms for children were full, was confined in an ordinary cell. A talk with this boy, and subsequent verification of his story, revealed the following facts:

He had been discharged from a children's institution two years before his arrest. He knew nothing of his father but remembered his mother who had died when he was nine. He spoke of having been well treated at the institution. One night a business man had called and Walter was given to him. He took the boy away with him that very evening. This man had made no previous application for a child, but was known by the managers for his high business standing. He lived in a neighboring town. He and his wife had no children of their own and they received Walter as though he had been their son. After school hours Walter helped about the house and cared for the horse. One day he ran away because his foster father punished him severely. He was caught and brought back without the institution authorities knowing anything of the episode. The attitude of the foster parents changed; the boy was forced to eat by himself in the kitchen, did most of the housework, and was given no new clothes; he was, however, sent to school even after his fourteenth birthday. The extreme cheapness of his worn out clothes made him a laughing stock to the village boys. In the two years he lived with this family he received spending money

only twice, and was so miserable that he had made up his mind to run so far away that his foster parents could not catch him again. He stole $6.00, came to Pittsburgh, and was arrested. When asked why he did not tell the asylum people about his troubles he said that they had never been to see him, had not written to him, and he thought they must have been glad to get rid of him. He said he did not believe he had any friends anywhere.

It will be noted that this home and the boy seemed to be well suited to each other, from all that we could learn about the case, until after the boy had been there a year. One or two visits to the child, immediately after this placement, would not have constituted adequate supervision for him. In this, as in other cases, what was needed was a friendly, continuous knowledge of the situation for an indefinite length of time.

CHILD LABOR. What steps did the institutions take to protect from premature employment children discharged before the legal working age? The so-called working age—formerly twelve, now fourteen—is nothing more than a legal minimum; not a standard which a philanthropic organization should accept. Even the discharged children over working age needed help and guidance and should have been kept under inspection to see that their employment was not stunting. In the absence of any system of supervision, we found that, because of poverty or because of pressure brought to bear by ignorant or grasping parents or foster parents, some of the under-age children were illegally at work. The institution authorities had not yet felt the close connection between their work and the campaign against child labor.

Willie, aged twelve years, climbed over the institution fence and ran back to his mother, concerning whom there was no information upon the records. At the suggestion of a half brother who was foreman in a steel mill, she promptly secured work for him by signing a false affidavit. We found him a year later working in this mill at a wage of $4.80 a week. This money he paid to his mother, who was a laundress by the day. She told us that she was intending to take her little girl, at that time eleven years old, out of the institution very soon and find work for her in a cheap store as cash girl. She knew other little girls who had secured such positions, and thought Charlotte could do as well as they.

One family to which a boy was to be returned had planned to put him in a glass factory before he reached the legal age. The mother said that a great many under-age boys were at work in this place, and that when the inspector came around they ran and hid in the barrels and boxes upon which the bosses immediately sat down. In defense of her plan she remarked, "When children begin to work in a factory they like it so much that you cannot get them out." This family was composed of church members in good standing.

Another instance was that of a mother who said that she expected to take her three children out of the asylum as soon as she could get working papers for them. They were extremely promising children and she was asked if she would be willing to continue their education after they were fourteen years old, if she were helped to do it. This suggestion did not meet her approval. She said she herself had gone into domestic service at the age of eleven, and she wished her children to work as soon as possible, although she did not know of anything but a candy factory for the girls and a glass factory for the boys. She knew that boys sometimes worked all night in this glass factory but said that her boy would have to do this if he were asked to; she could see no way out of it.

In contrast to this, the next parent interviewed said that she had had to go to work when under twelve but she did not intend to give her children a similar experience. Her desire was to have them go through high school and finish their education in some technical institution.

Not only was thorough supervision needed for its negative influence in keeping the discharged children from ill treatment and premature labor, but it was needed as a positive and aggressive force to promote their chances in life. As the result of efforts to enlist their co-operation, many employers became much interested in their young workers and gave them opportunities to advance. One employer confided to our visitor that he was afraid William was tuberculous and wanted to know how he could get him to a dispensary for a diagnosis. The visitor promptly had the boy examined. He was found to be in a dangerous condition and in

urgent need of preventive care. His employer gladly helped him back to health.

Physical Jeopardy

This last case brings us to the consideration of still another phase of responsibility for child life in the average institution. We found that these asylums had no human balance sheets which would show the success or failure of their work as measured in the child's development, either physical or mental; nor could we, from our inquiries into the families, gather data for such a tabulation. Yet without such records it was impossible to do justice to the institutions themselves, and trace the tragedy back of each child. For example, it is not entirely fair to judge the work done by an institution by average results attained. The uneven quality of the children who come into its keeping must be borne in mind. Here were 10 institution children twelve years old who were only in the fourth grade when placed out—behind most other children of the same age. But when it was learned that these children could neither read nor write when they came to the institution at the ages of eight, nine, and ten, we recognized that the fourth grade showed marked progress as the result of the work done there. A similar example was that of a child who seemed to the visitor to have serious eye trouble and who constantly readjusted her spectacles. Inquiry revealed that, instead of being a neglected case, the girl had had several operations and was wearing spectacles to cure severe muscular difficulties. Compared to her condition when she came to the institution she was making excellent progress.

Where infirmary records existed entry had been made in cases of acute illness, but there was nothing to show the actual physical condition of the children. This was due to the fact that the so-called medical examination at the time of admission had usually been a mere physical inspection, undertaken not with a view to discovering the needs of the children but to determine whether or not they had any communicable diseases or were likely to require special physical care. Neither were there such other examinations from time to time as would keep the institutions informed of the children's gain or loss. Striking cases of

discharged boys or girls who had forged ahead, and who were physically and mentally the peers of their fellows in the outer world were often cited; and the countless acts of kindness, personal training, and encouragement on the part of individual managers, matrons, and teachers toward the little children with whom they come in contact, have not been lightly disregarded. Yet, taking all these points into consideration, there was no evidence of any systematic plan of physical and mental nurture which would insure adequate opportunities for growth and culture to all the boys and girls passing through the institutions. And there were far more numerous cases indicating an absence of modern prophylactic measures to test and to safeguard the physical condition of the children in the great majority of the institutions. Remediable defects which did not seriously interfere with a child's apparent health while he was in the institution, sometimes caused serious complications later on.

No one had shouldered the responsibility of safeguarding the health of four little brothers and sisters who had been discharged from an institution. One had been placed out and his family had lost trace of him. Another had been in the pest house twice, in a day nursery, in an institution for boys, in a children's fresh air home, and then for a year in another institution. These children were not strong, yet three of them had been sent back, without any supervision, to their ignorant mother, eight of whose other children had died, six of them under one year of age. She was unable to tell us the causes of their deaths because she said, "It is hard to keep so much in your head."

A little boy, discharged to his mother after two years of institutional care, was recorded as "pretty well" when he left. It was necessary, however, for his mother to take him immediately to a hospital where an operation was performed for tubercular glands of the neck. He was found to be so generally diseased that when last heard from he was not expected to live. The physician in charge stated as his opinion that this disease would have been curable if treated at an earlier stage.

Harold was a discharged boy, fifteen years old, who had difficulty in keeping his position because of severe pains in his eyes. The trouble had come on while he was in the institution. During his four years there he had spent a great deal of time studying and reading by poor gas light. He was discharged without having had his vision tested. His great desire was to be a jeweler. He was on the point of giving up this ambition

because he thought his eyes would not bear the strain. When we sent him to an oculist he had been spending his evenings in the street with a gang, because he could not use his eyes.

Another little boy, who had spent several years in an institution, was discharged because he was, according to the matron, "deaf, careless about his lessons, and incorrigible." Later he came before the juvenile court for truancy, and was found to be so handicapped by adenoids and eye strain that he could not study. Adenoids and eye strain called for treatment, not for the dunce's cap.

Charles had spent four years in an institution when the authorities asked us to find out whether or not he ought to be returned to his relatives. These people were found to be of excellent character. Their resources were, however, inadequate, and the only home to which the boy could go was that of the maternal grandmother, who was willing to take him and to whom the institution wished him sent. Our inquiry showed that the boy's mother had died of tuberculosis. His father, who had been a skilled workman in a steel mill where there was much dust, had died of the same disease. Further than that, the grandmother said that her own husband and four of their sons, as well as six of her brothers and sisters and two of the boy's uncles and one aunt on the other side of the family had met death from this cause. In addition we discovered that three sisters of the paternal grandfather had died from it. Altogether we recorded 28 deaths from tuberculosis in this one family. The only health record we could secure at the institution in regard to the boy was that he had had pneumonia. Needless to say, the house in which the grandmother lived and where a number of these deaths had occurred, was immediately reported to the board of health. We also urged the institution to persuade the grandmother to move before taking the child, and to see that she was instructed as to the best means of preventing disease; also to keep strict supervision of the boy whatever program was adopted for him.

Without special inquiry and search by an experienced worker this family history would never have become known to the institution managers.

The Menace in Low Mentality

So far as mental development was concerned, we endeavored to learn what school grades the children had reached before they entered and what grades they were in at the time they left the institution; whether or not school attendance had been regular; what had been their records; whether or not manual training or

domestic science had been taught them. In attempting to answer even such simple questions as these we were, however, altogether baffled.

In the first place, the institutions had taken no note of the children's school grades at the time of admission. We were obliged to ask the children themselves for the names of the schools they had previously attended. The whole inquiry was rendered unsatisfactory because some had come from ungraded public schools which did not keep systematic records, and some of the principals of schools that did keep records explained that it was impossible to trace pupils unless they knew in which grades they had been enrolled.

Even in institutions which maintained their own schools we frequently failed to learn what progress a child had made because no one knew what grade he was in when he had entered. A few of the teachers were able to give explicit information, but of 1,000 children for whose school records we searched, we secured data for but 420. A comparison of the grade records of these children with the records of all the children in the Pittsburgh schools (United States School Census, 1908), showed that these particular institutional children were, on an average, from one-half to one and a half grades behind the average—itself a low one.* This showing did not justify a conclusion that the children in the institutions were especially dull or that they were subnormal. While mental and physical defects no doubt explained the retardation in some cases, in many it could be accounted for by absence or interruption in the children's school courses—interruptions due to the sad accidents in their little lives. Without knowing their mentality no further observations were possible.

Naturally since mentality tests and records had not become part of institutional work much training was found to have been wasted upon children who lacked the capacity to profit by it and who were in need of special care which they had not received. There was significance in the following case where delay in securing a diagnosis was expensive not only for the institution, but for the child himself.

* See North, Lila Ver Planck: Pittsburgh Schools. P. 215 of this volume.

A feeble-minded mother and her four illegitimate children were admitted to the city poorhouse. She was sent to the insane department, and three of the children were placed out by the superintendent. The fourth, a little boy, was illegally kept in the poorhouse for five or six years and was then taken by a children's agency, which placed him out in one home after another. He stayed in each place about a year but was never satisfactory. Finally he was admitted to a Pittsburgh institution which kept him four months. The authorities of this institution stated that, while he was bright in some ways, he was dull in others and did not make normal progress. He was finally transferred to the state institution for the feeble-minded. The superintendent of this institution wrote us as follows: "This child is in good health and is what we classify as a middle-grade imbecile. Special care and training are required to develop him at all. As the best age for beginning this training is from six to eight years, the chances of improvement would have been better had training begun at that time."

This same children's institution had cared for the eight-year-old illegitimate son of a feeble-minded mother for three years. The institution physician stated that he "would be a case for the institution for the feeble-minded some day." Why would it not have been kindest to him and to his playmates as well as economical and scientific to have placed him in the proper institution at once?

There was still another case of an institutional ward which indicated how the neglect to examine a child whose mother was defective before him, precipitated needless burdens upon a large group of busy and charitable people—the county authorities, two children's agencies, and the families to whom he was sent, as well as upon the little fellow himself, who was surely not the one to be considered last.

Tom was club-footed, and his institutional presence was ingenuously explained in the records as having been due to "No home and a need of training." At the death of his mother he and his older brother had been put into an institution where they stayed for five years, until their father's second marriage. The boys were then taken home for fourteen months. Tom was sent to school and to Sunday school, but was "incorrigible," and his stepmother could do nothing with him. Upon studying him, we learned that as a baby he had undergone two operations in a hospital, for double club-foot. These were unsuccessful because proper after-care had

not been given. Later he underwent a third operation. The surgeon who performed the last operation stated to us that if the child had received suitable medical attention immediately after birth his feet could have been made normal. As the surgeon was a specialist he had made no general physical examination of the boy, and while he knew he had been a troublesome patient, he was surprised later on to hear that feeble-mindedness was suspected.

Tom's father injured his back in a trade accident and then began to drink and to work irregularly because of the pain. The family became so poor that when Tom had typhoid fever the stepmother sold her watch and some other articles in order to pay expenses. As the family could not care for him after this illness, he was for a second time entered at the institution. Here he remained until he was thirteen. So troublesome was he that the matron threatened to resign if the boy was not taken out.

After a good deal of discussion upon the part of the managers he was transferred to a third institution where most of the children were older. Here he stayed but two weeks because the clatter of his braces disturbed the other boys.

Once more he was transferred; this time to an institution in the country where it was hoped that he would "learn a trade." In six months, he was, however, placed out with a Polish family who lived in a shanty on a farm. The people were new in the neighborhood. There were no English books and the boy could not understand what they said. He was not allowed to go to church and had no friends; neither was he paid any wages. He was returned two weeks later because one member of the family, who had been away, came back and he was no longer needed. Then he was placed with a second family, where he was treated like a hired man. He slept in a coal shed, worked off and on from six in the morning until nine at night every day, mowing the lawn and attending to the horses and cows. He had no friends and did not go to church. He had no spending money for a year. One day his brother came to see him and said he would not stay in a place like that and have no money. As a result the boy limped home, a distance of some twenty miles.

At the time of our inquiry, the last institution that had cared for him, following this incident, said it had heard that he was doing extremely well, living at home and supporting himself. What had happened was that on his return home, the stepmother had tried to have him sell papers. He would start out, sell about 4 cents' worth and come back thinking he had been earning his living. He had no idea of the value of money, no judgment. It was true that later he worked in a box factory for $3.50 a week. The foreman at the factory stated that he did not know

much about the family nor the boy's home conditions, but that the stepmother came to him with such a pitiful story that he took the lad in. He found him obedient, steady, and careful, but unable to remember directions, and there was only one sort of work he could do. He took boards, cut by a saw, from one table to another. He was the butt of ridicule for the other boys in the factory. They once asked him to cut a board one foot long into a board two feet long and he seriously attempted the task. The foreman stated that it was hard for the boy to stand all day upon his crippled feet; he tried to save him all he could. At the time of the inquiry the boy was causing some annoyance to the girls in the neighborhood and was staying out late at night on the streets. Our visitor took the boy to the same surgeon who had formerly treated him at the hospital, and who stated that, considering that no treatment had been received since the last operation, the feet were in good condition. His opinion was that walking or standing on a flat surface would not be injurious to them but that working upon rough surfaces, such as plowing in the fields or doing general farm work, would be harmful, as the muscles were not strong enough to stand it. This threw a flood of light upon much of the boy's discomfort at the farms where he had been placed. We next had him examined by an alienist, who pronounced him a high grade imbecile.

To sum up then: Here was a boy of sixteen, feeble-minded, with crippled feet, who had been in four institutions for children, in a parochial school, in the Sunday schools of the city, in a hospital for a number of weeks, and in two family homes, who daily was becoming more dangerous to the community and yet who had received no effective treatment or control.

What might not initial investigation and mental examination have accomplished for the following case which, upon the surface, appeared to be one of "simple dependency"?

A boy, thirteen years of age, was admitted to an institution as "homeless." The brief record stated that he was a whole orphan having one sister, and that $10 a month was received for board and $2.00 a month for clothes. The source of this income was not stated. He was kept in the institution for two years until he was fifteen, and was then "placed with a florist." Our visitor found a paternal aunt living in a large stone house in an expensive neighborhood. The house was "elegantly furnished and the aunt was a woman of refinement and culture," who received the visitor graciously. She stated that the children's mother "had never been bright" and had not been adequately supported by her hus-

band who was a drunkard and an outcast. His, also the aunt's, family had taken care of the wife at different times but she frequently went away and joined her husband. Finally he disappeared and nothing had been heard of him since. The mother had died of tuberculosis. Both of the children were mentally defective. The aunt said it was this fact that had made it impossible for her to receive them after the death of the grandmother who had previously taken them in. The boy was therefore entered at a Protestant institution for children and the little girl was sent to a Catholic boarding school. It was an uncle who had taken him out of the institution and who had secured the home and the work for him with the florist. The girl was still at the boarding school. Both the institutions had reported to us that the children were below a normal mental standard, that they acted about five years younger than they really were, and wanted to play with little children because they were unable to understand those of their own age.

Our inquiry failed to reveal that either of these children had ever received a physical or mental examination. The well-to-do relatives were treating these two defectives, children of defectives, as if they were merely stupid, and exploiting these institutions for normal children as custodial asylums, without on the other hand securing for them such care as would protect them from unfair competition with normal boys and girls and would prevent them from handing on their blight to children of their own later on.

Here was a similar menace:

Overseers of the poor of a certain county came into the possession of a feeble-minded father and mother and their five children. They sent the parents to the state institution for the feeble-minded, placed out a boy and a girl, and put the others into a children's institution. Ultimately all of these children were placed out in different homes. We found that one of the boys ran away from his foster home "because he was lonesome for his brothers." The foster parents reported this to the institution but no thorough search was ever made for him. The matron said "He swore and we didn't want him back." We could not find the girl until, after much searching of records, the overseers of the poor directed us to another agency to which they had once referred her. We finally learned that she was well off and had just married. The young husband was of course ignorant of the taint which would, in all probability, in the future wreck his family, as it had already wrecked that of his wife. The institution here took hazards unto the third and fourth generation.

Recapitulation

These children whom we studied had been admitted to institutions, not because they were themselves in need of institutional treatment—they were supposedly normal in mind and body—but because their natural guardians had been unfortunate. Too often they had been preserved in lonesome isolation while their families went down.

The study showed that nearly half of the families continued to maintain homes after the children had gone into the institutions and that 47 per cent of these homes were respectable and the families solicitous for the future good of the children; 32 per cent of the families not maintaining homes, but who were found at the time of the inquiry, were also of good standing. More than half of the others were what may be called borderline cases—badly in need of help. The institutions had one and the same treatment to offer for their wide diversity of need—need of well thought out remedial and constructive work for the families, to encourage unity and parental responsibility; need of knowledge of the changing conditions within the household group; need of study of the special requirements of the individual children and the promotion of their welfare—on into the future.

The initial human responsibility for wise guidance of the families had rested, in the majority of instances, with the institutional authorities. The common conception of the children's institution, as held by the applicants, was that of a cross between a boarding house and a school—a more aristocratic form of relief than coal, tea, and clothing. They were, therefore, less reluctant to make their wants known to the institutions than to appeal to a relief society. The histories we gathered show that these families had applied for care for their children without knowing any more of their own true needs than a dispensary patient knows of the treatment best suited to his ills. We have seen that it was as dangerous to grant institutional care to a child merely because the applicant requested it, as it would be to allow a patient to make a diagnosis of his own condition and to prescribe for it. Every time an institution had allowed a family to break up or sink, without seeing that intelligent effort was made to save it (if it were not already too late), and

every time it had returned a child to a home that was unfit, it had strengthened the forces that had created the application. Every time it had placed out a child without adequate home study of the family to which he went and without adequately supervising him after placement, it had run the risk of canceling all its previous efforts to help him. Many of the children were like dropped stitches in a knitted garment, and the whole family was likely to unravel unless the trouble was caught up at the start. It was often a children's institution which received the first hint of a situation which, if unheeded, later on involved several households.

IV

THE CHILDREN'S INSTITUTION AND THE COMMUNITY

One cause of failure on the part of institutional managers to push remedial and constructive measures was found in a widespread pessimism about helping the parents. Belief was current that families applying for help had usually brought their misfortunes upon themselves and that institutional care was the most helpful and humane way of saving the children.

As a contributor phrased it, "You will have to make human nature over, if you expect to check child dependency."

To some extent this is doubtless true, but it is also true that while there have always been children dependent upon charity, the causes that have made them dependent have varied and shifted with the fundamental changes which have been going on in the life of the people,—with the development of cities and industrial operations, entailing new hazards to life and limb, and putting new exactions upon human endurance and upon family life. With the development of sanitary science and social work an increasing number of the causes of child dependency today are seen to be preventable causes. For instance, we find orphanages established to care solely for children bereft of their parents by certain specified calamities, such as yellow fever—a disease which no longer produces child dependency in our states—and the elimination of typhoid fever and tuberculosis will do away with dependency now caused by those particular factors.

Each community must seek out for itself the particular forces which are endangering and bringing into needless dependency the children within its own borders. Imbedded in the antecedents of the families we studied were the acute and chronic problems of community life in the Pittsburgh District in seemingly endless variations and combinations. No one would have proposed that these institutions should equip themselves to meet all the social problems that came to their doors even though they added trained social workers to their regular staffs. But they could have stood ready to co-operate with other agencies and forces, both public and private, in their districts, in combating the preventable evils which swept away the natural supporters of many of their children. In addition, by massing stores of social information they could have become a means for self-revelation to the community in ways that would promote measures for bettering the conditions of life and labor.

At the time of this study there was, as has been stated, a daily population of some 3,000 supposedly normal boys and girls in the children's institutions of the Pittsburgh District. Yet in spite of accommodations for this large number, new institutions were being planned and old ones were being enlarged. And when we asked from whom came the demand for more, and still more institutional provision for normal children, we found the answer in the applications of those in misery who often did not understand the situations in which they were placed. Were their dependent children signals of preventable community distress, or were they merely the results of those historic combinations of inefficiency, poverty, and vice which many persons still claim to be the wholesale cause of child dependency?

Everyone knew that the District was staggering under many needless burdens, such as endemic typhoid fever and tuberculosis; that an uncounted number of its wage-earners were incapacitated through uncompensated industrial diseases and accidents; that the community as a whole was experiencing the results of insanitary living conditions and overwork of large numbers of its wage-earners; that there were bad hitches in the courts before which many of the cases of wage-earners were brought; and that public and private funds were

seriously taxed because of the absence of co-ordination between the agencies handling the problems of the poor. How many children in the institutions of Allegheny were dependent upon charity because of bad municipal and industrial conditions?

Said a Pittsburgh health official, "If the children's institutions could tell us how much of the dependency they treat is caused by typhoid fever, it would be of use to us in our fight for clean water." Said a member of the Pittsburgh bar, "If the children's institutions could discover specific instances of defects in the laws of procedure in desertion and non-support cases, we should be able to see the situation more clearly and to remedy it." Said a wealthy contributor to children's charities, "I wish we knew more about our children so that we could tell what results we are getting from the work." Our case study of 275 families carried us a little way into the heart of the problem.

We turn, by way of illustration, to the simplest of the groups of preventable causes—deaths or injuries due to conditions of work. In the 275 families there were 72 cases of this kind, of which 71 are classified in Table 15. The result of one was unknown.

The occupations in which the accidents occurred were representative of the industries of the District, and may be summed up in a group composed of mills and machine shops, coal mines,

TABLE 15.—RESULTS OF TRADE ACCIDENTS AND OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES TO 68 FATHERS AND 3 MOTHERS IN 70 FAMILIES HAVING CHILDREN IN INSTITUTIONS[a]

Effect of Trade Accident or Occupational Disease	*Fathers*	*Mothers*
Death	25	..
Permanent injury resulting in		
Total disability	2	..
Permanent inconvenience not amounting to total disability	8	3
Permanent injury to hand not amounting to disability	8	..
Temporary injury	25	..
Total	68	3

[a] In one family both father and mother were affected.

railroads, bakeries, building trades, miscellaneous factories, telephone and telegraph companies. Most parents in this table were in the prime of life at the time their children became dependent.

We now arrive at the question of how large a factor these accidents and diseases were in the dependency of the children involved in the 71 families under discussion. In attempting to settle this question we came, of necessity, against certain borderline cases in which so many destructive factors had entered that one could not tell just what part in the downfall the trade history had played. In 18 of the 71 families who had suffered from trade accidents and trade diseases, it did not appear that the accidents or diseases had had any close connection with the forces which had precipitated the children into the institutions. In 30 families accidents and diseases were found to have been factors in the child's dependency, but family troubles, lack of thrift, and other human waywardnesses had so complicated the situation that one was not justified in stating that dependency was actually due to trade causes. In 23 families, however, it appeared to have been due chiefly, if not wholly, to such causes. These 23 families included 59 children. We found, therefore, that out of the total 579 children covered by our small investigation, the dependency of 10 per cent was definitely traceable to trade accidents and trade diseases.

It is fair to suppose that some of these families would have failed to hold their own without the complication of trade diseases. Seventeen of the 69 fathers had an earning capacity of $15 or under. We may, therefore, regard these families as having been chronically on the borderline between independence and dependency. But it is significant that 37 fathers had an earning capacity of from $15 to $33 per week. In 15 cases the earning capacity could not be learned but there were no indications that it was unusually low. With reference to these trade accident cases we found that 43 of the 69 fathers had at some time during their lives been connected with protective societies, that 22 had not been so protected, and for four data were not obtainable. So far as we were able to discover only eight of the families whose breadwinners were killed had received any compensation whatever from their employers.

The sudden loss of the wage-earner had sometimes produced such confusion and shock among the survivors that they could not always definitely recall what had occurred during the first days after the accident. Some of the mothers seemed like rudderless ships, floating on a sea of chance, and many of them showed, above all else, a need for understanding friendship and experienced direction. They had looked upon the institutions as isles of safety at least for their children, but no one had protected the mothers themselves.

There were 75 children in whose dependency industrial causes had been leading factors and they had spent an aggregate number of 208 years in the institutions—something over two centuries of time! The approximate cost of their care was $25,000, paid from institution funds. In other words, we actually found that an average of $818 had been spent upon each of the families, in the form of institutional life for their little children, without the expenditure of one penny toward the preservation of the family home and without any effort to secure recompense to the families from the industries which had produced this human waste.

A well-to-do owner of a factory in which accidents were frequent said, "I do not think the wives of our men who are killed feel the need of greater compensation. The people of the town are very kind and there are societies that take the children. This gives the wife a chance to rest up, to work, to regain the freedom of her youth, and it gives the children better training than they would have at home." Such a story reflects the attitude of a large group of unimaginative but sympathetic and charitably inclined people who have not yet realized that the children's institutions, especially those in our industrial districts, are being used as a form of compensation for industrial injury, and who have placed this additional burden upon public and private contributors.

Suppose we take a few cases to illustrate what had actually happened to some of our family groups when institutional care was given children dependent as a direct result of trade accidents or trade diseases. Consider, for instance, the case of four children who had received eight years of institutional care at a cost of $1,000. They were entered on the records as "deserted by father."

A study of the case shows that the father, Robert Alden, bright and industrious, began work at the age of twelve. He became a steam hammerman in the Pittsburgh mill, and thriftily supported his wife and four children until he had a trade accident, in which he lost one eye and was otherwise generally injured. The company sent him to a hospital, where an effort was made to save the other eye. He was out of the shop about four months after this accident, and when he went back his wages were reduced from $2.50 to $2.00 per day, because of his infirmity. He was given no recognition on an accident claim. The men in his shop were very sympathetic and took up a collection for him. As time went on he seemed to lose courage and, although advised to sue the company, he did not do so because he was pessimistic about winning the case. This accident occurred in 1901, and Mrs. Alden said he was never the same afterwards. His mind became affected, he began to drink heavily, was irritable at home, and worked irregularly. His wife had to take in washing to help support the family. He finally left Pittsburgh for West Virginia and after a time his family joined him. He soon had another trade accident in which he nearly lost his hand, and was again laid up. After this he went to another city where an arm was broken while he was working in a machine shop, and he was laid up for three months. The company gave him no help, but the men chipped in every pay day and supplied his wife with money. This would not have tided them over had she not long before saved $35 out of the money her husband had given her with which to buy wood. Instead of buying it she had gathered it along railroad tracks, without her husband's knowledge.

The next accident occurred in another tool shop; Mr. Alden's right leg was broken in two places by some metal that fell on him from a nearby pile, and practically buried him. His injuries were so serious as to keep him out of work for five months. His wife supported the family by keeping boarders. His fellow workers made up one collection at this time, but the company did nothing. Mrs. Alden said she became so discouraged with all these disasters and her husband's increasingly bad temper, that she told him to leave and she would take care of the four children. Mr. Alden went to Oklahoma, where he became hammer driver and blacksmith, earning good wages, but he did not send any money home.

Mrs. Alden then gave up boarders and went out by the day, working for a glass company. Here the end of one index finger was taken off on a press. Being a very plucky woman she missed only a few days' work, but her hand troubled her for about a year, as the bone had been seriously injured. She was then given work at a machine which could be operated with one hand, was paid by the piece, but was able to make only

$1.00 a day with the one hand, while she had previously made $1.80 with two. Soon after this some new machinery was introduced which made it impossible for her to earn even a dollar a day and she had to stop. While operating the one-hand machine, she was obliged to stand with her weight on one foot, and one side became so strained that she had to give up for awhile. She put the children into an institution and went to her mother's home to rest. Here the institution could have saved the day, but it failed to see its opportunity. The mother afterwards went to work again in a pickle factory for $1.25 a day, but out of this she had to buy her own caps and uniforms, and pay for a locker in which to keep her clothes. This did not leave her enough to live upon, and she was obliged to give up her position. She then worked for an electric company, which soon failed, and she was unable to collect her wages. After another discouraging period she took a position as waitress, but her health interfered with her keeping this position. In despair at the situation, she used a little money saved while working in restaurants to open a rooming house, in an undesirable portion of the city, and from being an industrious and brave woman, a happy housewife and faithful mother, she has become—at the age of thirty—a woman of doubtful reputation to whom the institution authorities felt that her children should not be returned.

Was institutional care a satisfactory solution for a case like the following?

Four children were being cared for by an institution free of charge. The father, a man of irreproachable character, devoted to his children, had operated a foot punch press machine at an average wage of $15 per week. In 1906 his wife died, and he employed a housekeeper in order to keep the family together. Soon after he had established his home on this basis, while operating the machine he crushed the end of the index finger on his right hand. The company's physician took off the finger at the first joint and dressed the wound. Blood poisoning set in, and the company sent another physician to take off the second joint. This second physician stated that the instruments used by the first physician had caused the poisoning. Still another amputation was necessary to save the hand, and Mr. Hardy was laid off for over two months, because of the accident, but received no compensation except the physician's services. This interruption threw him out of the regular ranks, and when he went back to the shop he was only allowed to do spare work at night for a wage of $8.00 per week. This amount did not pay his household expenses and so, after a brave struggle, he broke up his home and put the children in an institution.

His injury had occurred on a press machine which made a certain series of punches before beginning over again. Mr. Hardy believed he lost count of the punches, and thought he had made fifty-four when he had only made fifty-three. Feeling himself to blame for the accident, he had not taken steps to secure compensation from the company. Both he and the children were waiting for the time when he could afford to have them at home again. The institution had spent $900 in giving these children institutional life.

The need for friendly help to prevent dependency in the families to whom compensation had been made by the employer, was sharply brought out by the story of Mrs. Dean.

Mrs. Dean and her husband, people of excellent reputation, lived together in comparative comfort until the man was killed in 1904. He had formerly been a structural iron worker, earning $18 a week. Later he entered a steel mill and worked as an electrician and machinist. He had been with the company about four months when he was asked to repair an electric crane. After he had climbed up and crept under the crane to do the work, someone, not knowing he was there, started the machinery, and Mr. Dean was so injured that he died within two hours. It was said at the plant that it could not be learned whether or not he had told anyone he was going under the crane as he was unable to speak after the injury. Through the efforts of friends, Mrs. Dean was paid $500 in cash by the company and $25 a month for three years by the Carnegie Relief Fund, a total of $1,400. Mr. Dean had been insured in the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company for $1,000 and this was paid to his wife.

With the little capital thus afforded her, Mrs. Dean tried to conduct a store, but said that in this experience she had only learned how quickly it was possible to lose one's money. She was then obliged to place her eldest daughter with an aunt as domestic, her three other children in institutions, and she herself went out as housekeeper. She was much discouraged about her children and herself. There were no relatives able to relieve her of any of her burdens. She had recently taken a clerkship in a department store where she was paid $6.00 a week, and had taken her sons out of the institution so she might make a home for them. One of them was earning a wage of $6.00 a week as office boy. Unfortunately, she was not regularly employed, and her health had been much impaired by the strain under which she had lived. In an attempt to find a house within her means, she had to take one in an undesirable neighborhood, facing the railroad tracks, and the trains thundered past almost at her doorstep. Here she was trying to make a home to which the little girl could come.

Another type of case with which the children's institutions had dealt was that in which disability was not technically due to trade accident, but in which the breadwinner's breakdown was due to trade conditions, causing the children to become unnecessarily dependent. This type may be briefly illustrated by the Leit family.

Mr. Leit worked in a pottery in Pittsburgh. He and his wife were thrifty, somewhat quarrelsome Germans who, however, got along very well with their seven children. Mr. Leit's work had consisted in lifting plumbago pots, weighing about 35 pounds, from the machine in which they were made, on to a rack. In the language of the shop, he "racked pots from the jiggerhead." He also had to carry pots on wooden trays, which he balanced on his hip, and hand them down to the men working at the kiln. After nine years of this he complained of "rheumatism," gave up his work, and was sent to the poorhouse. Four of his children were put in institutions and his wife struggled along with an old cow, some chickens, and with help from the older sons. The children had already spent an aggregate of some twenty-one years in the institution when our investigation was made. Mr. Leit was then a man of forty-six years. He was on crutches, in constant pain, and profoundly depressed as the result of his nine years of idleness in the poorhouse. He had never had a thorough physical examination, and at a cost of $2.00 and two hours, we discovered that the real source of his disability was a dislocated hip, caused by his work in the pottery. Had this matter been attended to by those to whom the application was made at the children's institution, it is highly probable that the family would not have fallen below the poverty line, and that their home would have been preserved. The failure to study this case at the start had cost the institution some $2,300 to date, wasted the best part of the man's life, and broken the family circle. Under constant treatment, he so improved that he discarded his crutches and was soon to be helped to take charge of a small shop. The chances were that, under careful supervision, this family would be restored to independence, but after nine years of needless delay.

Here is a case of trade disease which had been treated by a relief agency first and by a children's institution afterward:

Mr. York, a strong young workman and a good father to his two sons, was a shearman earning about $3.00 a day in a steel plant. Work became scarce and he was obliged to take a job that paid but $1.00 a day. In a desperate effort to increase his income, he took a position as

galvanizer in a manufacturing plant at a daily wage of $3.50. In two years he was suffering from acid poisoning, and Mrs. York tried to persuade him to give up his work and find something else. He told her, however, that the manager of the plant said that when a workman there was once poisoned with acid, there was no hope for recovery, and that he might as well go on in the plant until he died. He did die one year later after extreme suffering. It is to be noted that the pickler in the acid department was buried on the day of Mr. York's death, and the foreman died two months later, both of the same trouble. Toward the end of Mr. York's life, work had been irregular and his average earnings had amounted to only about $10.50 a week. His insurance in the Prudential paid the burial expenses, but there was no other money for his wife to fall back upon. She kept the children with her for a few months after their father's death, and received a weekly allowance of two loaves of bread, one pound of sugar, one-quarter pound of tea, one quart of beans, and a cake of soap from a relief society. However, this was not enough to save the home and the children were put into an institution. The mother then went out by the day sewing. She could not earn more than $6.00 a week and was unable to pay more than a few dollars toward the support of her children in the institution. It would have been no greater expense to charity to have provided adequate relief in the home, and so have preserved the family circle.

Table 16 shows the immediate causes of family disintegration and child dependency in those households which had been pulled down by what are generally regarded as preventable community ills.

The facts we secured showed that, in the dependency of 70 of the total 275 families studied, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, occupational diseases, trade accidents, and smallpox had been determining factors. This number did not represent all of the families in which such misfortunes had occurred; it included only those in which they were clearly the chief causes for child dependency. It meant that one-quarter of these families had been crippled or broken up by these undefeated enemies of the public and private good; that behind the immediate misfortunes of these dislocated children were found neglected city conditions—unsanitary houses, a polluted water supply, widespread infection of tuberculosis, occupational diseases, and trade accidents. This he who ran could read. What needless tragedies lay behind the unexplained diseases we could not know.

TABLE 16.—COMMUNITY CAUSES FOUND TO UNDERLIE APPLICATIONS FOR INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF CHILDREN IN 275 FAMILIES HAVING CHILDREN IN INSTITUTIONS

Community Causes Underlying Applications for Institutional Care of Children	*Families Represented*	*Children in Institutions*
Tuberculosis	25	56
Trade accident or occupational disease	23	59
Typhoid and complications	19	52
Smallpox	3	5
Total	70	172

The children's institutions had been for many long years grappling daily with the appeals of wage-earners who asked that institutional care might be given their boys and girls; had been listening to their reasons for wanting such care; had been meeting on visiting days the relatives and friends of those children whom the institution had received; had been constantly hearing the stories of those who wished to take the children back again. Surely these children's institutions should have afforded in their records a vantage ground for studying the forces which were creating havoc among wage-earners' families. Surely in the tables and cases cited there is evidence that these agencies could have contributed toward resourceful campaigns for the elimination of disease which was due to bad civic conditions, and for the preventing of trade accidents and trade injuries; and toward constructive schemes of workingmen's compensation, pension systems, and social insurance, which would tend to help preserve family life as the natural setting for childhood.

This service of identifying and measuring the forces which produced abnormal child dependency in the community was one which the Allegheny County institutions could, through preparation, have rendered, but did not.

V

CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages we have reviewed the work of the institutions for the care of normal dependent children in Allegheny County and have discussed their obligations

to the needy children they had received;

to the families of these children;

to the community from which they came and to which they were returned.

We have tried to keep the discussion on these points clear and distinct in outline. It is true that beneath our lines of cleavage certain factors interweave. From the first description of the methods used in admitting children, to the final analysis of causes of child dependency, we have brought out the importance of investigating families and recording social information. But it is hoped that the emphasis given in turn to the responsibilities of the institution to the child, to the home, and to the community, in the chapters where each is especially discussed, will prevent confusion.

In Chapter II it was shown that the children's institutions, having absolute control not only of the school time but of the leisure time and of all the elements in the environment of the child, were in a position to test and to carry forward methods of child development which progressive educators and physicians would have envied. In them one should have been able to find not only the most advanced standards in nutritional work, physical welfare, education, and industrial equipment, but also leadership in the proposal and advocacy of such movements as medical inspection of school children, vocational training, and the closer organization of charities. They could have demonstrated, through their own charges and by co-operation, what may be done in these directions. The standard here suggested would have given them dignity, lifting them from forms of haphazard charitable relief, expressed in boarding-house privileges, to the rank of laboratories for research.

In Chapter III it was shown that adequate care of the children for whom application was made called for such work with their families as would check and prevent child dependency, by keeping

the households together and by helping them if possible to rehabilitate themselves. In the fundamental operations of admission and discharge, the call was for constructive planning to encourage desirable family ties and to terminate bad ones. Moreover, in as far as these Pittsburgh institutions found their efforts for helpfulness frustrated by family desertion, improper guardianship, premature labor, the loan shark or other evils, they were in position to back movements for reform with graphic personal testimony. The faulty laws or lax enforcement thus revealed could not fail to affect the chance in life of thousands of other children besides those who came to the institution doors.

Similarly, under Chapter IV, it was shown that the institutions had a very important responsibility for keeping the public informed regarding influences in the community which were producing child dependency, as evidenced by the presence in these Pittsburgh institutions of boys and girls who had been robbed of their natural supporters by such causes as typhoid fever, tuberculosis, and trade accidents.

From the child in the institution, we have thus traced the responsibilities of the children's agencies back to the hidden springs in the Pittsburgh hills which were feeding 3,000 children a year to this living stream of child dependency.

Beginning now at the source—with the child in his natural home—we can retrace these responsibilities in the sequence of a logical program of prevention. We can trace (1) how far these agencies—and through them the community—were helping to safeguard natural homes from the disruptive forces which kept filling the children's institutions to overflowing; (2) how far they were helping to rehabilitate such homes or (3) to secure foster homes so as to keep such children, wherever possible, in normal surroundings; (4) how far as individual institutions, and collectively as the children's agencies of Pittsburgh, they had thought out and had prepared themselves to meet such special needs of the remaining children as could not be met by private homes.

In the first place, then, we found that while the crowded institutions were laboratories of first-hand information regarding the causes which were creating dependent children in the Pittsburgh District, their managers had been so overtaxed by the burden

constantly pressing upon them that they had not studied the sources of that burden. They knew and recited individual instances, but failed to perceive the somewhat subtle connection between civic inertia, oppressive living and industrial conditions, and the constantly increasing demand for charitable care. Their records did not supply them—nor they the public—with the simple facts which showed that the children in the institutions were symptoms of conditions that held the welfare of thousands of other children in jeopardy.

In failing to note and report the deeply significant disasters due to community neglect which were constantly recited to them, the institutions were like those physicians who failed to recognize and to report to the proper authorities contagious diseases among their patients. Every such instance of a normal family broken up should have led the community to stronger efforts for conservation of family life. The appeal of the children was not for institutional care; it was for reasonable protection at home. Yet who had heard of any of these children's agencies working shoulder to shoulder with a department of health, a child labor committee, a consumer's league? Who had heard of such organizations as a department of health, a child labor committee, a consumer's league seeking information from these potential storehouses of facts? It is not overstating the truth to say that there was not one social or civic movement which the problems of the children's agencies did not touch, nor one which would not have profited by a knowledge of the unchecked dangers and disasters to the home which the mere presence of these child refugees signified.

In the second place, we found that many of these home disasters might have been prevented, and that the conditions which produced them could have been remedied had the institutions sought and used the proper means. In nearly one-third of the families studied the parents showed moral stability. Nearly one-fourth were borderline families with wavering fortunes, needing moral stimulus and friendly visitation quite as much as material help. It is clear then that the possibility of rehabilitating the families who applied for charitable relief in the form of child care, was the first question to be considered by the institution to which application was first made for assistance. Instead these

institutions seemed to have become accustomed to doubt the effectiveness of efforts at rehabilitation and to regard admission of the child as the most practical course. They had frequently taken children from good homes for the sole reason that the mother was widowed or deserted and was obliged to go to work. The more "worthy" the mother, the more quickly was institutional care granted to her child. And so the child lost his most precious birthright and the mother was allowed to go her way. Sometimes, as we have seen, the amount of money spent on a child per week in institutional maintenance was as large a sum as the mother could earn in the precarious occupations which were open to her untrained or out-of-practice fingers. Yet the reasonableness of home allowances for such women, or of other alternatives, was not considered before taking such a drastic step as the separation of parent from child, and of brother from sister. It is, of course, beyond the bounds of research to say how far inherent weakness of the individuals concerned would have made rehabilitation of these homes impracticable; but from the facts gathered it is rational to assume that many of the children in the institutions need never have been pronounced "homeless."

Nor in the third place need many other children have remained "homeless," had the child-caring agencies met their kindred obligations of providing substitute homes for normal children whose own families were hopelessly broken up or truly unfit. It is equally beyond the bounds of research to say how many of the 3,000 children receiving daily care in the Allegheny County institutions here discussed need never have been admitted to institutional life had there been adequate machinery for prompt and efficient placing-out work. In this stronghold of pioneer asylums, institutional care was the first help offered, and once a child was admitted further consideration of his future was suspended for a long period of time—sometimes for years. Sometimes it was not considered at all and the child was held until he reached the age at which, under the rules, he had to be automatically discharged.

To be sure, the institutions would have told you that they did placing out themselves. This was done, however, chiefly to create vacancies for new applicants or in order to relieve the

institution from the oversight of children who had become "troublesome." Placing-out work had not been generally developed for the benefit of the child himself, nor were the institutions equipped for it. This was shown by the material gathered regarding children who had been discharged by the institutional authorities. We found that many of the children were safe and well. Others, who had received institutional care for years, had, in the absence of machinery for the investigation of homes, been returned to unfit parents; and still others, put with strange foster parents, had been lost track of after a few letters were exchanged. We came across instances of discharged children who had gone to work before reaching the legal age; and other instances of mentally deficient children who, because of their pitiful infirmities, had been exploited.

This brings us back to the first responsibility of the institutions—the children within their walls, many of whom needed the special care which only institutional shelter could give. And here we found the sad paradox that within not a few of the institutions organized for the protection of childhood were dangers quite comparable in social destructiveness to those which in the world outside rendered the children dependent upon charity. These dangers were perhaps less dramatic, but equally hostile to child welfare—such as overcrowded dormitories; lack of adequate physical and medical examination; cheap, unnourishing food; meager records of important social matters; low standards in the institution schools; overwork at institution drudgery; a serious misconception as to the fundamental principles of industrial training; insufficient equipment for developing play; and in many instances underpaid, underqualified employes. Granting, without question, the high ideals and earnest desire of all the boards of management to meet the true needs of the children, and the fact that few of the institutions were defective on all of these counts, while in certain points some of them exceeded the best practical community standards, the majority of them fell far below reasonable expectation.

These institutions for normal children would have liked to do many things which they were not doing, if they had had more money. They did not feel justified in a larger per capita expense

when an increasing number of needy children pressed continually against their doors. No one who has not come into close contact with their daily work could realize how full of difficulties it was. The weight of responsibility which rested upon the chief executives was heavy beyond the conception of the average board member. The Allegheny County institutions had allowed themselves to become, with few exceptions, engaged in such a taxing, hand-to-mouth struggle for the wherewithal to house, feed, and clothe a heterogeneous mass of children, that it was a practical impossibility for them to maintain such standards of plant, equipment, nutritional work, educational and social opportunities, as were absolutely necessary for intensive work. "We would like to give Evelyn a high school and college training because she is so bright," one manager said of an institution ward. "But we can't afford to give such opportunities to the others and so she must go without. We cannot be partial." So it was everywhere, unless the institution was very small and highly individualized—as few of the Allegheny County institutions were.

The institutions sacrificed high standards of work in order to take in as many children as possible; and as the tide of dependency rose the standard of individual care fell. New institutions were opened and the tide continued to rise. One asylum enlarged its capacity to 1,500 beds for normal, dependent children, but it still turned away children for lack of room. As one of the workers remarked, "If we had 5,000 beds 6,000 children would apply. If we had 6,000 beds, 7,000 would apply."

Was it not clear that the institutions were making catch-alls of themselves, and that a mere increase of capacity without increase in discrimination among applicants, aggravated and did not meet their real requirements?

What was imperatively needed was, first of all, a getting together of the child-caring workers to face the problem as a whole; then a specialization of effort along co-operative lines, a weeding-out of applicants, a redistribution of children received, the maintenance of such standards as specialization would make possible; and all along the line, efficiency tests.

Clearly the overburdened institutions needed to develop an efficient, centralized placing-out bureau for the sake of those

normal children who, temporarily or permanently deprived of proper homes of their own, would respond to the advantages of genuine family life. At the time of our study there was not only an absence of team work between the institutions and the relief-giving organizations in the rehabilitation of the good homes that might have been saved, but between the children's institutions and the placing-out agencies in cases where families could not be rehabilitated. There was also an almost total lack of co-operation among the children's institutions themselves. A marked tendency among them was to pull still farther apart and away from one another. As a result, we found brothers in one institution and their sisters in another, without any agreement on the part of the agencies caring for them as to a future plan. The managers and workers in different institutions rarely knew each other, did not look to one another for help and advice in the meeting of common problems, and remained ignorant of many points of individual excellence which it would have been mutually advantageous to them to share.

We found but one children's agency which illustrated the possibility of helpfulness through co-operation, and that was the Allegheny County juvenile court. Although it was seriously hampered* by the inadequacy of its funds, by rotation of judges, by an unfit place of detention, and by occasional political interference, yet the juvenile court succeeded in establishing new ideals for children's work; especially did it demonstrate the remarkable results which oftentimes follow skilful, constructive work in the child's home, by drawing together a number of specialized agencies.

Such co-ordination means a division of labor. Take, for example, the natural specialization seen in the agencies in Pennsylvania for children who had marked physical needs. There were up-to-date, efficient state schools for the blind and also for the deaf; there was an excellent state institution for the feeble-minded; a progressive, well-run private institution for epileptics; a new, well administered private institution for the industrial training of crippled children; a children's hospital with a highly skilled staff under private management; and some unusually effective fresh-air homes for summer work with anemic and undertoned children. When a blind child was found everyone immedi-

* See footnote on page 344.

ately thought of the school for the blind. No one thought of asking the school for the deaf to train a child who was merely crippled, or vice versa. Each of these agencies had decided at the start what type of child it would help and it had then studied the needs of such children and shaped its equipment to meet them. The work of these agencies did not overlap; it was complementary.

Compare this co-ordination of work for children who had conspicuous physical handicaps with the confusion in the provision for the supposedly normal children, the children whose needs were social. No boy or girl sound in eye and ear, in any of the institutions for normal children, had as carefully planned educational opportunities as did those in the school for the blind or the school for the deaf; no child in the institutions for normal children, even though he possessed special abilities, had as pedagogically sound and developmental a training as the futureless children in the state institution for the feeble-minded; neither did the strong, straight limbed children in the orphanages have the same discriminating training and vocational guidance as were supplied to the weakest of little cripples in the institution devoted solely to them.

Many of the children in the orphanages were physically below the normal, many had tuberculous tendencies, and it is doubtful whether many of them were in what one would call a positive condition of health; yet the institutions said that scientific nutritional work was beyond their means except for a limited number of children who were in the institution infirmaries. There was a large group of borderline cases whose need was not pronounced enough to warrant their admission to the institutions for special children, yet they were not welcome in the orphanages and asylums; nor had any of these conceived the idea of assuming the treatment of such children as their own particular work.

The year following our study a division of labor did begin among the social agencies of the Pittsburgh District. An associated charities was organized for the purpose of centralizing the various social movements and standardizing methods of work; and a children's bureau was opened—one definite result of the Western Pennsylvania Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, held

in April, 1908. The object of this bureau was to serve as a clearing house for the children's agencies of the whole county, to relieve them from having to deal with miscellaneous applicants, as well as to undertake other constructive work needed to insure the welfare of the children of the city.* Of almost equal importance was the inauguration of a special clinic for the free examination and treatment of backward and defective children. Another development was the founding of a county parental school on a country site, for the training of unruly boys of a type not needing the care of the reform school and yet difficult to handle in ordinary institutions. A junior republic was started also. A strong committee set to work to study and revise the laws and legal machinery which had to do with desertion and non-support.† It will be recalled that improvements of various kinds have been cited elsewhere in this report. There were doubtless other plans and improvements on foot which did not come to the attention of the writer although constant effort was made to learn of them.

As fundamental as the lack of co-operation was the lack of the tonic effect and incentive which comes from public scrutiny and supervision. We have seen that the tax payers of Allegheny County had large financial as well as health interests involved in the standards of these institutions. Yet even where, as was often the case, the methods of business administration were approved by the most critical of auditors; where every penny had

*This bureau in the summer of 1913 expanded into the Child Welfare Association, backed by the Juvenile Court Association and the Associated Charities, which was organized

"To receive children from the Juvenile Court and from public and private institutions and from other sources in Allegheny County, for placement in suitable homes.

"To maintain over-sight of children so placed by adequate visitation.

"To protect dependent, neglected and delinquent children.

"To serve as a bureau of information, advice and reference for agencies and individuals interested in helping children.

"To co-operate in securing and enforcing legislation designed to promote child welfare."

At the end of its first year the Child Welfare Association gives promise of affording a permanent basis for co-operation among the children's agencies.

†The 1913 legislature passed a law, drafted and advocated by this committee, enabling the courts to commit men to the workhouse for desertion or non-support and to order that the county pay 65 cents a day to the man's dependents. This law also applies to those men who fail to support theire illgitimate children.

The 1913 legislature also passed a "widows' pension" act carrying an appropriation of $200,000 for two years.

been used to its highest purchasing power of food, clothing, and shelter; where there was material thrift, and even prosperity, we found that the business for which the institutions existed, the larger social rights of inarticulate childhood had been quite casually overlooked. Men and women accustomed to apply business principles to all their other investments constantly contributed vast sums for extensions of institution work without asking managers to account for their stewardship in human conservation and output. There was not even an accepted minimum standard which they applied with respect to such fundamental matters as diet and health, to say nothing of what constituted good elementary education and suitable recreation.

This lack of standardization was largely due to the failure of the state board of public charities to perceive the social value of its powers and to exercise them. The duties of the board were distinctly advisory* and its reports were supposed to be the main source of information for the guidance of the legislators in arranging appropriations. As the attorney general of the state is the financial auditor for all the institutions receiving public funds, so the board of public charities should be the social auditor of the same institutions and also of those which are not subsidized but come within its scope. The state exacted an accounting for the expenditure of each cent of the appropriation it made from the tax payers' money to the institution, but the dependent child, admittedly a ward of the state, could be spent without its making any inquiry concerning him. There certainly should have been as much care used in accounting for the admission of a child as in receipting for a contribution of money; the discharge of a child should have been as conscientiously accounted for as the spending of a dollar.

There was no social balance sheet showing the progress of the child in the institution. The state did not know, the public did not know, the institutions did not know. Yet the facts were easily ascertainable, and it was for the institutions to provide them.

*In 1913 the legislature gave the board larger powers of enforcement. A public charities association meanwhile has been organized and has had investigators at work in both the eastern and western ends of the state with the idea of promoting before the legislature of 1915 the elimination of the insane and feeble-minded from the county almshouses, the reform of the subsidy system, and the improvement of the general scheme of state supervision of charitable institutions.

They had committees on admission and discharge, on food, clothes, school, religious instruction, entertainment, and so on, but none on co-operation, none on information and records, none on remedial and constructive work, not one on the prevention of child dependency. Absorbed by the difficulties of attending to his immediate needs, the institutions had lost sight of the essential social interests of the child himself. They had neglected opportunities for preventive and constructive work with families, only to find themselves overwhelmed by the consequences of this neglect, in what they had conceived as their sole responsibility—the running of institutions.

The unending circle which our study thus made clear called for a program for the community as a whole—in which the institutions themselves might well be the leaders—based on a new appraisal of the social needs of childhood in our industrial centers, and directed toward such ends as those we have recapitulated in this chapter: The conservation of the homes of children, in order that they may not be unnecessarily wrecked; the rehabilitation of breaking homes that should be conserved; the substitution of thoughtfully selected foster homes for homes which are completely destroyed or unfit; the co-ordination and specialization of the institutions for the children who remained; the adoption of such standards of care as would yield for them the best results in terms of happy, wholesome children; and the enforcement of these standards by an informed, convinced public opinion.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Facsimile of record card used during the investigation into typhoid conditions in Pittsburgh carried on under the direction of Frank E. Wing.

NAME

ADDRESS

F. N'M							
REP.							
DISF.							
DIED							

PLACE OF BIRTH

M.

W.

YEARS IN U S. | POH. | HS.

REL.	AGE	OCCUPATION	WKLY. EARN.	CONT. FAM.	DATE TAKEN SICK	WKS. UNEMP.	WKS. IN BED	WKS. IN HOSP.	CHARGE PER WK.	HOME EXPENSE					FUN. EXP.	DTH. INS.	SK. INS.	OUT. AID.	SAV.	DEBT
										DOC.	NUR.	DGS.	ICE	MILK						

HOUSEHOLD CONDITIONS AT TIME OF SICKNESS

STRUCTURE DRAINAGE CASES TYPHOID LAST THREE YEARS DEATHS

NO. FAM. IN BLDG. RENT BATH WATER SUP. FAU. LOC.

ROOMS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
USE							
BEDS							
SLEEPERS							
WINDOWS							

MILK: PRICE WHERE OBTAINED

TOILET LOC. STYLE NO. FAM. USING

CONDITION CHANGES

APPENDIX B

TAX LAWS, RATES, AND EXEMPTIONS

I

EARLY PENNSYLVANIA TAX LAWS AFFECTING LAND CLASSIFICATION IN PITTSBURGH

By an act of Assembly, approved in 1867, providing for the enlargement of the municipal boundaries of Pittsburgh, taking in part of Pitt township, all of Oakland, Collins, Liberty and Peebles townships and the borough of Lawrenceville, the city assessors were enjoined to separate real estate into two classes, similarly to the method pursued in Philadelphia. The language of the act was significantly identical to that used in another act of 1856* applying to Philadelphia real estate assessments. It provided "That it shall be the duty of each assessor returning real estate, to mark, in the margin of his book, opposite the property of any taxable, used for agricultural purposes, the word, 'rural'; and upon any property, so returned, there shall be assessed and collected only two-thirds of the rate, for city taxation, that shall be assessed and collected upon other real estate within said city."†

In 1868 an act‡ provided for a third division in cities of the first class (Philadelphia) called "agricultural" or "farm" land reducing its tax to one-half of the prevailing rate. In 1876, this new classification of land was applied to cities of the second class; that is, Pittsburgh and Scranton. Following the reference to the valuation of taxable property, the act continues: "The said board then shall proceed to classify the real estate so assessed, in such manner and upon such testimony as may be adduced before them, so as to discriminate between built up property, rural or suburban property, and property used exclusively for agricultural or farm purposes, including untillable land, respectively, and to certify to the councils of said city during the month of January of each year, the aggregate valuation of city, rural and agricultural property subject to

* Compare Act of 1856, Section 6, P. L. 568, and Pittsburgh Consolidation Act of 1867, P. L. 846, Section 6.

† P. L. 846, Section 6.

‡ Act of 1868, Section 1, P. L. 444.

taxation; it shall be the duty of said councils in determining the rate of taxation for each year, to assess a tax upon said agricultural, farm, and untillable land equal to one-half (½) of the highest rate of tax required to be assessed for said year and upon the said classes of real estate of said city there shall be three rates of taxation."

An act of July 9, 1897, added a clause saying what was implied in the earlier acts,—that Councils shall assess "upon said built up property a tax equal to the highest rate required to be assessed as aforesaid." The tax amending acts of 1900 and 1901 did not change the classification provisions.

II

PITTSBURGH TAX RATES, BY WARDS, FOR CURRENT EXPENSE, SEPARATE INDEBTEDNESS, AND SCHOOLS. 1910

Rates stated in mills on the dollar of valuation

Ward	Rate in Mills				
	Current Expense	*Separate Indebtedness*	*General School*	*Sub-district School*	*Total*
Pittsburgh Proper					
1	7.50	6.20	..	.50	14.20
2	7.50	6.20	..	.40	14.10
3	7.50	6.20	..	.17	13.87
4	7.50	6.20	..	.25	13.95
5	7.50	6.20	..	.75	14.45
6	7.50	6.20	..	.75	14.45
7	7.50	6.20	..	5.00	18.70
8	7.50	6.20	..	5.00	18.70
9	7.50	6.20	..	.50	14.20
10	7.50	6.20	..	.50	14.20
11	7.50	6.20	..	7.50	21.20
12–1[a]	7.50	6.20	..	2.00	15.70
12–2	7.50	6.20	..	1.75	15.45
13	7.50	6.20	..	5.00	18.70
14	7.50	6.20	..	2.50	16.20
15	7.50	6.20	..	1.30	15.00
16	7.50	6.20	..	2.30	16.00
17	7.50	6.20	..	2.25	15.95
18	7.50	6.20	..	3.00	16.70
19	7.50	6.20	..	2.00	15.70
20	7.50	6.20	..	1.00	14.70

[a] Old twelfth, twenty-first, and twenty-second wards are divided into two tax districts.

Ward	Rate in Mills				
	Current Expense	*Separate Indebtedness*	*General School*	*Sub-district School*	*Total*
PITTSBURGH PROPER					
21–1	7.50	6.20	..	4.50	18.20
21–2	7.50	6.20	..	2.50	16.20
22–1	7.50	6.20	..	3.33	17.03
22–2	7.50	6.20	..	4.40	18.10
23	7.50	6.20	..	4.50	18.20
24	7.50	6.20	..	2.00	15.70
25	7.50	6.20	..	3.00	16.70
26	7.50	6.20	..	2.50	16.20
27	7.50	6.20	..	5.25	18.95
28	7.50	6.20	..	1.50	15.20
29	7.50	6.20	..	2.00	15.70
30	7.50	6.20	..	2.00	15.70
31	7.50	6.20	..	5.50	19.20
32	7.50	6.20	..	5.00	18.70
33	7.50	6.20	..	1.75	15.45
34	7.50	6.20	..	2.50	16.20
35	7.50	6.20	..	6.00	19.70
36	7.50	6.20	..	6.00	19.70
37	7.50	6.20	..	5.50	19.20
38	7.50	6.20	..	15.00	28.70
39–Elliott	7.50	5.60	..	7.00	20.10
40–Esplen	7.50	4.60	..	8.00	20.10
41–Sterrett	7.50	4.20	..	9.00	20.70
42–Montooth	7.50	9.40	..	7.00	23.90
43–Sheraden	7.50	4.90	..	10.00	22.40
44–West Liberty	7.50	2.80	..	3.00	13.30
Beechview Borough	7.50	8.90	..	4.00	20.40
NORTH SIDE					
1	7.50	6.00	3.50	1.00	18.00
2	7.50	6.00	3.50	3.50	20.50
3	7.50	6.00	3.50	4.50	21.50
4	7.50	6.00	3.50	1.00	18.00
5	7.50	6.00	3.50	5.00	22.00
6	7.50	6.00	3.50	2.50	19.50
7	7.50	6.00	3.50	8.00	25.00
8	7.50	6.00	3.50	2.00	19.00
9	7.50	6.00	3.50	1.50	18.50
10	7.50	6.00	3.50	10.00	27.00
11	7.50	6.00	3.50	5.00	22.00
12	7.50	6.00	3.50	9.00	26.00
13	7.50	6.00	3.50	2.80	19.80
14	7.50	6.00	3.50	3.50	20.50
15	7.50	6.00	3.50	6.50	23.50

The first rate, 7.5 mills, to pay current expenses, applied to all 63 districts. It paid what might be called the operating expenses of the city, outside of interest and sinking funds, and exclusive of all public school

expenses. In other words it met the cost of administration of the executive, legislative, and financial offices of the city, as well as the various city departments; such as the department of public safety which furnishes police and fire protection, the inspection of buildings, smoke, electric wiring, and the like; the department of public works, the department of health, and so forth. This was the one and only millage rate which applied uniformly to all tax districts in Pittsburgh.

The next column shows that the rate of 6.2 mills was levied in the first 38 wards in the old city to meet separate indebtedness. Old wards, numbers 39 (Elliott), 40 (Esplen), 41 (Sterrett), 42 (Montooth), 43 (Sheraden), 44 (West Liberty), and Beechview, being the more recent annexations to the city, had their own rates, which ranged from 2.8 mills to 9.4 mills. The difference in the rates of these seven wards from those of the other 38 is explained on the ground that the former had come into the city only recently, and with debts hanging over from before their annexation. On the North Side all 15 wards paid 6 mills for separate indebtedness.

But the millage for separate indebtedness in the old city and on the North Side did not cover the same items, and this should be distinctly noted. Of the 6.2 mills assessed in most of the wards in the old city, 3.4 mills went to pay appropriations for sinking fund, interest, and the state tax on Pittsburgh bonds which were outstanding at the time of annexation of Allegheny; also to pay contractors' claims in connection with street and sewer improvements, interest on street and sewer contracts, assessments against the city, and judgments. On the North Side, instead of 3.4, the whole 6 mills levy was applied to this kind of indebtedness. The 2.8 mills remaining after deducting 3.4 mills from the separate indebtedness rate of 6.2 in the old city, represents the tax levied to meet the expense of the Pittsburgh Central Board of Education. This was, mainly, teachers' salaries, the cost of administration of all schools (exclusive of the construction and maintenance of new sub-district buildings), and all expenses of the public high schools. On the North Side an extra millage of 3.5, above the 6 mills for separate indebtedness, was necessary to meet similar school expenses there. Except for the seven new districts with varying rates, here was the first important feature of the rates which caused a considerable inequality between districts. The geographical consolidation of the two cities had not been matched with a fiscal consolidation; and so we find the old city paying 3.4 mills for past debts as against 6 mills assessed on the North Side, and we find the old city paying 2.8 mills for central school board expenses as against 3.5 mills on the North Side. For separate indebtedness and the central school board expenses combined, the old city bore a rate of 6.2; the North Side, a rate of 9.5 mills.

Incidentally, it is to be noted that West Liberty paid only 2.8 mills for separate indebtedness; that is, its millage for this purpose was only the rate levied for general school expenses. It carried no part of the debt burden with which the old city was loaded, but shared in the benefits which resulted from those debts, such as filtered city water, park improvement, boulevard extension, and so forth. It could look forward to the time when the cost of public improvements in West Liberty which would be of special local benefit, would be shared by the whole city through the current expense millage where new bonds of the consolidated city were met.

Last in the table is a column of rates to pay sub-district school expenditures, the cost of erecting and maintaining district school buildings, each sub-district shouldering its own expenses. The largest element in the wide variations in total rates was this sub-district school tax.

III

PITTSBURGH SUB-DISTRICT SCHOOL TAX RATES, BY WARDS, IN ORDER OF SIZE OF RATE. 1910

Rates stated in mills on the dollar of valuation

Ward	*Sub-district School Rate in Mills*	*Ward*	*Sub-district School Rate in Mills*	*Ward*	*Sub-district School Rate in Mills*
3	.17	8 North Side	2.00	8	5.00
4	.25	17	2.25	13	5.00
2	.40	16	2.30	32	5.00
1	.50	14	2.50	5 North Side	5.00
9	.50	21[2]	2.50	11 North Side	5.10
10	.50	26	2.50	27	5.25
5	.75	34	2.50	31	5.50
6	.75	6 North Side	2.50	37	5.50
20	1.00	13 North Side	2.80	35	6.00
1 North Side	1.00	18	3.00	36	6.00
4 North Side	1.00	25	3.00	15 North Side	6.50
15	1.30	44 West Liberty	3.00	39 Elliott	7.00
28	1.50	22	3.33	42 Montooth	7.00
9 North Side	1.50	2 North Side	3.50	11	7.50
12[2][a]	1.75	14 North Side	3.50	40 Esplen	8.00
33	1.75	Beechview Borough	4.00	7 North Side	8.00
12[1]	2.00	22[2]	4.40	41 Sterrett	9.00
19	2.00	21[1]	4.50	12 North Side	9.00
24	2.00	23	4.50	43 Sheraden	10.00
29	2.00	3 North Side	4.50	10 North Side	10.00
30	2.00	7	5.00	38	15.00

[a] The old twelfth, twenty-first, and twenty-second wards are divided into two tax districts.

IV

THE PERSONAL PROPERTY TAX; LICENSES; COUNTY TAXES, ETC.

There is practically no shifting of the municipal tax burden in Pittsburgh through the personal property tax.

Advocates of taxing personal property would, indeed, find grounds for further indictment of the tax situation in the fact that in this city of a "thousand millionaires," the total personal property assessed for local taxation was $3,685,015. Pennsylvania has practically done away with the system of personal taxes; but in doing so it is in accord with the trend of opinion among tax experts and economists who regard personal property taxation as illogical, ineffective, and a nursery of abuse. As the whole city's taxable value was $679,165,253, the personal property valuation amounts to about one-half of 1 per cent—so small a proportion that even if its levy was marked by great inequalities their effect on the general situation would be practically negligible.

The 5 per cent* added to the city revenues from licenses, fines, and forfeits, has not relieved the situation for, if anything, the larger part of it is drawn from the groups lowest in the scale of economic ability.

Of the $875,247.89 received from these sources in 1909, 82 per cent came from liquor licenses, and for our purposes the other principal items,—7 per cent from business licenses (principally vendors and amusements) and 9 per cent from vehicle licenses (other than automobiles),—may be disregarded.

It is difficult to say who is the ultimate payer of liquor licenses. Even if the tax stayed on manufacturer or retailer, its bearing on the more even distribution of all city taxes would be slight. It would not affect all citizens nor change the situation for any one group of people.

On the other hand, it may be said that in general producers and distributors of manufactured goods are able to shift taxes to the shoulders of consumers. This is especially true in the case of liquors, if the city's license fee is large enough to restrict the number of persons going into the business. This is undoubtedly the case in Pittsburgh and the number is further restricted by the operation of the Pennsylvania liquor laws. The bar recoups by small glasses, poorer or no free lunches, and so forth. Under these circumstances, if the consumption of liquors were approximately equal among individuals, the tax would be a uniform levy and not proportional to ability to pay. But consumption is, of course, not equal. The large working class is undoubtedly the largest consuming class in this case, and hence would be the heaviest payers of the tax.

* Exclusive of water rents and the sale of city bonds.

County taxes have borne less unequally upon the different groups of property holders within the city limits but have in no wise readjusted the pressure of the municipal tax load. The county tax falls largely upon real estate. In 1909, out of a total assessed valuation of $1,300,000,000 in Allegheny County, a scant $188,000,000, or 14 per cent, was personal property. Of this $1,300,000,000 of assessments, $867,000,000 was against property in the city of Pittsburgh which thus paid almost two-thirds of the annual tax of nearly $3,000,000 raised for county purposes. The tendency to undervalue large holdings more than small ones and to make more and greater reductions in their assessments through appeals for revision, operated in county as in city systems, but real estate was not classified for county taxation.*

V

EXEMPTION OF COMMERCIAL PROPERTY

By the courtesy of the committee on real estate and taxation of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce we are able to present a report, prepared by the Chamber's committee on laws, upon the legal basis, so far as there is any, for the exemption of commercial property in Pittsburgh. Our questions related to the following exemptions:

(a) Sixty-six feet of right of way of railroads.

(b) Land and buildings of light, gas, and heating companies; also water companies.

(c) Buildings and part of equipment of railroads on the North Side, Pittsburgh.

(d) Land of incline plane companies.

(e) Land and buildings of telephone companies (Central District and Printing Telephone Co., Pennsylvania and Allegheny and American Telephone and Telegraph Co. of Pennsylvania). Sixth Avenue building of the Philadelphia Company paid taxes on one-half of its total valuation. What is the law exempting the other half? Likewise $\frac{13}{16}$ of the Central District and Printing Telephone Company's three-story telephone exchange building and land on Fourth Avenue.

* The federal taxation system, being based upon considerations quite independent of the local taxation policy, was considered outside the scope of this study. But as the federal revenues come mainly from customs duties and excise taxes which fall disproportionately heavy upon consumers with small means they offer no special redress, but rather add to the disproportionate governmental load borne by the latter.

OWNERSHIP OF EXEMPT COMMERCIAL PROPERTY. PITTSBURGH, 1907.

Ownership	*Land*	*Buildings*	*Total*
Railroad			
Pennsylvania R. R.	$12,965,316	$1,555,400	$14,520,716
Baltimore and Ohio R. R.	2,126,681	47,500	2,174,181
Pittsburgh and Lake Erie R. R.	1,181,651	..	1,181,651
Wabash R. R.	506,782	..	506,782
All others	326,271	202,250	528,521
Light, Gas, Heating, etc.			
Philadelphia Co.	777,600	1,481,850	2,259,510
Allegheny Gas Co.	41,250	300,000	341,250
Pittsburgh Gas Co.	128,500	362,000	190,500
Duquesne Light Co.	16,890	44,300	61,190
Pennsylvania Light, Heat and Power Co.	5,100	45,300	50,400
South Side Gas Co.	9,630	17,800	27,430
People's Natural Gas Co.	8,925	1,125	10,050
Manufacturers Natural Gas Co.	250	300	550
Incline Planes			
Duquesne Incline Plane Co.	526	..	526
Monongahela Incline Plane Co.	3,534	..	3,534
Seventeenth Street Incline Plane Co.	15,272	..	15,272
Mt. Oliver Incline Plane Co.	10,094	..	10,094
St. Vlair Incline Plane Co.	835	..	835
Pittsburgh Incline Plane Co.	21,712	..	21,712
Clifton Park Incline Plane Co.	5,000	..	5,000
Water Companies			
Monongahela Water Co.	11,250	..	11,250
Pennsylvania Water Co.	175	..	175
Telephone and Telegraph Companies			
Central District and Printing Telephone Co.	381,243	286,000	667,243
Pittsburgh and Allegheny Telephone Co.	65,585	49,000	114,525
American Telephone and Telegraph Co. of Pennsylvania	3,150	10,700	13,850
Miscellaneous	58,110	..	58,110
Total	$18,671,332	$4,103,525	$22,774,857

The report is as follows:

"The rule is that property of a quasi-public corporation which is indispensable to the proper exercise of the corporate franchise or is reasonably necessary to the business of such corporation, and which constitutes a part of its corporate machinery properly employed by it as incidental to

the execution of the charter purpose, is not subject to local taxation. Or, as stated by the Court in People's Street Railway *vs.* Scranton, 8 C. C., 634, "The property of such a corporation, both real and personal, as is necessarily appurtenant to its public works and indispensably necessary to enable the corporation to fulfill the purposes for which it was chartered, loses its specific character as houses, lands, etc., so far as the laws regulating taxation are concerned, and is recognized as simply part of that unity which is covered by the corporate franchise and taxed directly by the commonwealth."

In 1859 an act of Assembly was passed, P. L., page 828, entitled an "Act to enable the City of Pittsburgh to raise additional revenue." One of the provisions of this act is as follows:

"That all real estate situate in said city owned or possessed by any railroad company shall be and is hereby made subject to taxation for city purposes the same as other real estate in said city." For construction and application of this act see Pennsylvania Railroad *vs.* Pittsburgh, 104 Pa. St., 522.

This would seemingly cover all real estate, including the rights of way of all railways within the city of Pittsburgh, but for some reason the city of Pittsburgh never attempted to tax locally the rights of way of any of the railroads within its limits for almost fifty years after said act was passed. But in 1908 such an attempt was made, and the railroad company filed a bill in equity asking for an injunction to restrain the city of Pittsburgh from collecting taxes on real estate included within its rights of way. The court entered decrees dismissing the bill. This case was appealed. The supreme court reversed the lower court and held that it was not the intention of the legislature to include within the meaning of the words "real estate" as used in the act of 1859, the ground comprised within the rights of way.* This disposes of the first question submitted.

The act of 1859 above referred to, authorizing the taxation of real estate of railroad companies, applied only to the city of Pittsburgh, and all railroad property in the city of Allegheny came under the general rule above mentioned and was exempt from local taxation.

When the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny were consolidated it was with the understanding that each of the cities should pay its own floating and bonded indebtedness as the same existed at the time of consolidation by imposing a tax therefor on the property of each city.

Since the consolidation the city of Pittsburgh assessed, for the purpose of paying the bonded and floating indebtedness of the former city of Allegheny, all of the side tracks, stations, offices, and so forth, of the

* Pennsylvania Railroad *vs.* Pittsburgh, 221 Pa. St., 90.

Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railroad Company situate on the North Side.

The railroad company filed a bill asking for an injunction to restrain the city of Pittsburgh from levying this tax. This bill was dismissed by the lower court, and the case was appealed. The supreme court reversed the lower court and held that only property in the old city of Allegheny which was subject to taxation prior to the consolidation with the city of Pittsburgh can be subject to taxation for the purpose of liquidating its floating and bonded indebtedness at the time of annexation.*

VI

STATE TAXES

Customs taxes are reserved exclusively to the federal government. There is no overlapping here of state and federal taxes, but the state may levy excise duties and corporation taxes. State excise duties generally take the form of license taxes. The majority of the states, however, have depended mainly for their revenues upon the general property tax; that is, the real estate and personal tax. The states in general have apportioned out their required taxes among the counties upon the basis of the county valuations of realty and personalty, and the counties have raised their quota by adding enough to the county rates to bring in the state apportionment. The last decade or more has witnessed an increasing tendency to substitute other taxes for the general property tax, especially that on real estate, thus tending to separate the sources of state and local taxation. With the exception of New York, Pennsylvania has probably gone farther than any other state in this matter.† The most important substitution has been the corporation tax. In 1909 New Jersey derived 92 per cent of its total state tax revenue from corporations; Pennsylvania, 72 per cent; Delaware, 62 per cent; New York and Maryland, 32 per cent.‡ In Pennsylvania, in 1909, more than half of the revenues from

* See Pennsylvania Co. *vs.* Pittsburgh, 226 Pa. St., p. 322.

† "Pennsylvania has almost reached the goal (separation of state and local tax sources) by discontinuing any state taxation of real property, but Pennsylvania still enforces the state tax on personalty, even though this be done in a somewhat peculiar way. New York is the real example of separation of state and local revenues, although from the local point of view the separation is not complete because corporations are still nominally subject to the general property tax for local purposes. So far, however, as the chief point is concerned; namely, the abandonment of the general property tax for state purposes, New York has in practice reached the separation of state and local revenues."—Prof. E. R. A. Seligman in an address on "The Separation of State and Local Revenues," delivered at the First National Conference of the National Tax Association, 1907.

‡ Report of the Commissioner of Corporations, June, 1910. Part II, Taxation of Corporations, p. xi.

corporate taxation came from the capital stock tax. The inheritance tax is another source of state revenue which is growing in favor; a number of states levy income taxes; and in the Southern states for a long time part at least of the license or occupation taxes have gone to the state. In 1909 Pennsylvania's license taxes brought in 14 per cent, its inheritance tax 7 per cent, and the personal property tax nearly 5 per cent of the state taxes. The total state tax collected in Pittsburgh in 1909 was an amount relatively so small as to be negligible as far as its influence in equalizing other disproportions was concerned.

VII

THE 1913 PENNSYLVANIA TAX LAW FOR CITIES OF THE SECOND CLASS

AN ACT amending article six of an act, entitled "An act for the government of cities of the second class," approved the seventh day of March, Anno Domini one thousand nine hundred and one, as amended by an amendatory act, approved the first day of April, Anno Domini one thousand nine hundred and nine, and as affected by an act, entitled "An act providing a uniform rate of assessment and taxation for all real estate in cities of the second class," approved the eleventh day of May, Anno Domini one thousand nine hundred and eleven; by providing for the classification of real estate for purposes of taxation into two classes; to wit, the buildings on land, and the land exclusive of buildings, and by providing for the assessment of a less tax upon the buildings than upon the land exclusive of the buildings, in cities of the second class.

Section 1. Be it enacted, &c., That article six of an act entitled "An act for the government of cities of the second class," approved the seventh day of March, Anno Domini one thousand nine hundred and one, as amended by an amendatory act, entitled "An act amending article two, article six, article sixteen, and paragraph twenty-four of article nineteen, of an act, entitled 'An act for the government of cities of the second class,' approved the seventh day of March, Anno Domini one thousand nine hundred and one; by providing for an increase in the number of executive departments in said cities from nine to ten, by the creation of the Department of Public Health; by increasing the number of persons constituting the Department of Assessors, and enlarging and increasing the jurisdiction and powers of said department; by providing for an increase in the number of police magistrates in said cities from five to eight; and supplementing said act by authorizing the creation of the Department of Public Health; providing for the appointment of a director thereof, fixing the maximum

of his salary, and defining the jurisdiction of said department," and approved the first day of April, Anno Domini one thousand nine hundred and nine, which article as so amended reads as follows:

"ARTICLE VI

"Department of Assessors

"This department shall consist of no less than five (5) nor more than nine persons, who shall have been residents of the city for at least ten years; all of whom shall not be of the same political party. The number of assessors in this department shall be designated by ordinance; and they shall, from time to time, make all valuations for purposes of municipal taxation.

"*They shall classify and divide all real estate in the city into three classes; namely,—Built up, which shall pay full rates; suburban or rural, which shall pay two-thirds; and agricultural, which shall pay one-half.* They shall triennially make a valuation for all purposes of municipal taxation, and shall have the power to administer oaths. They shall have the power to make a new assessment in any ward or wards they deem necessary, in any subsequent year, other than triennial years, in the manner prescribed by law for the triennial assessment. Any property owners shall have the right to be heard by the full board, sitting as a board of revision, on appeal from any valuation. The assessment as aforesaid, shall remain the lawful assessment for purposes of city taxation until the next assessment. Nothing herein contained shall be construed to repeal the act of July nine, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven, providing for the classification of real estate and other property for the purposes of taxation, and for the election of assessors and prescribing the duties thereof, in cities of the second class, except so far as the same is inconsistent herewith.

"The councils shall, by ordinances, make all further needful rules and regulations for the government of this department,"——*and as affected by an act, entitled "An act providing a uniform rate of assessment and taxation for all real estate in cities of the second class," approved the eleventh day of May, Anno Domini one thousand nine hundred and eleven,* which last mentioned act reads as follows:

"Section 1. Be it enacted, &c., That hereafter all real estate now assessed and taxed in cities of the second class shall be assessed and taxed, for all purposes of such taxation, at a uniform rate, based on its valuation, without discrimination or distinction of any kind, and no classification of such real estate for purposes of taxation shall hereafter be made: Provided, This act shall not affect the assessment of taxes for the year one thousand nine hundred and eleven.

"Section 2. All acts or parts of acts inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed," shall be, and the same is hereby, amended so as to read as follows:

ARTICLE VI

Department of Assessors

This department shall consist of no less than five (5) nor more than nine persons, who shall have been residents of the city for at least ten years: all of whom shall not be of the same political party. The number of assessors in this department shall be designated by ordinance; and they shall, from time to time, make all valuations for purposes of municipal taxation.

They shall classify all real estate in the city in such a manner, and upon such testimony as may be adduced before them, so as to distinguish between the buildings on land and the land exclusive of the buildings, and to certify to the councils of said city the aggregate valuation of city property subject to taxation. It shall be the duty of said councils, in determining the rate for the years one thousand nine hundred and fourteen and one thousand nine hundred and fifteen to assess a tax upon the buildings equal to nine-tenths of the highest rate of tax required for said years; and for the years one thousand nine hundred and sixteen, one thousand nine hundred and seventeen, and one thousand nine hundred and eighteen, to assess a tax upon the buildings equal to eight-tenths of the highest rate of tax required to be assessed for those years; and for the years one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, one thousand nine hundred and twenty, and one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, to assess a tax upon the buildings equal to seven-tenths of the highest rate of tax required to be assessed for those years; and for the years one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-three, and one thousand nine hundred and twenty-four, to assess a tax upon buildings equal to six-tenths of the highest rate of tax required to be assessed for those years; and for the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty-five, and for each year thereafter, to assess a tax upon the buildings equal to five-tenths of the highest rate of tax required to be assessed for the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty-five, and for each year thereafter, respectively, so that upon the said classes of real estate of said city there shall, in any year, be two rates of taxation.

They shall triennially make a valuation for all purposes of municipal taxation, and shall have the power to administer oaths. They shall have the power to make a new assessment in any ward or wards they deem necessary, in any subsequent year, other than triennial years, in the manner prescribed by law for the triennial assessment. Any property owners shall have the right to be heard by the full board, sitting as a board

of revision, on appeal from any valuation. The assessment, as aforesaid, shall remain the lawful assessment, for purposes of city taxation, until the next assessment. Nothing herein contained shall be construed to repeal the act of July nine, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven, providing for the classification of real estate and other property for purposes of taxation, and for the election of assessors and prescribing the duties thereof, in cities of the second class, except so far as the same may be inconsistent herewith.

The councils shall, by ordinance, make all further needful rules and regulations for the government of this department.

Section 2. All acts or parts of acts inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed.

Approved—The 15th day of May, A. D. 1913.

JOHN K. TENER.

The foregoing is a true and correct copy of the Act of the General Assembly No. 147.

ROBERT MCAFEE,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

VIII

EXEMPTIONS, 1913*

Description	*Land Valuation*	*Building Valuation*	*Total Valuation*
Churches, Schools, Eleemosynary Institutions, etc.			
United States Government Property (Postoffice and Arsenal)	$5,013,056	$1,879,000	$6,892,056
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Property	365,266	1,168,800	1,534,066
Allegheny County Property (Court House, Jail, etc.)	5,227,400	3,347,728	8,575,128
414 Churches (All denominations)	7,015,435	6,416,850	13,432,285
168 Schools (All denominations)	3,674,714	8,966,300	12,641,014
18 Universities and Colleges	1,212,290	3,392,200	4,604,490
25 Hospitals	2,098,940	5,260,300	7,359,240
15 Asylums	527,464	646,250	1,173,714
31 Eleemosynary Institutions	863,642	1,105,175	1,968,817
19 Cemeteries	5,703,699	314,406	6,018,105
8 Libraries	1,494,737	6,481,000	7,975,737
15 Religious Associations	647,449	905,350	1,552,799
3 Bath Houses	28,245	80,000	108,245
Total	$33,872,337	$39,963,359	$73,835,696
Public Utility Corporations			
Steam Railroad Cos. (Old City Pittsburgh) (Right of Way only)	$8,260,193	$2,300	$8,262,493
Steam (North Side) (All Property)	7,917,281	1,709,150	9,626,431
Street Railways Cos.	68,551	87,000	155,551
Telegraph and Telephone Cos.	468,188	365,700	833,888
Incline Plane Cos. (Right of Way only)	68,700	. . . .	68,700
Gas, Heating and Light Cos.	960,789	2,347 825	3,308,614
Various Corporations	27,966	2,500	30.466
Total	$17,771,668	$4,514,475	$22,286,143
City Property	$23,656,500	$20,649.610	$44,306,110

*From the annual report of the Department of Assessors of the City of Pittsburgh, January 31, 1913.

APPENDIX C

THE NEW PITTSBURGH SCHOOL SYSTEM

BEULAH KENNARD

As a result of widespread dissatisfaction with school conditions and the rapid breaking down of the ward system, a bill providing for the reorganization of the Pittsburgh School system was presented to the Pennsylvania legislature at the session of 1908–09 but suffered alteration so radical in its devious passage through the House that its failure to secure the governor's signature was welcomed by the friends of reform. Then a new and more carefully worked out code was formulated by the state commission appointed by the governor for that purpose. Many of its sections strike at the conditions emphasized in Miss North's article and its provisions should do away with many of the old abuses. Instead of a school control partly vested in a central board of 46 members and partly in the 276 members of sub-district boards, the city of Pittsburgh, including former Allegheny, was, by the enactment of the school code (May 18, 1911), constituted a school district of the first class, enjoying with Philadelphia and Scranton an adequate metropolitan system of control. Under the new law, which became operative in November of the same year, the entire management of the public schools is vested in a body of 15 members who are appointed* by the judges of the courts of common pleas for a term of six years, one appointment at least to be made from each of the five senatorial districts of the city. The school directors are collectively and officially known as the board of public education. The secretary, who is not a member, is the board's general executive.

In each municipal ward a board of visitors, composed of seven members, is elected by the people for a term of four years. This board

* There were many advocates of the principle of an elective rather than an appointive board, but there was general agreement that in the period of transition an appointive board, wholly divorced from politics, was essential. In the legislature of 1912–13 bills were introduced providing for both gradual and immediate change to the elective system. Both failed.

Persons holding office as mayor, chief burgess, district attorney, county officials, city, borough, and township officials, constables, persons removed from office for malfeasance, or persons convicted of crime are not eligible for appointment. The qualifications of the school visitors are similar.

has chiefly an advisory function and is expected to represent the general public in all matters affecting the successful operation of the schools.

The revenues from the state, formerly distributed on the basis of the number of children of school age, the number of teachers, and the number of resident taxables, are under the new arrangement distributed according to the first item only and this equalizes the distribution, giving less wealthy districts suitable equipment. The revenues from the city under the old plan, either in the form of the city school tax levied by the central board or the ward tax levied by local boards, had no minimum or maximum limit; the ward taxes, as has been stated, varied from the fraction of a mill on the dollar in wealthier districts to from 10 to 13 mills in poor districts. By the new law there is no ward school tax, but the board of public education may levy on the city as a whole an annual school tax of not less than 5 nor more than 6 mills on the dollar; it certifies to Councils the amount needed to operate the schools and this amount must be provided for in the municipal budget.

The operation of the school finances is in the hands of a school comptroller who is also the city comptroller, elected at the general election for a term of four years. He approves all orders drawn on the treasurer, certifies every contract, and renders annually an itemized statement of receipts and expenditures which may at the discretion of the board be printed in the newspapers. The school comptroller must audit all financial dealings under the control of the board.

The superintendent of buildings, who must be an architect or engineer in good standing, has general charge of all matters pertaining to the physical school plant, including construction, repairs, permanent equipment, and operation. He also supervises the school janitors.

The superintendent of supplies is the general purchasing and distributing agent of the board, and has charge of all material duly authorized for the various departments in school operation.

The superintendent of schools is the professional head of the school system and is elected by the board for a term of four years. He is empowered to recommend to the board all subordinates in his department, plan and supervise their work, and shape the constructive policy of the schools. In the general supervision he is aided by one associate superintendent and four assistant district superintendents. The individual school, with its corps of teachers under a principal, constitutes the unit in local management.

Teachers by the new code must be appointed and promoted from eligible lists; their dismissal may be for various causes, but only upon charges preferred in writing and after a hearing. Under the old system

the teachers elected by the sub-district boards might be practically dismissed at the close of the term by non-election. The new law permits the appointment of a teacher related to any member of the board of education only through the affirmative votes of three-fourths of all the members. The certification of teachers is safeguarded by additional requirements and renewal conditions.

Under a provision of the code authorizing the board to establish special schools or departments for school extension the school curriculum has been enriched and systematized. Special subjects calling for expert instruction and supervision are in charge of department directors, who in turn plan and unify the work of local supervisors working with teachers in the schools. These departments include kindergarten, physical training, music, art, industrial training, household economy, writing, teacher training, special schools and extension work, compulsory attendance, and vocational guidance.

The new board of public education began its work in November, 1911, with perhaps the most difficult task before it that has ever confronted a school administration. Not only did it have 61 districts (including old Allegheny) with 61 kinds of local policy to co-ordinate into a city school system, but it had also to overcome the prejudices and antagonisms of two recently consolidated cities; it had to deal with 61 boards of school visitors who had just been shorn of their autocratic powers and reduced to the unsatisfactory function of giving "advice." In any readjustments to be made it must reckon with a corps of "supervising principals," department supervisors, and other specially privileged persons who had ruled over their small independent kingdoms and demanded consideration in the general scheme. All these with their friends and adherents, including the school janitors, constituted a small army of doubtful friends and possible foes.

Another cause for trouble lay in the adjustment of the tax levy. Pittsburgh had long suffered from a most inequitable system of taxation by which certain large tracts were appraised as "agricultural land" though in the heart of the city, but the school tax had additional inequalities.* Under the old law the central board made an estimate to cover teachers' salaries, text books, high schools, and general supplies which was sent to Councils and could not be reduced by that body, but must be included in its general tax levy. This school tax usually amounted to between 3 and 4 mills on the dollar. Each sub-district then estimated the cost of maintenance of its buildings, janitor service, and any special expenses it might

* See Harrison, Shelby M.: Disproportion of Taxation in Pittsburgh. P. 156 of this volume.

approve, and fixed its tax levy to be applied to the general tax for that district. These ward taxes ranged from one-half mill to 10 mills on the dollar, according to local conditions, the heaviest tax falling on the crowded wards where the working people lived. The Golden Triangle, bounded by the two rivers on the north and south and Grant Street on the east, in which the largest business houses, the banks, and the great office buildings were situated, paid no local school tax at all! Both of these conditions were altered when the new code was adopted. A new appraisal of real estate has been made in which the general taxation upon many large properties has been increased.

An audit of the old school districts showed bonded debts and deficits amounting to about $5,000,000 and almost no assets or sinking funds, while an inspection of school buildings and general school conditions in old Pittsburgh showed the imperative need for an immediate and extensive repair program and the issuance of $3,000,000 in bonds to provide for the erection of the long delayed high schools and grade buildings. This heavy debt made the maximum tax necessary, much to the tax payers' indignation.

With these threatening clouds of public wrath on the horizon and in a conservative community which reverenced the ways of the fathers, the new appointive board began its attempt to bring order out of conditions very like chaos, and to construct a modern, efficient school system adapted to the needs of an industrial city.

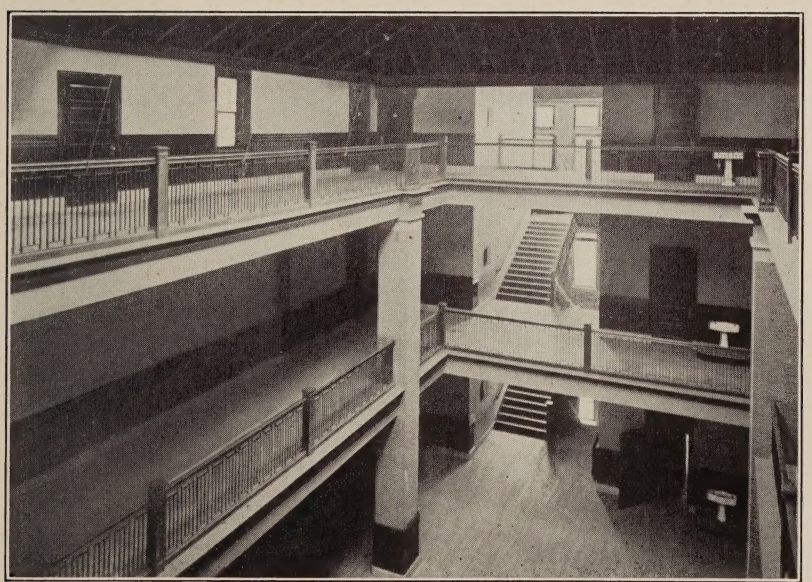
It proceeded at once to elect a superintendent of buildings and another of supplies and to make a diligent search for a superintendent of schools. The two first choices for this latter position were unwilling to undertake so difficult a task, but the head of the St. Paul schools, S. L. Heeter, who had shown exceptional ability in organization and administration, was elected by the board. He began his duties the first of March, 1912.*

The achievements of the new administration during its first fourteen months of service were remarkable. They are recorded in the school report for 1912. Like the builders of the Grand Central Station in New York City, it had to reconstruct a great edifice without for one moment stopping the wheels of daily activities; but unlike those builders it was obliged to use old materials in the process, carefully readjusting old portions of the structure to new purposes and fitting in new portions without disturbing the foundations.

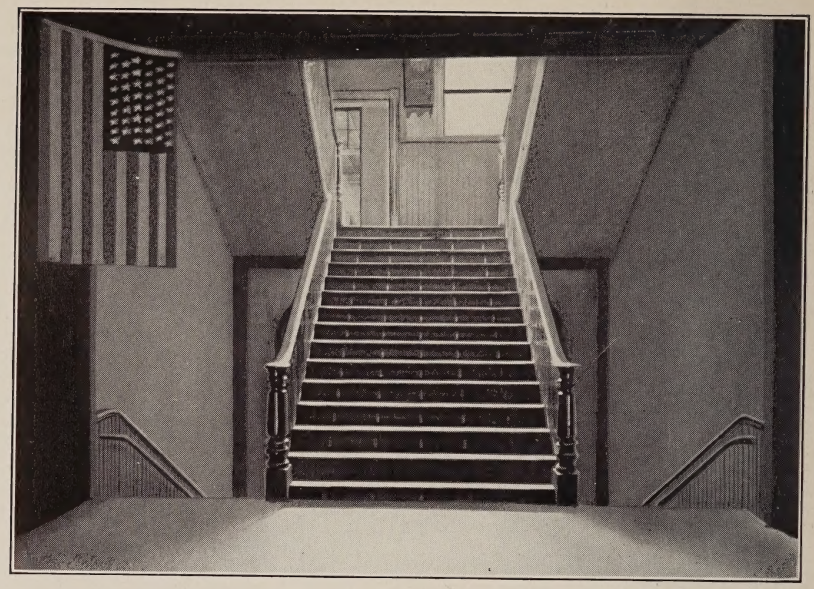
Regarding the physical reconstruction of school buildings, a brief

* Succeeded in 1913–14 by William M. Davidson, former superintendent of the Washington schools.

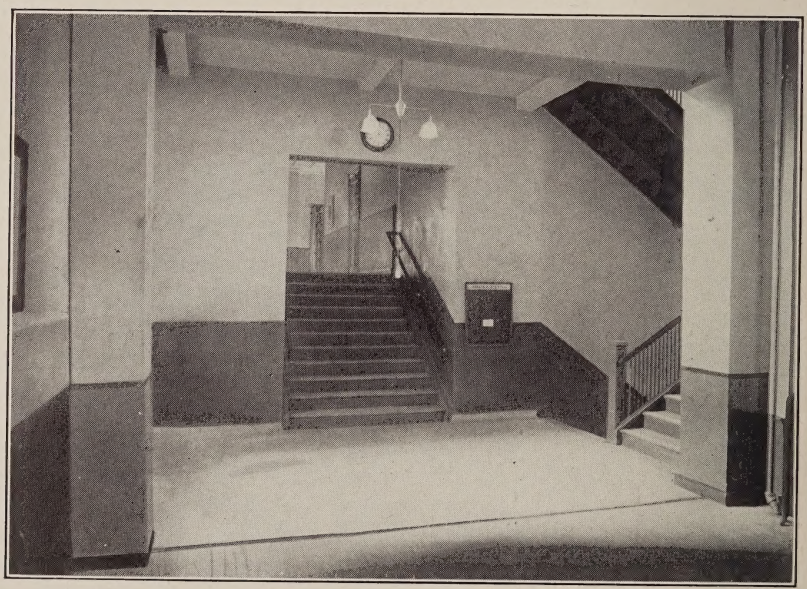
FRANKLIN SCHOOL
Main stairway, which has been removed and fireproof stairs and stair halls provided



ALLEN SCHOOL
Main hall after remodeling. Entirely fireproof



Main stairs and hall before alteration



Main stairs and stair hall after alterations. Fireproof
ANDREWS SCHOOL

summary shows that 36 were extensively remodeled in order to correct evils in sanitation, lighting, and ventilation, and to reduce the fire risk; two new buildings started by district boards were completed; and 29 new portable buildings were built to relieve the school-room congestion. Industrial training facilities were installed in 12 grade schools, seven high schools, and two industrial schools.

For the care of the children's bodies, the department of physical training began an aggressive campaign. School-room windows and doors were ordered open as much as practicable, five-minute rest periods were arranged between recitations, and recesses were established for both morning and afternoon, during which the children were to be led by their teachers—out of doors when possible—in organized play. The result of the latter rule was the rapid disappearance of beautiful lawns surrounding certain schools and the angry protests of aggrieved neighbors!

Medical inspection, which had been begun under the city department of health in February, 1911, was still further supported by the school board. This department has one chief and 30 assistant medical inspectors, 10 school nurses, one clerk, and one field inspector. As the result of its work not only has the spread of contagious diseases been checked but many chronic diseases have been cured, parents have been instructed in hygiene and sanitation, and milk has been provided by the school board for underfed children. Two classes have been opened for mental defectives and three for speech defectives. A special investigation was made of suspected cases of tuberculosis which discovered 125 children needing hospital treatment and 400 predisposed to the disease who should be in open-air rooms though not needing segregation. The department of special schools and extension work was organized to provide for these groups of exceptional children and to supplement the regular work of the schools. It includes in addition to the classes for mental and speech defectives mentioned above, two open-air schools, two industrial schools, education extension to adult foreigners, a system of 21 elementary and two high schools for evening classes, summer vacation schools for making up grades, and a summer high school. It has also established a system for the fuller use of school houses as social centers and for public meetings.

The most radical improvements, however, were made in the provision for normal children. Schools have been regraded upon the basis of half-year promotions and a rule adopted limiting the number of pupils under one teacher to 50.

The course of study was simplified by the omission of unnecessary and outworn details in such branches as arithmetic and grammar. Teachers were assembled by grades to review and harmonize the methods so

EXTRACTS FROM

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF 1912 REMODELING PROGRAM

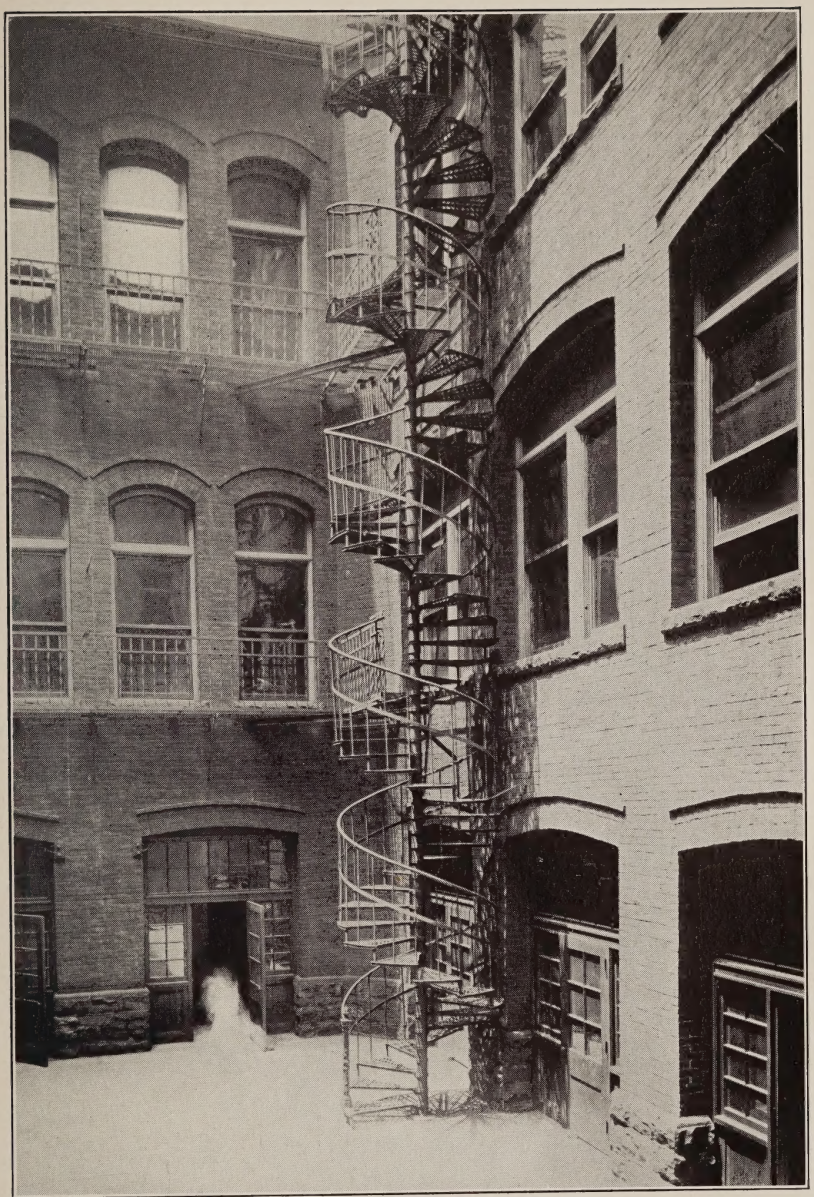
From the report of the building department of the new centralized board of education, Pittsburgh, 1912

ALLEN SCHOOL.—One of the bad fire risks in the city was eliminated by remodeling this building. The building was formerly served by a monumental wooden stairway, a photograph of which is shown elsewhere. This was replaced by two new fire-proof stairways. The entire central portion of the building was also re-built in fire-proof construction. When the foundation walls were uncovered during the work, it was found that some of them had been laid without any mortar whatever and plastered over. Under the conditions it seems incredible that this building stood as long as it did without collapse. An entirely new heating and ventilating plant was installed, and the unsanitary basement toilets were replaced with five modern toilet rooms on the various floors. Manual training and household economy departments were installed in this building.

ANDREWS SCHOOL.—The fire risk in this building was especially bad, owing to the fact that the only connection between the two stairways was through a three foot passage way from a cloak room on the second floor. If a fire had occurred anywhere in the building involving either stairway, it would almost certainly have resulted in a catastrophe. Two new fire-proof stairways have been built in the area between the two buildings. The buildings are now properly connected, making really one building with ample corridor room in all directions. Two new toilet rooms have been added, bad light conditions remedied and the capacity of the heating plant doubled.

FRANKLIN SCHOOL.—This is one of the largest schools in the city and was probably the worst fire risk. The building was served by a monumental wooden stairway in the front and two wooden stairways in the rear. Two spiral fire escapes were located in an interior court, exit from which was to be had only by re-entering the basement. The stairways have been replaced by four modern enclosed fire-proof stair wells, each of which discharges directly to the street. The old fashioned unsanitary latrine toilet system was replaced with a modern one. The capacity and efficiency of the ventilating system was also greatly increased. Incidentally four additional class rooms were added and the Household Economy department moved to much more modern quarters.

FRIENDSHIP SCHOOL.—Formerly the eighth grade work for

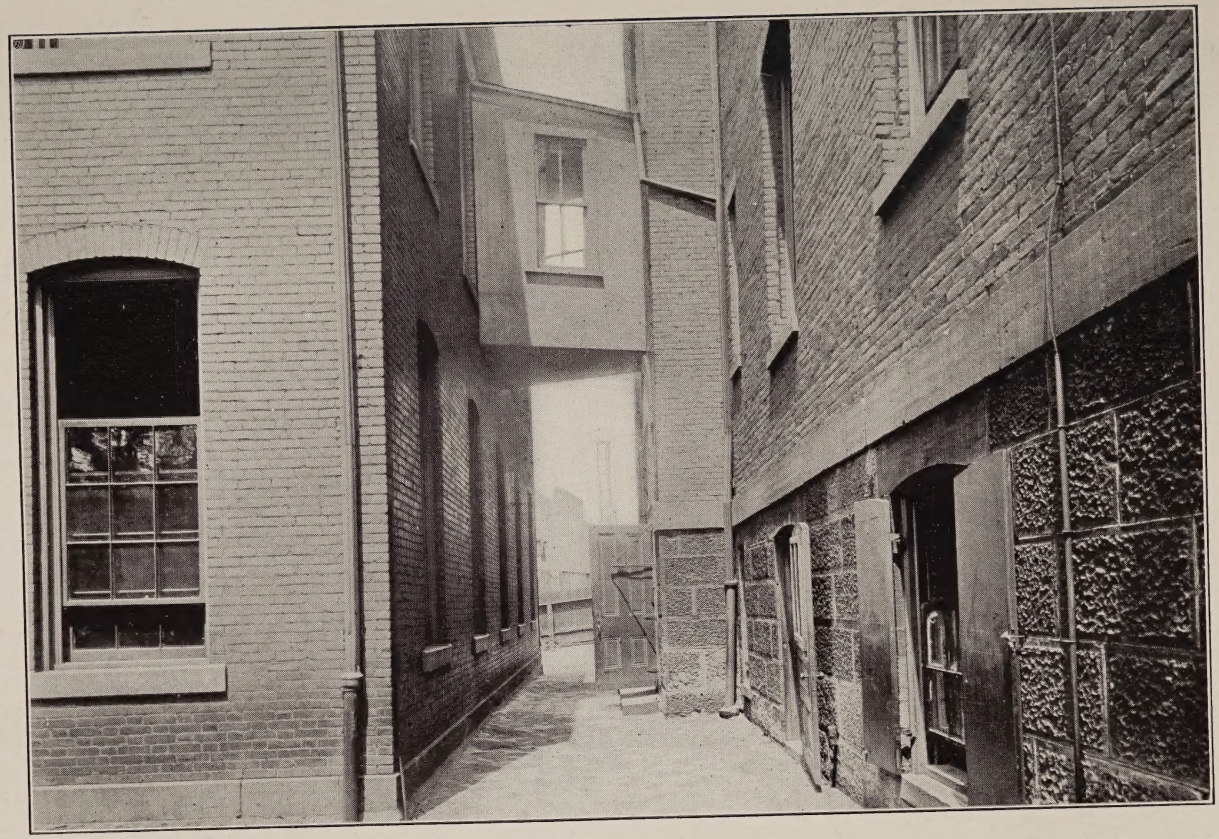


FRANKLIN SCHOOL

One of two fire escapes discharging into a closed court. Only exit through cellar.
One of the engineering puzzles of the new board

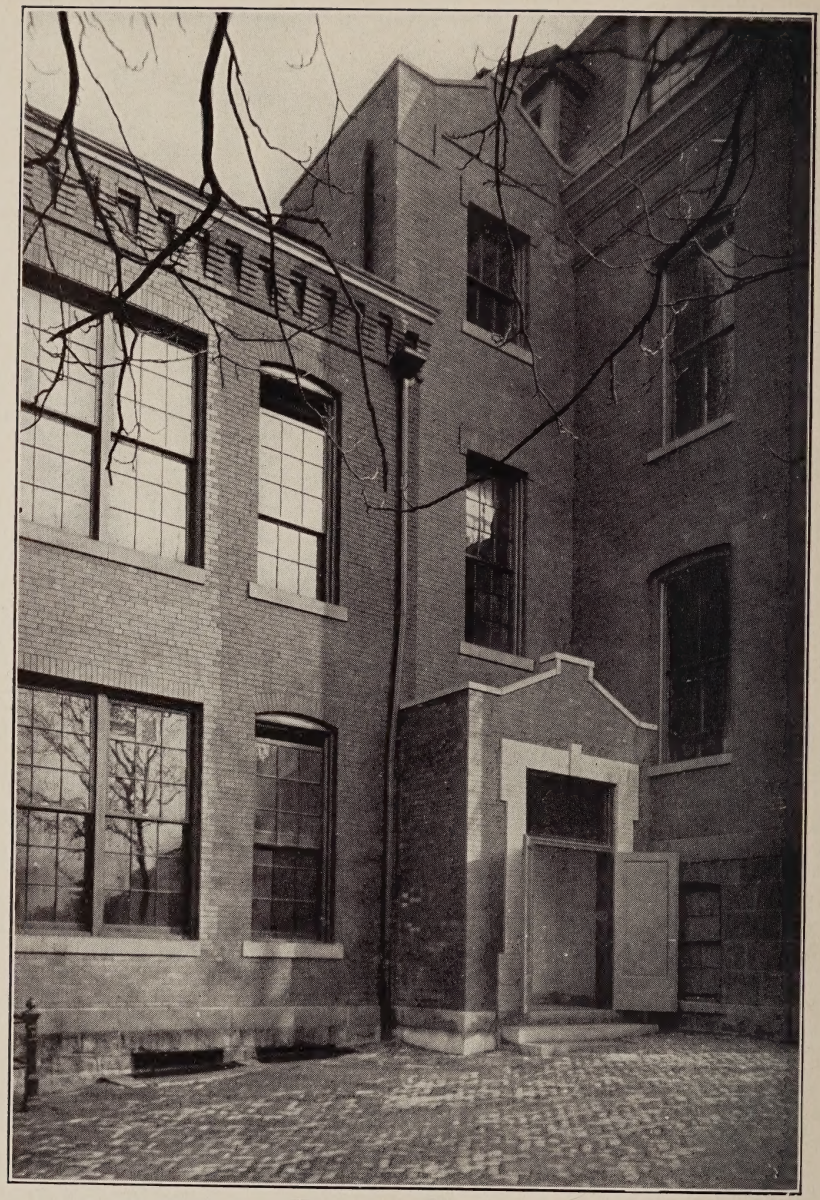
West Liberty School
Dangerous furnaces have been removed and steam heating plant installed. Boiler placed in fireproof room

Thaddeus Stevens School
Toilets have been removed and new rooms constructed and equipped



ANDREWS SCHOOL

Connection between school building and addition before alterations. The only fire exit from left hand building (Over)



ANDREWS SCHOOL
Connection between school building and addition after alterations. (Over)

this building was accomplished in the Liberty School in the same district. To overcome this the auditorium was divided into two eighth grade class rooms and a new stairway built. This building, which is of modern fire-proof construction, was one of the worst lighted buildings in the city. By bricking up certain windows and extending others, unilateral light was obtained in the majority of the rooms and this condition remedied as far as possible.

Moorhead School.—This building was found to be in a very dangerous condition due to settlement. The condition was grave enough to exclude the children from a portion of the building, throwing the school on half day sessions. It was necessary to remove the entire fourth story, lowering the roof accordingly. The main stairway in the center of the building was removed and replaced with a new fire-proof enclosed stair tower. The walls of a portion of the building were in an unstable condition and had to be tied in, the heating plant was located under the old wooden stairway. This was removed and an adequate steam plant installed in the fire-proof portion of the building. A ventilating system was also installed.

North Industrial School.—This building has been remodeled for use as a boys' industrial school. It now contains bench room, wood turning room, drafting room, tin shop, electrical laboratory, a large gymnasium with adequate showers, besides the requisite class rooms. During the progress of this remodeling it was found that the building was settling to such an extent that extensive underpinning was necessary on the northeast corner.

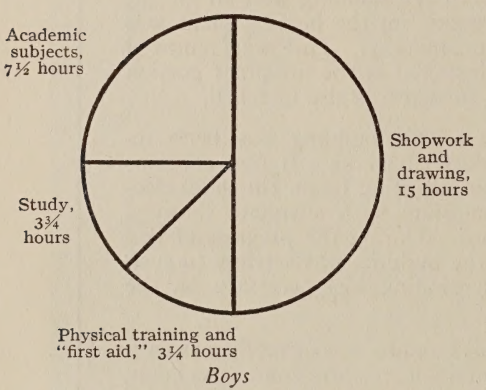
Ralston High School.—This building was formerly a twenty class room grade school and contained an auditorium. As many of the rooms were not in use it was decided to establish a two year commercial high school therein. The auditorium has been divided into two business practice rooms and one study hall. A department of household economy has been added. The entire building was repainted and refloored.

Thaddeus Stevens School.—Sanitary conditions in this building were especially bad, consisting of dry closet vaults. These vaults were allowed to fill for a period of six months when they were saturated with kerosene and burned out. This system was replaced with a sanitary tower containing girls' toilet room off the second stair landing, and the boys' toilet room on the ground. The main building was repainted and the elevation of the playground raised four feet. Manual training and household economy departments were installed in this building.

long subject to local applications. The kindergarten was incorporated into the public school system, and manual training and domestic science extended as rapidly as possible to every district in the city. Ungraded rooms were opened in the larger schools wherever needed and the best equipped teachers put in charge. In 46 ungraded rooms opened September, 1912, 8,260 pupils* received individual attention for periods ranging from a few days to the entire term, and 5,291, or 64 per cent, were returned to their proper classes before January first.

The high school program was almost entirely reconstructed on the plan of the district high school with cosmopolitan curriculum. Seven different courses were offered in the old and new high school centers opened. The courses were: college preparatory; general; technical; industrial arts for boys; industrial arts for girls; commercial two-year course for boys and girls.

THIRTY HOURS PER WEEK



TIME TABLE FOR ELEMENTARY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS. PITTSBURGH, 1912†

The latter was exceedingly popular and provided instruction beyond the grades for pupils who would otherwise have left school, many of them to enter the "dead end" occupations.

*The annual report gives the following classification of 7,153 of the children who needed help in ungraded rooms during the 1912 fall term, classified by reasons why help was needed.

Foreign parentage	616
Physical condition	571
Mental condition	772
Change of residence	735
Special promotion	1,188
Truancy	24
Time lost by illness	765
Other causes	2,482
Total	7,153

†See p. 477.

In addition to the high schools of industrial art two elementary industrial schools were opened for those boys and girls over fourteen who had slipped out of their normal grades and were being lost to the school. Here one-half of each day is devoted to industrial training consisting of wood, sheet metal, printing, and electrical work for boys, and domestic science, dressmaking, millinery, bookbinding, and other industrial courses for girls, and one-half day to commercial arithmetic, business forms, English, elementary science, and so forth. Except that all must be above the third grade there is no standard for admission and none for graduation.

The board early decided that the school buildings should be available to the people for public meetings and social center work outside of school hours. In order to accomplish this the use of the buildings was divided into two classes: the first including regular meetings at fixed periods for boards of trade, boy scouts, social clubs, and so forth; the second, special public meetings, political meetings, lectures, entertainments, and so forth.

To keep these meetings under proper control the following rental charges were established:

Class A. Buildings free for all proper meetings of the people to which no admission charge is made and where no collection is taken.

Class B. A rate of $1.25 per hundred, based on the seating capacity of the hall, for all entertainments of a beneficial nature in which there is no personal or individual profit.

Class C. A rate of $2.50 per hundred, based on the seating capacity of the hall, for all entertainments not coming clearly within the above classes.

Under these rules the school buildings outside of school hours were used the first year for 210 political meetings, 386 educational, 114 civic, and 110 social meetings, and for 77 paid entertainments; a total of 897.

The department of compulsory attendance has been standardized and made much more effective, and the department of vocational guidance is opening the way to the largest possible usefulness of the schools to the children and to the community.

The effectiveness of the teaching corps, upon which the whole system must rest, has been increased in many ways. Old teachers were not dismissed but a much higher standard has been set for all those engaged for the first time; professional reading is required and examinations are given for promotion. The old Normal High School has been superseded by a teachers' training school with a two-year high school professional

course which is open only to graduates from a four-year high school course, or its equivalent. Teachers are also encouraged to take courses in the University of Pittsburgh or the Carnegie Technical Schools.

The Pittsburgh teaching force before the inauguration of the new system began to profit by a philanthropy of unusual form. A donor whose name is withheld offered in 1909 the sum of $250,000, of which the interest, $12,000 per annum, "shall be applied to promote efficiency in the elementary grades of Greater Pittsburgh." This was made known through Dr. John Brashear in whose hands this fund was placed in the fall of 1909. A committee of seven with Dr. Brashear as chairman was formed as an administrative body, comprising the secretaries of the central boards of education of Pittsburgh and Allegheny, and others closely connected with educational movements. The first meeting of the committee was concerned with application of the fund in the direction where it would bestow the most benefit. It was decided to consult in writing prominent educators, and their replies placed the committee in a position of embarrassment through superabundance of rich and varied advice. It was finally deemed wise to consult the teachers of the schools and to this end in March, 1910, a questionnaire was sent to each grade and kindergarten teacher in Pittsburgh and Allegheny, to the principals of all grade schools, and to the chairmen of the central school boards. The letter made no suggestions but asked the opinions and co-operation of each teacher in an effort to improve the schools in any manner that met with universal approval. Replies were anticipated from at least half the recipients, but after waiting nearly ten weeks the committee had received answers from less than 5 per cent. These answers were sifted, some glaringly inept were rejected, the others tabulated according to the main suggestions they contained. The leading suggestions were:

1. Provision for teachers to attend summer schools.
2. Provision for travel.
3. Attendance at normal training schools.
4. Leave of absence during school term for teachers.
5. Medical inspection of pupils.

Among the other suggestions were some wide of the mark, but on the whole the teachers who replied showed a prevailing sense of their own need of better equipment for their work. Hard monotonous work, long hours, meager salaries, lack of sympathy or intelligence in superiors, lack of comfort in school rooms, were among the matters making up the teachers' "hard life." Of the 85 replies, 60 or 70 indicated a high degree of intelligence. The writers of these were informed that scholarships would be awarded to enable them to attend any chosen summer school, and the

holders of these scholarships on a certain Saturday of June were invited to a luncheon to meet the members of the committee. These latter in their speeches urged the teachers to spend their holidays so that they should be made in a true sense recreative. The teachers themselves valued the opportunity to express their views and the occasion was one of cordial enthusiasm. Sixty-nine teachers attended the summer schools of 1910 as the result of this endowment, and a still larger number was sent in each of the two following years. The method of selection has now been improved so that "average" teachers may benefit as well as those having exceptional ambition and intelligence.

Soon after the new school board began its work a teachers' retirement plan was adopted by which a teacher who had served for twenty-five years might retire on half-pay. Many of the older teachers have already availed themselves of this opportunity. This plan, however, in conjunction with an advance in all grade teachers' salaries, has made a considerable addition to the school budget.

While the city as a whole was slow to grasp the significance of the revolution which has been taking place, the increase of taxation in some sections and the rapid and radical changes of method early stirred elements of discord. Before the close of 1912, those who had been shorn of their powers, or who thought they had not received due recognition or felt themselves otherwise injured, began to make both secret and open attacks upon the new school system. Several bills were unsuccessfully introduced at Harrisburg in 1913 having as their object the immediate overthrow of the appointive board,* while charges of extravagance, injustice, and personal misconduct, bruited at home, hampered the development of the work throughout 1912–13.

While the struggle between the old and new forces has not yet ended, two full years of trial have today brought a growing appreciation of the value and demonstrable efficiency of centralized control.

* See Burns, op. cit. P. 44 of this volume.

APPENDIX D

PRELIMINARY REPORT TO PITTSBURGH CIVIC COMMISSION UPON METHODS OF PROCEDURE IN CITY PLANNING

December 13th, 1909.

Pittsburgh Civic Commission,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Gentlemen:

We respectfully submit herewith our recommendations as to the method of procedure which, in our opinion, it will be desirable to follow in making the investigations and studies that are necessary to enable your Commission to carry out the purpose for which it was created, so far as concerns the subject of city planning. It is our understanding that it is your purpose to inquire into the present and prospective needs and limitations of the Pittsburgh Industrial District and, in so far as its physical development can be effectively controlled by the action of the community, to discover what important practical steps can be taken, that are not now being effectively taken by the regularly constituted authorities of the district, for making that development a satisfactory and economical one.

In this report we have made an effort to subdivide the larger problem into its several constituent parts, to state briefly some of the more important questions under each subdivision and to outline the scope of the information and data which should be collected both in general and in connection with each particular branch of investigation. As the order of importance of the problems has not been determined at the present time, nor the extent of the co-operation which may be expected from existing agencies, we have not attempted to outline a suitable organization for getting this work of investigation done.

It is not the intention of this report to pass judgment upon any specific proposed improvement, but rather to furnish an analysis which will assist the Commission in proceeding to discharge the duty which rests upon it.

The lines of investigation which appear to us as the most important, after a visit to Pittsburgh and consultation with the officers of your

Commission, may be classified as follows: A brief outline of the scope of investigation under the following heads is presented later:

1. *Steam railroads* including the handling of local and through freight and passenger business.

2. *Water transportation* including the transfer of freight to and from the boats.

3. *Electric railroads* including street car system, interurban roads, rapid transit such as subways, elevated roads, and so forth, and the electrification of steam roads.

4. *Street systems* including thoroughfares, local streets, poles, wires, lights, and grade separation.

5. *Public lands and buildings* including playgrounds and public institutions.

6. *Water system* including water supply and distributing systems.

7. *Sewerage system* including collecting and disposal systems.

8. *Public control of developments on private property* including building code and other police regulations.

9. *Smoke abatement* including the reduction and prevention of gases and dust.

10. *Legal problems* including a study of existing franchises and ordinances of the public utility companies and a setting forth of the rights of the city for better service, maintenance of streets, compensation and future extensions.

11. *Financial problems* including the raising of funds for future works of improvement.

12. *Legislative problems* including the securing of necessary legislation to prevent abuses and to control service and to provide for future effective administration.

Scope of Investigations.—In the following outlines of these problems it is our intention to confine ourselves strictly to the *technical* facts and conclusions involved, but it is important to understand that a study of the legal, financial, and legislative problems should be carried on at the same time if suggestions for improvement are to become effective.

After outlining the several problems a statement follows showing, in detail, the data which should be collected. That part of these data which is common to all the problems has been indicated separately and ordinarily these common data should be collected first.

1. STEAM RAILROADS

A study should be made of the steam railroad facilities of the Pittsburgh District, particularly with a view to forming a reasonable forecast of what enlargements, extensions and changes in the railroad trackage

may be looked forward to as necessary for securing constantly improved facilities for serving local and long distance passenger traffic and for providing the most economical and generally satisfactory means of handling in the near future greater bulk of local and through freight than that which has caused so much congestion at busy times in the past.

This forecast is important not only as a means of enabling the citizens and municipal officers to adopt a constructive and co-operative attitude in relation to railroad improvements, but because the present and expected locations and levels of the tracks and yards react in the most serious manner upon other features and aspects of city planning.

The subject is so large and any actual accomplishment is so dependent upon outside railroad interests over which Pittsburgh can exercise only a very limited influence, that work along this line must be expected to be tedious with very little results of popular interest to show for the cost during a number of years; yet it is of such fundamental importance and even in its early stages may be of so much indirect value through influencing the location and design of other improvements directly under municipal control, such as streets, bridges, flood protection works, filter plants, parks, and so forth, that the citizens ought to be willing to undertake it and patiently support it.

A study of the railroad problem should develop answers to the following questions:

a. How important a part will the suburban divisions of the steam roads take in the handling of local passenger traffic between the various centers of manufacturing and of population in the Pittsburgh District?

b. Would the electrification of these suburban divisions increase the rapid transit facilities between these districts to such an extent that a density of traffic would be reached sufficient to justify electrification?

c. Should a comprehensive rapid transit system include the running of suburban or interurban trains through a downtown subway or around an elevated loop so as to reach the business district?

d. Can the present method of handling through passengers be improved, by relocating the main stations? If new locations of main terminals are desirable, should the passengers and baggage be collected and distributed wholly by means of transfers between the long distance trains and rapid transit systems or largely by means of way stations on the main lines?

e. What provision should be made for the transfer of freight between the river and the railroads, especially if a system of dikes or flood walls about the city is found desirable as a result of the investigation of the Flood Commission?

f. Can the system of local freight and package collection and distribution be improved by the use of subways, tunnels, or the present street car tracks and possible extensions?

g. In view of possible developments and increase in traffic, what provisions should be made for additions to or changes of rights of way, yards and terminal facilities?

2. WATER TRANSPORTATION AND PROTECTION AGAINST FLOODS

Until the plans for protection against floods have been developed by the Flood Commission no final conclusions should be reached in regard to those improvements which will be affected by the methods finally adopted for controlling the rivers. If, for instance, a dike is to be built around the lower part of the city, by raising the grades of the streets along the river banks or otherwise, all of the street and transportation facilities in that district will be materially affected. Thus there should be the closest co-operation between the work of the Flood Commission and all others charged with the responsibilities of city planning so that the final progress for improvements will be consistent and comprehensive. Considerable information of value to the Flood Commission will, no doubt, be collected in connection with the study of the steam railroad and the electric railroad problems, and as these plans are being developed there should be an interchange of conclusions so as to promote harmony of ideas and results.

3. ELECTRIC RAILROADS

A thorough study should be made of the most rapid, convenient, and economical methods for handling the passenger traffic throughout the District. This study should include the requirements for the immediate improvement and the future extension of the local street car service in each center of population, for convenient connections between these centers by means of interurban and suburban lines and for the ultimate development of a rapid transit system by means of subways, elevated roads or other methods.

There are a number of improvements which could be made at once, in connection with the local street car system, to which it may not be out of order to refer briefly at this time.

Most of these immediate needs and necessary improvements have been referred to in one or all of three reports which have recently been made. One of these reports is by Stone and Webster to the State Railroad Commission, another is a report by Henry C. Wright to Mayor Magee, and the last comprises the recent recommendations of the state railroad commissioners.

There are certain conclusions and recommendations in these reports which should receive the support of those officially interested in securing the best service with the present systems. The expenditure necessary to carry out these suggestions would not be large and the results would be immediate. The effectiveness of the present system as a transportation agency can be greatly increased while the careful study is being made of future possibilities.

The improvements which should be made at once and which can probably be effected best by the city administration in co-operation with the street railway management are as follows:

1. *Regulate street traffic.* Rules patterned after the best experience of other cities should be adopted and a police traffic squad should be trained to energetically and effectively carry them out. It would seem advisable to give the street cars the right of way at certain places during the rush hour periods.

2. *Control steam road crossings.* Conferences should be held with the steam road managers and every effort should be made to reduce delays due to switching at crossings. Inspectors should be placed at the more important crossings.

3. *Maintain schedules.* Inspectors should be placed at critical points to check up delays and every effort made to insure that the street cars are run on time.

4. *Automatic electric switches.* Much time can be saved by automatic switches or by the use of switch operators at certain points instead of requiring the car operators to stop the cars in order to operate the switches.

5. *More cars and larger cars.* A systematic check should be kept upon the service on each line and a comprehensive and consistent effort should be made to reduce the crowding to a minimum. More cars and longer cars during the rush hours is the greatest immediate improvement that could be made.

6. *The heating, ventilating, and lighting of the cars* should receive better attention. Pittsburgh should not be behind other cities in being provided with the ordinary comforts of street car travel.

7. *Improved rail and pavement,* particularly at critical points. The tendency of vehicles to stick to the car rails can best be discouraged by installing a proper rail and a proper pavement, each upon a suitable foundation, and this improvement should be started at once in many parts of the downtown district.

8. *Increased clearances.* In many places where it is impossible to keep vehicles clear of the tracks on account of lack of space between the

rails and curb, steps should be taken to increase the clearance by narrowing the sidewalks or widening the streets.

9. *Smithfield Street bridge.* There are a number of possible ways of improving conditions over Smithfield Street bridge. These methods should be studied and the delay to the movements of cars and vehicles at this point reduced.

10. *Grade separation.* The delays at steam road crossings to freight, trucking, street car and pedestrian traffic can best be reduced by grade separation.

It will take time and careful study to investigate and conclude upon the possibilities in Pittsburgh of "through routes," "universal transfers" and "one city, one fare"—principles which are in use in other American cities, and the "zone system" as used abroad. The question of rapid transit by means of subways, elevated railroads, and electrification of steam roads should be approached with caution, as its development affects all the fundamental principles of city planning. To make a comprehensive study and report upon the future development of passenger transportation facilities in the Pittsburgh District, it will be desirable to collect data as hereinafter set forth, in order to furnish a basis for answering the following questions:

1. How much better service can the Pittsburgh Railway Company afford to give at once?

2. What equipment should be provided for a service which should increase with growing demands in order to secure safety, reasonable comfort, and maximum capacity?

3. What possibilities are there for through routes?

4. Will it be reasonable to expect universal transfers and one fare for the entire city?

5. What density of traffic will justify the development of a subway, elevated road, or other rapid transit system?

6. What should be the financial policy in promoting rapid transit? —to build with private capital or city credit?—to assess the cost upon the districts benefited?—to anticipate needs and influence the character of the city's growth, or to await developments and build to relieve congestion?

7. For a comprehensive rapid transit system which is better, through routes or loops? Universal five cent fare or zone system of fares? Train operation or single cars? Competition or a system of transfers between surface lines and rapid transit systems?

4. STREET SYSTEMS

A system of main thoroughfares needs to be studied in connection with the planning of surface and rapid transit railways that will be capable of handling with convenience and economy the probable traffic demands of the future.

In planning such thoroughfares it will be necessary for the sake of economy to regard not only the principles of engineering and esthetics governing the design of streets in general and to study the complex and peculiar topography of the region, but also to consider in detail the value of existing improvements and land values which would be destroyed or damaged in the process of executing the plan; choosing carefully in each case between the acceptance of an existing thoroughfare as it is, the widening of an existing thoroughfare on one side, its widening on both sides, the connection of existing streets by the formation of connecting links, and finally the laying out of a wholly new thoroughfare in the less expensive property which is generally to be found in the spaces between existing thoroughfares of recognized importance.

Such a plan can not be quickly prepared, nor indeed could it ever be brought to a state of final perfect completion, unless Pittsburgh should cease to grow. As long as the district grows so long will it be necessary to keep extending and revising and improving its plan of thoroughfares. But it is possible, in the course of a few years, by the application of diligent and skilful study, to get such a plan to a point well in advance of the need for immediate action in all parts of the district and thereafter without difficulty to revise it and extend it from year to year.

Although such a plan should be studied as far as possible in its entirety, certain parts will necessarily be brought into a definite shape sooner than others. For example, it is clear that the opportunity for improvements in the street system in connection with the grading of the "hump" and other items in the recently authorized bond issue should be studied at once and conclusions reached with only so much light upon their relation to probable remote improvements as can be promptly obtained. Next in order should come the study of thoroughfare improvements that may be involved with projects for rapid transit by subway or otherwise and with possible changes along the waterfront under consideration by the Flood Commission. Perhaps even more pressing is the planning of a thoroughfare system for those outlying suburban districts where open country is being converted most actively into streets and lots, as it is in those localities that prompt action will secure the greatest ultimate economies in proportion to the immediate effort expended.

When we speak of a plan for thoroughfares we do not mean merely a piece of paper with lines drawn upon it: we mean a reasonable project for attaining certain definite results, including a study of the legal and financial means of bringing them about without excessive burden on the tax payers at any given time or undue hardship upon individual owners of property. The execution of such a plan must be gradual, but it will not be executed at all without systematic and continuous effort and the payment of just bills for value received. Without attempting here to propose any specific method, it may be well to call attention to one successfully employed in a number of European cities for street widenings and street extensions, seldom employed in this country but involving no new or unusual legal powers and possessing many economic advantages. The layout for the widening of a given street, for example, is adopted by the city authorities as their definite and declared purpose, but no legal steps are taken to dispossess any of the abutters until they severally apply for building permits for the erection of new buildings or additions within the lines of the proposed widening, at which time each of them is requested to set his building back to the adopted line and each case as it arises is settled as to damage and benefits. The most important application of the method is in the case of suburban thoroughfares where the buildings all set back from the street line to begin with and where the physical widening of the street may not be required for many years to come but where, in the absence of some such policy, occasional lot owners will from time to time build out to the line to the detriment of their neighbors for the time being and ultimately to the serious economic injury of the community, whether the buildings have to be destroyed in the widening of the street or whether the street becomes congested because the city can not afford to widen it.

The secondary and local streets of the district, as distinguished from the main thoroughfares, also need study with a view not so much to changes in the layout of existing streets as to securing better planning in new local streets and improvements in the details of existing streets of this class. They should be considered from the point of view of traffic, of real estate development, of economy of maintenance and of influence upon the health and pleasure of the citizens; (a) with the purpose of ascertaining and pointing out in some detail what improvements are generally attainable in the methods of laying out, and in the methods of constructing and maintaining the various classes of such streets; (b) with the purpose of working out an immediate practicable program of specific improvements to be made during the next few years in the construction and maintenance of various secondary and local streets in Pitts-

burgh and other municipalities of the district where such improvement is most needed and most expedient; (c) with a view to devising and bringing about the establishment of administrative machinery for the intelligent and effective control of the layout of all new streets of secondary or local character in the various municipalities of the district.

Among the subjects to be studied in connection with the design of streets are types of pavement, location of curbs in streets of various widths, street trees, design and location of poles and underground conduits for electrical distribution and of other underground constructions.

5. PUBLIC LANDS AND BUILDINGS

A study should be made of the situation in respect to parks, playgrounds, squares, public buildings and other public properties, with a view to formulating a reasonable, systematic policy as to the distribution thereof and a program of what can be expediently undertaken during the next few years in the way of acquisition of sites and the development thereof.

This subject may be divided into three principal groups: first, the central institutions, such as public offices, libraries, museums, central educational establishments and the like, considering the possibility of grouping them into civic centers; second, institutions serving local uses and therefore needing to be repeated in many localities, such as branch libraries, schools, playgrounds, gymnasiums and baths, public or quasi-public halls and social centers, local parks and recreation grounds, police and fire engine houses, district offices and yards of various city departments, all these again to be considered with a view to the possibility of local civic centers; third, special institutions neither for central nor strictly local uses, such as hospitals, penal and charitable institutions, large parks, parkways, public monuments and the monumental and decorative treatment of public open spaces in connection with the general street system or otherwise.

6. WATER SYSTEM

The water supply of each division of the Pittsburgh Industrial District should be studied as to its sanitary quality, its sufficiency, and its reliability in quantity and pressure. Great improvements have recently been made in the supply to the main city through the building of the filtration works, the rebuilding of the principal pumping plant and the laying of some new mains. The progressive metering of all taps recommended by the mayor in his message of September 13, 1909, to the City Council and provided for in the recent bond authorization will doubtless greatly lessen the present waste of water in the districts thus completely metered.

But large and very important districts remain without these benefits and in some of these districts improvement is particularly urgent.

The situation is in many respects a difficult one. Some of the present sources are more or less polluted, and with the greater quantities that will be needed in various districts because of growth, the question comes as to the feasibility of supplies from more distant sources, more free from pollution than the main river.

The great irregularity in height of land increases the difficulty of distribution at adequate pressure for domestic service and for fire protection on the hills, and pipes become inadequate as various districts become more thickly populated.

A comprehensive review of the present conditions throughout the district appears particularly important and should make plain the way to improvement on broad lines in which the smaller communities may obtain the best service and in which all portions may share in the benefits and economies of providing for the Pittsburgh District as a whole.

7. SEWERAGE SYSTEM

A broad and careful study of the subject is rendered particularly urgent by the recent general movement throughout the country against the pollution of rivers by the discharge of raw sewage into them. In this general movement the Pennsylvania State Board of Health is taking part and has already directed the attention of the citizens of Pittsburgh to the need of improvement.

It is beyond all doubt or question feasible to make the surface and the banks of Pittsburgh rivers attractive as has been done in cities abroad, rather than to leave them unattractive. It is also feasible to dispose of the city's sewage as is being done today in several American cities which border on rivers, without undue cost. There is, however, much to be studied in drawing the line between economy and extravagance in planning the method of treatment and in carrying the purification of the effluent only so far as is really necessary. This art is yet young. Local conditions as to soil, topography and chemical characteristics of the sewage largely modify methods and it will probably be best to provide a local laboratory in charge of an expert in sanitary science to study these questions.

Great economy will doubtless result from providing main intercepting sewers and disposal works for the district as a whole and economy will compel the general separation of sewage and drainage, the sewage going through long, new intercepting sewers to the disposal works, while in general the storm water and street surface drainage is permitted to find its way much as at present to the river by the most direct route.

The changes from the present sewerage and drainage system thus brought about by the growth of the city and the advance in public sentiment regarding stream pollution will be of a fundamental character and will require a broad study of the entire field, but may have a great influence upon the health and attractiveness of the future Pittsburgh.

8. PUBLIC CONTROL OVER DEVELOPMENTS ON PRIVATE PROPERTY

The laws and ordinances prescribing standards of structural stability, fire risk, and healthfulness for structures erected on private property are the principal means of control which the community as a whole deliberately exerts over that part of the physical city which most intimately affects the lives of all the citizens and which represents by far the greater investment. Together with the incidence of taxation, the character of local transportation and the size and shape of blocks as determined by the street system, these laws and ordinances largely control the number, the character and the expense of the buildings which investors find inducement to erect, and therefore influence directly the physical conditions under which the people work and live and the amount they have to pay for rent.

The building code of Pittsburgh is recognized to be in need of revision and upon this subject we are submitting a special report suggesting immediate action. In this place we need only emphasize the desirability of considering certain features of public control over development on private property which are not ordinarily recognized in American building codes and which are an important part of comprehensive city planning. We refer to the requirements for the maintenance of really adequate spaces for the admission of light and air, including reasonable limitations on the height of buildings in relation to the percentage of the land occupied thereby, and to the principle of differentiating in the building regulations applied to districts between which there are marked differences in class of use, in fire risk, in economic status or otherwise.

9. SMOKE ABATEMENT

What has already been accomplished at individual plants in Pittsburgh, Chicago, Cleveland and the results obtained in various cities abroad affords ample proof that a general improvement can be brought about in the Pittsburgh atmosphere without hampering its industrial success. Just how far the improvement can be carried in a practical way into various lines of activity and the most satisfactory appliances and most efficient means of public control are the questions now of first importance. For example, recent mechanical inventions have made it a relatively

simple matter to make steam boiler plants practically smoke free and certain Pittsburgh factories have their power plants already fitted with these appliances. In the case of the railroads electric traction will in course of time doubtless supplant the steam locomotive for the district of congested traffic to well beyond the city limits. In steel and iron works many studies will need be made, comparing results obtained at progressive concerns and compelling care or better appliances at works which continue a nuisance.

The organization of a bureau of smoke abatement collateral with the police department can in the end serve to maintain a great improvement over present conditions, but in the early days or years the work must be one of friendly counsel and co-operation. An expert should study methods in Pittsburgh and in other cities, test appliances, circulate information and give advice freely. Also it may prove profitable to carry on some studies of a high scientific character upon the peculiar meteorological conditions that produce fogs in the Pittsburgh valley and the influence of the particles forming smoke upon their condensation.

There are few lines of effort that in proportion to their cost give greater promise of results in making Pittsburgh a more attractive city in which to live than earnest work on smoke abatement.

* * * * * * * * * *

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) Frederick Law Olmsted
Bion J. Arnold
John R. Freeman

APPENDIX E

FIELD WORK OF THE PITTSBURGH SURVEY

PAUL U. KELLOGG

The Pittsburgh Survey was a rapid close range investigation of the ranks of wage-earners in the American steel district. The staff included not only trained investigators—housing inspectors, sanitarians, lawyers, engineers, labor experts, and the like,—but members of the immigrant races who make up so large a share of the working population. Our field work was done in railroad yards and mill towns, sweatshops, and great manufacturing plants; in courts, hospitals, and settlements. The investigators talked with priests and labor leaders, superintendents, claim agents and labor bosses, landlords, housewives, butchers and bakers,—the workers themselves and those who live close to them.

The work was carried on by a special staff, organized for the purpose by the editors of *Charities and The Commons*, since become *The Survey* magazine. It was financed chiefly by three grants, of moderate amount, from the Russell Sage Foundation for the improvement of social and living conditions. It was made practicable by co-operation from two quarters: from a remarkable group of leaders and organizations in social and sanitary movements in different parts of the United States, who entered upon the field work as a piece of national good citizenship; and from men, women, and organizations in Pittsburgh, who were large minded enough to regard their local situation as not private and peculiar, but as part of the American problem of city-building.

Without either funds or time to adopt census methods, we made use of case investigations and statistical studies, both in exploring for a basic understanding of the situation and in clamping our facts in. In the words of one of the collaborators in the field work, the end was "piled up actualities." More than in investigations hitherto carried on, we made use of graphic methods for interpreting those facts by maps, charts, diagrams, photographs, drawings in pastel and charcoal, and the large frames for an exhibit in Carnegie Institute. This exhibit was part of a general civic exhibit, arranged by a local committee in conjunction with the annual conventions in Pittsburgh in November, 1908, of the National Municipal

League and the American Civic Association.* Our reports were interpreted in their civic relations at these meetings, and in their economic bearings at Atlantic City in December at joint meetings of the American Economic Association, the American Sociological Society, and the American Association for Labor Legislation.†

The gist of them was originally published by *Charities and The Commons* in the winter of 1909, in three special numbers:

January: The People.
February: The Place.
March: The Work.

The Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce sent out copies to its entire membership, and budgets of advance matter were published by the Pittsburgh newspapers. Wider audiences were acquainted with the Survey and its finding by articles in the *World's Work*, the *Outlook*, the *Independent, Collier's Weekly*, the *American Magazine*, and the *Review of Reviews;* by the labor press and by such trade journals as the *Iron Age, Engineering News*, and the *Iron Trade Review*. Editors, ministers, and public speakers throughout the country drew on them to such extent that Jacob A. Riis, then on a Pacific Coast lecture tour, said that he had never known the results of an investigation to have such widespread and practical currency.

THE PROBLEM STATED

In a sense the Pittsburgh Survey was a demonstration in social economy made graphic against the background of a single city—a city set as it were on the hill of our material development. Hundreds of industrial towns, a score of great industrial centers, are growing up in this country. Of their technical and commercial success we have evidence in plenty. What of their human prosperity? Pittsburgh itself is the social expression of one of the master industries of the country, iron and steel, yet in so far as work-accidents are the crudest exponents of human waste in industry, the Pittsburgh District had been spendthrift of its own life blood. Here, as nowhere else, was a district conditioned by a tariff policy which for a generation had obstructed competing European goods and by an immigration policy which had opened wide the doors to let in Slavs, Huns, and Italians to compete with resident labor. What had been the outcome of these two great national policies in the everyday welfare of the workers of Pittsburgh? Again, here in the master industry in the Dis-

* Speakers: Robert W. de Forest, chairman Charities Publication Committee, Robert A. Woods, Grosvenor Atterbury, Paul U. Kellogg; and in response, H. D. W. English.

† Speakers: Edward T. Devine, Crystal Eastman, Margaret F. Byington, and Paul U. Kellogg.

trict, employers had the upper hand. What had they done with it? Here, as in growing numbers of industrial communities, outside investors owned the mills and the railroads on which the work of the District depended. Was absentee capitalism working out any better for an industrial democracy than the absentee landlordism of England and Ireland; or the absentee political rule of colonial America? The Survey was an attempt to throw light on these and kindred economic forces not by theoretical discussion of them, but by spreading forth the objective facts of life and labor which should help in forming judgment as to their results. We did not turn to Pittsburgh as a scapegoat city; progressive manufacturers have here as elsewhere done noteworthy things for their employes, and for the community. Yet at bottom the District exhibits national tendencies; and if the great industries of the country are to be owned by great bodies of stockholders scattered all over the country—or if we are to change that system of ownership and control—then on the shoulders of a national public opinion must rest the responsibility for sanctioning, or for changing, the terms of work and livelihood which accompany industry. As a basis for that national public opinion, facts are needed; such facts as the Pittsburgh Survey endeavored to bring to the surface.

As a collection of human beings, and equally so as an industrial center, Pittsburgh was an exceptionally interesting phenomenon. Half a million people were living and working at the headwaters of the Ohio; as many as Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, and St. Louis combined had in 1850. Not in numbers alone was the city an example of the dynamic urban growth which has characterized the past century. In libraries, institutes, conservatories, universities, great parks, and in other ways, this growth expressed itself. The Survey set out to get at certain underlying factors in this growth as they affected the wage-earning population. The present volume reveals a community struggling for the things which primitive men have ready to hand—clear air, clean water, pure foods, shelter, and a foothold of earth. We found in Pittsburgh a smoke campaign, a typhoid movement, and the administrative problems of the bureau of health in milk and meat inspection; thus there was bitter evidence of the necessity for sanitary regulation of housing wherever people lived dense or deep, and the necessity further for increased numbers of low-cost dwellings. Similarly, the agitations for flood prevention, traction development, bridge building, and the like have been so many efforts to expand, or conquer the difficulties of the town's corrugated floor. With the moving into Pittsburgh of new and immigrant peoples, the spirit of the frontier and of the mining camp has possessed the wage-earning population. This spirit has also characterized civic development. Wherever

there has been profit in public service, private enterprises have staked their claims to perform it. While the biggest men of the community made steel, other men built water companies, threw bridges across the rivers, erected inclines, and laid sectional car lines. To bring system and larger public utility out of these heterogeneous units therefore became the city's governmental problem in the new century. In a sense, this situation is repeated with respect to the institutions transplanted into Pittsburgh, or initiated there, to meet the cultural and social needs of the community. Thus we found local aldermen's courts, uncoördinated charitable enterprises, and a ward system of schools. Yet the trend here, too, was obviously toward system,—toward a municipalization of lower courts, an expansion of the health service, an association of charities, a city system as against a vestry system of schools, the coördination of public sentiment in movements for municipal improvement.

To make inventory of such an American community was in the large the commission undertaken by the Pittsburgh Survey.

ORIGIN OF THE WORK

The Survey was in its origin a journalistic project. In 1905 the Central Council of the Charity Organization Society of New York appointed a Publication Committee to give national breadth and effect to its weekly magazine, *Charities*, with which that year was merged *The Commons*, brought out by the Chicago settlement of the same name. The stated purpose of this national committee was "to get at the facts of social conditions and to put those facts before the public in ways that will count."

Five of the specific methods proposed were these:

> "1. The undertaking of important pieces of social investigation not undertaken by any existing organization.
>
> "2. The issuing of special numbers, putting into comprehensive and concrete form groups of facts entering into some one social problem.
>
> "4. The extension of the spirit of organized philanthropy to smaller cities and the re-kindling of existing agencies to more progressive ways.
>
> "6. The promotion of movements already under way, co-operating with communities or national bodies, to give general application to reforms wrought painfully in one locality.
>
> "10. The education of public opinion through connection with newspapers, speakers, and other agencies of publicity."

These methods were successfully combined in a piece of journalistic research carried on the year following at Washington. Grave abuses in the hospitals and charities supported in part by federal funds, came to the attention of the editor, Edward T. Devine, and he conceived the idea of bringing national public opinion to bear upon them through *Charities*

and The Commons. As developed by the staff in co-operation with various local organizations, the plan broadened into a special number on the national capital as a model city. The Washington monument has a stone for every state in the Union, and the civic neglect which crushed down upon the District of Columbia has come from the same quarries. United States senators and representatives as a body make up the common council of the District, and year after year they had administered defeat to measures to restrict child labor and lower an excessive infant mortality; to require compulsory education for Washington children at the hands of the same authority which was building school houses for the Tagalogs; and to raze alley shacks, fairly under the eaves of the Capitol, which, in the words of western senators, were "not fit for cow stables." The late Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court, S. W. Woodward, and others backed the enterprise, and Charles F. Weller, then general secretary of the Washington Associated Charities, spent ten months in investigating housing conditions. Two thousand copies of the issue, Next Door to Congress, were distributed in Washington itself; other copies and special letters over the signatures of the committee were sent to all members of Congress, to five hundred newspapers and magazine editors, and to one thousand child labor committees, civic leagues, tuberculosis associations, women's clubs, charity organization societies, and so forth, throughout the Union. They were asked to help, and they did, sending scores of letters to congressmen and senators. Newspapers everywhere added their urgency to the appeal of the Washington organizations which used the number as a weapon in their campaigns for the improvement of conditions. A wife-desertion law was passed at this session, a juvenile court law enacted and a judge appointed; two blind alleys were opened at once into a minor street; and a bill for the condemnation of insanitary dwellings, which had hung fire for nine years, was passed. Mr. Weller continued his housing investigations, bringing them out in book form—Our Neglected Neighbors. The President's Homes Commission, later appointed by Mr. Roosevelt, carried on further investigations into the general social and sanitary conditions in the District. Now, as then, much remains before the national capital will set the standard for the cities of the country as a whole; but this special number helped carry the slow process forward by another stage.

THE PITTSBURGH INVESTIGATIONS

Thereafter an invitation came to us from Mrs. Alice B. Montgomery, then chief probation officer of the Allegheny Juvenile Court, to undertake a similar venture in Pittsburgh. We felt that Pittsburgh bore

somewhat the same relation industrially to the country at large that Washington did politically. It was not until the early winter following that Charities Publication Committee entered upon the work. The impulse that actually set it under way came through Frank Tucker, a member of the Committee, who, as a former journalist, visualized the possibilities of Pittsburgh in public opinion. The idea met with hearty response from William H. Matthews, head worker at Kingsley House, Pittsburgh, through whose co-operation Mr. Devine put the plans before a group of forward-looking Pittsburghers who gave it their encouragement and co-operation. Mayor Guthrie, President English of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, and Judge Joseph Buffington of the United States Circuit Court consented to be our references,—a part which at times required no little courage. The initial plan, to quote from the original prospectus, was to get at

> "the facts of underlying needs through investigation by experts in sanitary and civic work; to supply unbiased reports in each field as a basis for local action; and to publish a special Pittsburgh number for distribution locally so as to reach public opinion and for use nationally in movements for civic advance in other American cities."

The work was begun on an appropriation of $1,000 from Charities Publication Committee, in addition to the following Pittsburgh contributions:

Civic Club of Allegheny County	$50.00
H. J. Heinz	100.00
Wallace H. Rowe	100.00
Benjamin Thaw	50.00
Mrs. William R. Thompson	50.00

The late Robert C. Hall gave us the use of offices, but little further money was forthcoming from Pittsburgh sources for what seemed a rather vague and not altogether pleasant enterprise. On our limited funds, the work would have been handicapped from the start had not new and unexpected reinforcement come in the spring of 1907. The Russell Sage Foundation was created by the gift of $10,000,000 from Mrs. Sage, and one of its first grants was of $7,000 to develop the Pittsburgh Survey. We secured the co-operation of several national organizations, such as the Industrial Committee of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, the National Consumers' League, the Association for Labor Legislation, Seybert Institute (Philadelphia), and the Department for the Improvement of Social Conditions of the New York Charity Organization Society.

After some exploring during the spring and summer, we injected

into Pittsburgh in September, 1907, what might be called a flying wedge of investigators who were on the ground for from six weeks to two months. Each was a specialist in a given line and the commission of each was to make a diagnosis of the situation in his field. The returns from this exploring process were such that we felt it would be ignoring a wonderful opportunity for constructive research to limit the work to the quick journalistic diagnoses originally planned. Following a visit to Pittsburgh by John M. Glenn, director of the Russell Sage Foundation, a second grant, of $12,000, was made, which, together with a third grant in February of $7,500, enabled us to round out a full year's work. The staff had the advantage of being a flexible one, and some of its most notable service was performed on practically a volunteer basis. It had the disadvantage that comes of demonstrating a piece of work as it goes along without surety of engagement or funds. In certain further instances the plan of getting specialists to diagnose particular problems was carried out, and in this way we covered in brief reports the immigrants and Negroes, among racial groups; housing, health and police departments, aldermen's courts, playgrounds, children's institutions, and schools, among social institutions; factory inspection, child labor, industrial education, and general labor conditions in the economic field.

The more sustained inquiries were carried out by six responsible investigators, who put in the working months of the year on their inquiries, assisted by visitors.

The sustained investigations were:

1. An inquiry into hours, wages, and labor organization in the dominant industry in the District. [Mr. Fitch.]
2. An interpretation of household life and costs of living in a typical American mill town,—the first to be studied with an accuracy comparable to that which has characterized studies of city tenement neighborhoods. [Miss Byington.]
3. A study of the 500 cases of workmen killed in Allegheny County in one year (together with the injury cases treated in the hospitals for three months) to determine the prevalent causes, and to see where, under the existing liability laws, the income loss was borne. No such concrete body of facts had been gathered in this field in America. [Miss Eastman.]
4. The first general survey of the women-employing trades in an American city. [Miss Butler.]
5. A study of the economic cost of typhoid fever in six representative wards, the first house to house investigation of this sort made in this country. [Mr. Wing.]
6. A survey of the child-helping institutions and agencies of Pittsburgh. [Miss Lattimore.]

These investigations closed in June, 1908. Mapping, diagramming, and statistical work were carried on by a special staff during the summer, and there was a final foregathering of responsible investigators in Pitts-

burgh in September, 1908, in advance of civic exhibit and magazine presentation. At the end of the field work, the director recommended certain further lines of inquiry, opportunity for which the first year's investigations had laid bare. These included a study of the structural, sanitary, and financial aspects of housing in industrial towns; of occupational diseases, carrying the study of accidents over into the more intricate field of health; of criminal and civil courts as they affect the poor; of the state subsidy system to philanthropic institutions; of public service as it affects the wage-earner; of municipal accounting, and of outdoor relief.

It was felt, however, that the Survey's work had best end when it had unequivocally interpreted the investigations of the year, and carried its findings flush with that line where local initiative could be hopefully challenged to shoulder the responsibilities which the facts showed to be obvious; and to explore other needs.

One line of investigation, however—a case-work inquiry of institutional children—was carried out by a special staff of the Russell Sage Foundation the succeeding year; and in the summer of 1910 two further diagnoses were undertaken to fill what were felt to be important gaps in the work—a study of the land and school tax system, and a study of the social aspects of factory administration.

STAFF, CHARITIES PUBLICATION COMMITTEE*

EDITOR, *Charities and The Commons*, Edward T. Devine.
MANAGING EDITOR, Arthur P. Kellogg.

PITTSBURGH SURVEY FIELD STAFF

DIRECTOR OF SURVEY, Paul U. Kellogg.
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, Frank E. Wing.
ADVISORY GROUP, Florence Kelley, John R. Commons, Robert A. Woods.
SPECIAL SUPERVISORS: Housing, Lawrence Veiller. Industry, John R. Commons. Health, Ernst J. Lederle.
REFERENCES: George W. Guthrie, H. D. W. English, Joseph Buffington.

COLLEAGUES IN THE FIELD WORK

— Samuel Hopkins Adams, journalist; expert on public health.
** Mary Bacha, Slavic interpreter, Homestead Courts.
° H. V. Blaxter, attorney-at-law, Pittsburgh.
— H. E. Bramley, twenty-five years health inspector New York Department of Health; member of staff Lederle Laboratories.
— Lilian Brandt, secretary Committee on Social Statistics, New York Charity Organization Society; secretary New York School of Philanthropy.

* KEY TO SIGNALS

° Pittsburghers who prepared reports more or less independently.
— On the ground less than one month.
* On the ground from one to three months.
** On the ground from three to six months.
*** On the ground from six to nine months.
**** On the ground from nine to twelve months.

— Herbert S. Brown, consulting electrical engineer.
o Allen T. Burns, secretary Pittsburgh Civic Commission.
**** Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, former secretary Consumers' League of New Jersey.
**** Margaret F. Byington, former district agent Boston Associated Charities; assistant secretary Brooklyn Bureau of Charities.
* John R. Commons, professor of political economy, University of Wisconsin; member U. S. Industrial Relations Commission.
*** F. Elisabeth Crowell, former superintendent St. Anthony's Hospital, Pensacola, Fla.; executive secretary Association of Tuberculosis Clinics, New York.
— Emily W. Dinwiddie, secretary Tenement House Committee, New York; supervisor of dwelling houses, Trinity Tenements, New York.
**** Crystal Eastman, attorney-at-law, New York; member and secretary New York State Employers' Liability Commission, 1909–10.
** Christopher Easton, former superintendent Randall's Island Sanatorium; director Tuberculosis Educational Work, Minnesota.
**** John A. Fitch, fellow University of Wisconsin; expert New York State Department of Labor, 1909; editor Industry Department, *The Survey*.
** James Forbes, secretary National Association for the Prevention of Mendicancy and Charitable Imposture.
— John P. Fox, secretary Traction Committee, New York City Club; later, traction expert, Mayor's office, Pittsburgh.
* Raymond D. Frost, student University of Wisconsin.
** Shelby M. Harrison, fellow Harvard University; director Bureau of Surveys, Russell Sage Foundation.
* Anna B. Heldman, visiting nurse, Columbian Settlement, Pittsburgh.
* Lewis W. Hine, staff photographer.
** Leona Jenkins, former investigator N. Y. Standard of Living Committee.
* Florence Kelley, secretary National Consumers' League; former state factory inspector, Illinois.
**** Paul U. Kellogg, secretary Charities Publication Committee; editor *The Survey*.
o Beulah Kennard, secretary Pittsburgh Playground Association.
o Allen H. Kerr, attorney-at-law, Pittsburgh.
* Frederick A. King, head George Junior Republic, Litchfield, Conn.; deputy, Industrial Commission of Wisconsin.
* Alois B. Koukol, secretary National Slavonic Immigrant Society.
*** Florence L. Lattimore, staff Seybert Institution, Philadelphia; associate director Child Helping Department, Russell Sage Foundation.
— Ernst J. Lederle, twice commissioner of health New York City.
* William Leiserson, fellow University of Wisconsin; deputy Industrial Commission of Wisconsin.
* Annie E. McCord, investigator juvenile delinquency, U. S. Immigration Commission.
** Francis H. McLean, former superintendent Brooklyn Bureau of Charities; secretary American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity.
* Lila V. North, former investigator Committee on Physical Welfare of School Children, New York; member of faculty Woman's College of Baltimore; director of Research Bureau, Woman's Industrial and Educational Union, Boston.
o Frances J. Olcott, chief of Children's Department and director of Training School for Children's Libraries, Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh.
* H. F. J. Porter, consulting industrial engineer; expert on fire hazard, New York Factory Investigating Commission.

o Anna Reed, assistant head worker Columbian School and Settlement.
* Peter Roberts, author Anthracite Coal Communities; secretary for immigration, International Y. M. C. A.
— Charles Mulford Robinson, author Modern Civic Art; civic adviser for Denver, Columbus, Honolulu, and so forth.
* * * S. Adele Shaw, later, secretary Children's Bureau, Pittsburgh agent United Workers, Greenwich, Connecticut.
* * * Alexis Sokoloff, graduate engineer and draughtsman; University of Moscow; Academy of Mines, Vienna.
* * Joseph Stella, graduate New York School of Art.
* Helen A. Tucker, former member of teaching staff of Hampton Institute; investigator Committee for the Improvement of Industrial Conditions of Negroes in New York; investigator U. S. Dept. of Labor.
— Lawrence Veiller, former secretary New York State Tenement House Commission of 1900; director department for the Improvement of Social Conditions, New York Charity Organization Society; secretary National Housing Association.
o Allan H. Willett, member faculty, Carnegie Technical School.
* * * Frank E. Wing, former master of science, Allegheny Preparatory School; general superintendent Chicago Tuberculosis Sanatorium.
* Robert A. Woods, head worker South End House, Boston.
* * * D. Lucile Field Woodward, investigator Cannery Investigation, New York; investigator Federal Immigration Commission.
* Richard R. Wright, former head of Trinity Mission, Chicago; investigator Negroes in business in Pennsylvania under Carnegie Institute; editor *Christian Recorder*.

PUBLICATION SCHEME

Our findings were altogether too emergent and quickening to be hoarded for the volumes in which they have taken final shape. Luncheon meetings, newspapers, magazine articles, pamphlets, addresses, exhibits, special issues of *Charities and The Commons*, and books, in the order named, have been resorted to. The plan was an entire break from the customary scheme of merging all findings into a formal official report issued at a given time. It was a piece of team play, calling for certain scientific standards throughout. But the attempt was to stamp the work with the creative personality of the responsible investigators, and to reckon with the human equation in our audience.

But if there are two generalizations more than others growing out of the experience, which should be of service to future surveys, they are: first, to spend more and not less in bringing the facts home to the community, so that they reach every householder and become part of the common understanding; and second, to set aside far greater allowance of time for drafting the material into shape, once gathered. The greater the absence of social records in any community the slower the process of collation, the greater the time and technique necessary to shape them into a telling message.

The scheme of magazine presentation follows:

PITTSBURGH SURVEY ISSUES

OF CHARITIES AND THE COMMONS [NOW THE SURVEY]*

Part I—The People [January 2, 1909].
- The Pittsburgh Survey—Paul U. Kellogg.
- Pittsburgh: an Interpretation of Its Growth—Robert A. Woods.
- The New Pittsburghers—Peter Roberts.
- Some Pittsburgh Steel Workers—John Andrews Fitch.
- Temper of the Workers Under Trial—Crystal Eastman.
- Working Women of Pittsburgh—Elizabeth Beardsley Butler.
- The Slav's a Man for a' That—Alois B. Koukol.
- The Negroes of Pittsburgh—Helen A. Tucker.
- The Jewish Immigrants of Two Pittsburgh Blocks—Anna Reed.
- Homestead, a Steel Town and Its People—Margaret F. Byington.
- The Civic Responsibilities of Democracy—Paul U. Kellogg.

Part II—The Place and Its Social Forces [February 6].
- A City Coming to Itself—Robert A. Woods.
- Civic Improvement Possibilities in Pittsburgh—Charles Mulford Robinson.
- Effect of Forests on Economic Conditions in the Pittsburgh District—W. W. Ashe.
- Transit Situation in Pittsburgh—John P. Fox.
- The Aldermen and Their Courts—H. V. Blaxter and Allen H. Kerr.
- The Charities of Pittsburgh—Francis H. McLean.
- The Housing Situation in Pittsburgh—F. Elisabeth Crowell.
- Pittsburgh's Housing Laws—Emily Wayland Dinwiddie.
- Skunk Hollow—Florence Larrabee Lattimore.
- Painter's Row—F. Elisabeth Crowell.
- Little Jim Park—Leroy Scott.
- The Mill Town Courts and Their Lodgers—Margaret F. Byington.
- Thirty-five years of Typhoid—Frank E. Wing.
- Pittsburgh's Foregone Asset, the Public Health—Samuel Hopkins Adams.

Part III—The Work [March 6].
- Social Forces—The Pittsburgh Survey—Edward T. Devine.
- Over-work and Out of Work—
- Wage-earners of Pittsburgh—John R. Commons.
- The Process of Steel Making—John Andrews Fitch.
- The Steel Industry and the Labor Problem—John Andrews Fitch.
- Households Builded Upon Steel—Margaret F. Byington.
- Factory Inspection in Pittsburgh—Florence Kelley.
- Industrial Environment of Pittsburgh's Workingwomen—Elizabeth Beardsley Butler.
- A Year's Work Accidents and Their Cost—Crystal Eastman.
- The Elementary Public Schools of Pittsburgh—Lila V. North.

* Exigencies of time and space led to the omission of some ten reports from the magazine presentation; notably those on childhood which had originally been conceived as a special number. Miss North's report on schools, however, was brought out in abbreviated form with the industrial reports in March, and Miss Butler's report on child labor in the Pittsburgh *Post*, in order to make them available for legislative campaigns; while Miss Kennard's on playgrounds and Miss Olcott's on the libraries, also in type, were published in later issues of *Charities and The Commons*.

THE PITTSBURGH SURVEY

VOLUME PRESENTATION

The four special volumes: Women and the Trades; the Steel Workers; Homestead: The Households of a Mill Town; and Work-Accidents and the Law, were brought to press in the ensuing year, and in the summer of 1910 an attempt was made to round out several important gaps which the magazine presentation had indicated; and to bring the minor reports to date for the succeeding volumes. The flexibility of publication plan, like that of staff, had both advantages and disadvantages. Where any report was of immediate service, it was brought to bear at once: thus, preliminary reports on housing conditions, and the law of master and servant were published in *Charities and The Commons*, while the field work was in process in 1908, and a report on the Morganza reform school was placed in the hands of the trustees, and so forth. The pith of the sustained investigations, no less than the short ones, was compressed into the magazine presentation, January-March, 1909. On the other hand, the changing situation which made this treatment of material opportune, made it difficult subsequently to gather up the threads of evidence dealing with a situation as volatile as that in Pittsburgh, and involving so many fields of social concern. The staff was a temporary one, whose members scattered following the investigation and became engrossed in new and emergent tasks, not a few of which were a natural outgrowth of the Survey. The lure of doing the thing rather than recapitulating it has been ever present. Repeated delays, for which the editor more than any other person is responsible, led to a shift in the final plan of publication at this date. Instead of an inclusive symposium, covering the same ground as the magazine publication, together with a general résumé by the director, we are publishing in extenso in two volumes those monograph reports which are thought to have permanent significance. This has meant the omission of certain reports which in the process of the work were important, such as Christopher Easton's initial inquiry into occupations and health, which paved the way for our study of industrial accidents, and showed that we could not look to the records of public authorities, or hospitals, or medical agencies for accurate facts as to the human waste caused by preventable injury and disease, but must carry our inquiry back into shops and homes,—to the individual cases themselves. The change has meant leaving out reports which were valuable in their local bearings. Thus, our magazine publication carried Miss Tucker's survey of the Negroes of Pittsburgh as a challenge to local action; the volumes present Mr. Wright's case-study of one hundred Negro

steel workers as a commentary on the general northward movement of Negro farm hands to industry. We omit Mr. Adams' trenchant review of the public health administration in Pittsburgh, together with the initial reports by Dr. Lederle and Mr. Bramley, dealing, as they do, with current situations, as well as articles subsequently requested of Dr. Amelia A. Dranga on the experience of the Allegheny Milk and Ice Association and by Dr. Frank D. Stolzenbach on medical inspection of school children in the Colfax district—each a pioneer work of its kind in Pittsburgh. But we publish Mr. Wing's economic study of fever-stricken households, which has a bearing on the cost of preventable disease everywhere. Thus Mr. McLean's analysis of a disorganized charity situation, since changed for the better, is omitted, while we include Miss Lattimore's case-study of institutional children, of service to social workers in other cities. We omit Mr. Robinson's pioneer report on city planning, and Mr. Fox's on traction, for they have led to more comprehensive reports in these fields by civic commission and municipality.

The effort has been to preserve the validity of the reports as a transcript of conditions the year of the Survey, but at the same time to bring out in text, footnote, or appendix any important change for good or the persistence of any important evil.

Acknowledgment should be made to John Koren for counsel and criticism in the statistical work at different points; to Frederick Hoffman, Mary E. Richmond, John M. Glenn, and many others for advice on particular problems; to a great company of Pittsburghers who gave generously of facts and time, co-operation and criticism; and especially to our references, George W. Guthrie, H. D. W. English, and Joseph Buffington; to Robert C. Hall, who gave us offices; to Oliver McClintock, chairman of the Citizens' Committee, Benjamin C. Marsh, of New York, director of the Civic Exhibit, and to J. W. Beatty, of Carnegie Institute, for courtesies at the time of the Civic Exhibit; to the head workers, William H. Matthews, Addie S. Weihl, and Edna G. Meeker who made Kingsley House, Columbian Settlement, and Woods Run havens of refuge and centers of inspiration; to Beulah Kennard, S. Adele Shaw, Allen T. Burns, Sherrard Ewing, and William W. Keller, for assistance in bringing facts to date; to Max Eastman and Le Roy Scott, for help in preparing reports for magazine presentation; to Margaret Mayers, Marion Sherwood Kellogg, Annie Hyde, and Elizabeth Squire for secretarial assistance; and to May Langdon White, Helen Moore, and Mary B. Sayles, of the editorial department of the Russell Sage Foundation, for unstinted co-operation in bringing these final volumes to press.

THE PITTSBURGH DISTRICT. (CIVIC CONDITIONS)

The Pittsburgh Survey brought onto the ground for short periods a group of experts who applied the experience of a score of industrial cities in learning about this one. Their findings are turned back to the larger service of the cities from which they came—and of American cities generally.

CONTENTS

I. *The Community:* Pittsburgh the Year of the Survey, by Edward T. Devine. Pittsburgh: An Interpretation of Its Growth, by Robert A. Woods. Coalition of Pittsburgh Civic Forces, by Allen T. Burns. Civic Improvement Possibilities in Pittsburgh, by Charles Mulford Robinson.

II. *Civic Conditions:* Thirty-five Years of Typhoid, by Frank E. Wing. The Housing of Pittsburgh's Workers, by Emily Wayland Dinwiddie and by F. Elisabeth Crowell. Three Studies in Housing and Responsibility: Skunk Hollow, the Squatter, by Florence Larrabee Lattimore; Painter's Row, the Company House, by F. Elisabeth Crowell; Tammany Hall: A Common Rookery, by F. Elisabeth Crowell. The Aldermen and Their Courts, by H. V. Blaxter and by Allen H. Kerr. The Disproportion of Taxation in Pittsburgh, by Shelby M. Harrison.

III. *Children and the City:* Pittsburgh Schools, by Lila Ver Planck North. Pittsburgh Playgrounds, by Beulah Kennard. The Public Library, by Frances Jenkins Olcott. Pittsburgh as a Foster Mother, by Florence Larrabee Lattimore.

Appendices: (a) Facsimile of Card Used in Typhoid Fever Investigation; (b) Tax Laws, Rates, and Exemptions; (c) The New Pittsburgh School System, by Beulah Kennard; (d) Report on City Planning; (e) Field Work of the Pittsburgh Survey.

WAGE-EARNING PITTSBURGH

Here the emphasis is transferred from civic to industrial well-being—the vital, irrepressible issues of hours and wages, of organization among the workers, administration by the managers, and factory inspection by the state. Interpretations of the immigrants who flood the district and of human seepage to the life of the underworld afford stark contrasts; while the meaning of life to the new generation is put in terms of childhood in an industrial town.

CONTENTS

Community and Workshop, Paul U. Kellogg. Immigrant Studies: The New Pittsburghers, Peter Roberts; The Slav's a Man for a' That, Alois B. Koukol; Old Believers, Alexis Sokoloff; One Hundred Negro Steel Workers, R. R. Wright. Factory Inspection, Florence Kelley. Industrial Management, H. F. J. Porter. The Reverse Side, James Forbes. Sharpsburgh: Child Life of an Industrial Town, Elizabeth Beardsley Butler.

Appendices: (a) Letter from State Factory Inspector; (b) The Pittsburgh Morals Efficiency Commission.

WOMEN AND THE TRADES

By Elizabeth Beardsley Butler

Miss Butler's investigation is the first general survey of the women-employing trades in an American city. It deals with 22,000 women who are on the payrolls of Pittsburgh's establishments. For Pittsburgh is not only a great workshop; it is many workshops; and in many of these workshops women stand beside the men.

Not only are they to be found in laundries, garment factories, canneries, cracker bakeries, and other occupations which have their roots in old-time house-

work, but they help finish the tumblers that the men of the glass-house blow; they make cores for the foundry men; they are among the shapers of metals for lamps and hinges and bolts and screws. They make up a new labor force.

They complicate every industrial question; and the conditions and tendencies affecting their employment can not adequately be dealt with apart from the general problems of the community. This general view of the women wage-earners of a typical city is valuable to every one who would know of not the worst sweat-shop nor the best model factory, but the possibilities which work at wages opens up to the great mass of working girls of this generation.

CONTENTS

Workers and Workrooms. The Stogy Industry. Needle Trades. Cleaning Industries. Metals, Lamps, and Glass. Miscellaneous Trades. Commercial Trades. Social Life of Working Women. Summary of Industrial Conditions.

Appendices: Plan and Methods of Study. Tables and Charts. Margaret Morison Carnegie School for Women. Legal Restrictions of Working Hours for Women.

HOMESTEAD: THE HOUSEHOLDS OF A MILL TOWN

By Margaret F. Byington

Miss Byington's study is an inquiry into our two oldest social institutions, the family and the town, as they are brought into contact with a new and insurgent third, the factory. It raises searchingly the questions: Have home and town held their own against the mill? Has local self-government kept abreast of a nationalized industry? What has prosperity brought to the rank and file of the wage-earners?

The answers are drawn from the household budgets of 90 mill-town families, and from the author's experience of a year spent among the people who earned the money, and ate the food, and lived in the houses of Homestead.

And they are answers set down with all the warmth, simplicity, and intimate color of an old-fashioned 16-page letter.

This volume, perhaps more than the others of the set, tells in human values —of men as breadwinners, of women in their homes, and children in their growth— the story of life and labor which the Pittsburgh Survey has unfolded. It is not a story for student and social worker alone, but for every reader who would know what underlies the drive and clang of our industrial progress.

CONTENTS

I. *The Mill and the Town:* Homestead and the Great Strike. The Make-up of the Town.

II. *The English-speaking Households:* Work, Wages, and the Cost of Living. Rent in the Household Budget. Table and Dinner Pail. The Budget as a Whole. Human Relationships. Children of Homestead.

III. *The Slav as a Homesteader:* Life at $1.65 a Day. Family Life of the Slavs. The Slav Organized.

IV. *The Mill and the Household:* The Mill and the Household.

Appendices: Cost of Living in Pittsburgh; Carnegie Relief Fund; Slavic Organizations in Homestead, and twelve other sections.

WORK-ACCIDENTS AND THE LAW

By Crystal Eastman

The first systematic investigation of work-accidents in America—a book of broken lives as well as of machines gone wrong. It is the story of 500 wage-earners killed at their work in Allegheny County, Pa., in 1908, and an equal number of injury cases cared for by the hospitals of the District in three months. This steady march of injury and death means an enormous economic loss.

The purpose of the study was twofold: to see what indications there are that such accidents can be prevented, and to see if the burden of them falls where in justice it should. Here the master and servant law, court interpretations, employers' liability companies, relief associations, and charitable societies enter into the problem. The hazards of work are clearly stated, and the responsibility put up to the public to safeguard the workers against preventable accidents and to spread out the burden of the unpreventable as a charge on production. Since this report was first published compensation laws have been enacted in 23 states. The book is an arsenal of human facts.

CONTENTS

I. *The Causes of Work-Accidents:* Pittsburgh's Yearly Loss in Killed and Injured. The Railroaders. The Soft-coal Miners. The Steel Workers. Machine Shops; Building Trades, and so forth. Personal Factor in Industrial Accidents. Suggestions for Prevention.

II. *Economic Cost of Work-Accidents:* Distribution of the Burden of Income Loss. Effect of Industrial Fatalities Upon the Home. Problems of the Injured Workman. Policy of Certain Companies.

III. *Employers' Liability:* The Law. By-product of Employers' Liability Legislation.

With Appendices Including: The Process of Steel Making; The Accident Prevention of the U. S. Steel Corporation, and eleven other sections.

THE STEEL WORKERS

By John A. Fitch

Mr. Fitch portrays the human element that goes into tonnage. Steel making in its various processes is illustrated by personal studies of the workmen, the blast furnace crews, the puddlers and roll hands. Previous to this investigation little was known of the 70,000 men who are employed in the steel mills,—of the social unrest developing under the twelve-hour day, the seven-day week, through speeding up and the bonus system, through repression of democracy. The reaction of mill conditions upon the lives of men is demonstrated. And, as a hopeful element, the advances of the last five years in safety and accident relief are outlined. The book traces the rise and fall of unionism and shows the consequences of unrestrained industrial power now in the hands of the corporations secured by their policies of surveillance and coercion. The work constitutes a graphic, authentic study of the industrial situation under the largest employer of labor in America today.

CONTENTS

I. *The Men and the Tools:* The Workmen. The Blast Furnace Crews. Puddlers and Iron Rollers. The Steel Makers. The Men of the Rolling Mills. Health and Accidents in Steel Making.

II. *The Struggle for Control:* Unionism and the Union Movement. Policies of the Amalgamated Association. The Great Strikes.

III. *The Employers in the Saddle:* Industrial Organization under Non-union Régime. Wages and the Cost of Living. The Working Day and the Working Week. Speeding Up and the Bonus System. The Labor Policy of Unrestricted Capital. Repression.

IV. *The Steel Workers and Democracy:* Citizenship in the Mill Towns. The Spirit of the Workers.

WORKING FACTORS

The term *survey* is a new one in social investigation, although curiously enough it was the name applied by the Normans to their census of Saxon land and folk which was written up in the Doomsday Book.

The work in Pittsburgh was new in more than name; it was experimental, making repeated draughts on fresh sources of information, holding to a flexibility of front that admitted of a following up of clues such as the investigation itself uncovered, and only could uncover.

FOCUSING MANY CITIES ON ONE

In bringing experts to gauge the life and labor of Pittsburgh, we had to begin at the beginning in some fields, but in many we could rapidly apply standards which had been worked out by slow processes of reform elsewhere—measure Pittsburgh against the composite community made of the nation's best. The Survey, thus, was a spirited piece of inter-city co-operation in getting at the urban fact in a new way. For consider what has been done in this field in America. We have counted our city populations regularly every ten years—in some states every five. We have known the country has grown and spread out stupendously within the century, and that within that period our cities have spread out and filled up with even greater resistlessness. We have profited by incisive analysis of one factor or another which enters into social well-being—tuberculosis, infant mortality, factory legislation, public education, to name examples; and we have had the needs of neighborhoods put forth by those who know them well. But there is something further, synthetic and clarifying, to be gained by a sizing-up process that reckons at once with many factors in the life of a great civic area, not going deeply into all subjects, but offering a structural exhibit of the community as a going concern.

STRUCTURAL RELATIONS

The engineer has to do with levers, eccentrics, and axles, with chemical reagents, and dynamos; but when it comes to making steel, it is with the organic whole of which these are but so many parts, and with the interplay of those parts, that he has his real business. So with the factors which condition a working population. Thus, for example, the problem of industrial accidents ramifies in a score of directions. Practically every member of the staff was faced with one phase or another of it. It was found to bear upon the relief funds of the labor unions, the multitudinous benefit societies of the immigrant races, and the relief plans of corporations; with employers' liability associations and with employes' liability associations; it was bringing pensioners to the charitable societies

and inmates to the children's institutions; it was a dominating factor in the local hospital situation and involved at this point the whole state subsidy system; it was the concern of the coroner's office, the offices of foreign consuls and the health bureau where it was one of the two causes which gave Pittsburgh its high general death rate; it had to do in a minute degree with the discipline, intelligence, grit, and moral backbone of the working force in the mills; in the courts it harked back to the fundamental issues of public policy and freedom of contract; and in its effect on income and the standard of living of workingmen's families it set its stamp on the next generation.

In the spread of the Survey movement throughout the country in the last five years we have an indication of what this method of gauging the interrelations of social problems may come to mean. In the midst of the field work we had some glimpse of its possibilities as it molded under our hands. To quote from a report issued midway in the investigation:

> How significant this may prove is only a matter for speculation at this stage. But there is to be remembered the fiber which was put into philanthropy with the beginning of the charity organization movement, which for the first time in charitable effort treated not only the sick, or the aged, or the orphaned, or the homeless, or the poverty stricken, but the family in all its relations; and again, the quickening spirit which was infused into social work with the opening of the settlement movement which, holding to the same personal relations, widened the group whose wants they sought to interpret from the family to the neighborhood. In the Survey there is, perhaps, suggestion of a third phase of collective effort, more intimate in its relation to the concrete needs of people than are civic bodies, but like them, town-wide in scope.

HUMAN MEASURE

Our effort to grasp social conditions, problems, and institutions in terms of a town had its counterpart in our effort to put these things to the test of a distinctly human measure. This was a second benchmark in the work of the Survey.

The case records of charitable societies, especially during the past ten or fifteen years, have been rich in social information as to the dependent segment of the population and as to self-dependent families whom untoward events or conditions have rendered in need. But few attempts have been made to study the great body of the working population on such an individual basis. The very fact that Pittsburgh had not had any large poverty stricken body of people and had no collected social data, forced upon us, even in arriving at a preliminary estimate of the local situation, the necessity for working out units and methods of gauging these other groups.

In dealing with the wage-earning population we took a leaf out of the budget studies of Rowntree, Chapin, and others, and tried to put our investigation on an individual and family basis; that is, instead of relying on abstract categories, such as death rates, or of telling pathetic

stories of tragic individual figures such as the novelists use, we tried to draw upon the common experience. By systems of accounting and units of time and material, the modern manufacturer knows what the costs are that go into a finished shoe, or steel plate, or iron bedstead. So, too, the propaganda of the Bureau of Municipal Research demands such an ordering of municipal budgets and accounting as will get at just what the tax payers' money goes for, where the wastes are, and what, for example, is the actual educational product of the twelve months' business of a public school. So we sought to get at those drains upon the means and life of a wage-earning population which the year brings round. Our investigations of industrial accidents and typhoid fever well illustrate this method.

GRAPHIC INTERPRETATION

We wanted to make the town real—to itself; not in goody-goody preachment of what it ought to be; not in sensational discoloration; not merely in a formidable array of rigid facts. There was the census at one pole; and yellow journalism at the other; and we were on the high seas between with the chartings of such dauntless explorers as Jacob Riis and Lincoln Steffens before us.

This is why we tried to tell our findings through the eye as well as through the written word. This is why we collected industrial biographies as well as wage schedules; why we got the group picture of child life in a glass town, as well as analyzed the provisions of labor legislation and compulsory education laws; why we were concerned with the margins of leisure, and culture, and home life which are possible when a man works on a twelve-hour shift, as well as the free surplus which high wages may leave over a high cost of living.

CO-OPERATION WITH LOCAL AGENCIES

Our further purpose was to make the Survey not merely a criticism or an inventory, but a means for establishing relations which would project its work into the future. We were studying the community at a time when nascent social forces were exerting themselves toward throwing off the meshwork of crude village conditions, toward standing out against the indirect taxation—levied in the last analysis upon every inhabitant of the city—of bad water, bad houses, bad air, and bad hours; and toward asserting aggressive movements for the advancement of civic well-being.

Mr. Woods* shows how many forms of progressive social service had gained a foothold, and with an essentially sound moral foundation to its life, the city was not altogether unprepared to rise to the call of the great new issues which its growth had precipitated. What, above all,

* Woods, Robert A.: Pittsburgh, an Interpretation of its Growth, pp. 1 ff.

was needed, we felt, was a comprehensive knowledge of the underlying facts which could be made the basis for united effort, if those Pittsburgh men and women who, single-handed or in thin groups, had long stood out for civic righteousness in one or another of its phases, could but get the whole town back of them.

That the Survey was alive to the new, quickening public spirit in Pittsburgh, as well as to the untoward conditions of the city, was evidenced by services it was our good fortune to render during the year.

Thus, the first fortnight we were on the ground, we were instrumental in closing up four abominable lodging houses which were nests of disease. Our preliminary housing report was circulated by the Chamber of Commerce in midwinter, in the local campaign which resulted in doubling the municipal inspection force, in a complete tenement house census, and in tearing down some of the worst structures. Pittsburgh was the last great American city without a central organization of its charities. Movements to this end had been blocked for ten years, and through a committee of the Civic Club, the secretary of the Field Department of Charities Publication Committee brought them to a head. Through the co-operation of Columbian Settlement, Superintendent Edwards of the bureau of health, and Superintendent Morris Knowles of the bureau of filtration, we were able to carry out our economic study of typhoid fever; and, turning the tables, when local appropriations to carry on a technical study of typhoid were not forthcoming in line with recommendations made by these superintendents, we were instrumental in promoting the Pittsburgh Typhoid Fever Commission. The Survey as a whole paved the way for the Pittsburgh Civic Commission which, under the chairmanship of H. D. W. English, in its first year organized committees on city planning, sanitation, housing construction, industrial accidents and overstrain, minor courts, schools, and so forth, championed a bond issue of $7,000,000 for water front and street improvement, a tuberculosis hospital and other municipal enterprises, and called in three of the foremost municipal engineers and city planners of the country to make a preliminary report on methods of approaching the large problems of city construction. The developments of the succeeding five years are set forth by Mr. Burns.*

In the fields reviewed by our reports perhaps the most notable reforms have been the revolution in the school administration; the overthrow of the unjust tax system; the creation of a department of health; the enactment of adequate housing laws; the creation of an efficient minor court of justice for civil cases; the work of the Morals Efficiency Commission; the adoption of a comprehensive relief plan by the

* Burns, Allen T., Coalition of Pittsburgh's Civic Forces, pp. 44 ff.

United States Steel Corporation; and the rapid development of safety engineering.

In enumerating these advances, and noting that the work of investigation was of appreciable service with respect to some of them, it should be borne clearly in mind that the Survey has never made pretensions to being the founder, originator, or discoverer of civic progress in Pittsburgh. Its reports afforded a general view of conditions in a given year. With a few exceptions the intensive work in each field had still to be done. Setbacks and encroachments upon the public well-being, as well as civic advances, could be cited. In the future, as in the past, the brunt of change must be borne by local organizations. The Survey's chief service to Pittsburgh lay in making a fearless statement of a range of current needs. Opinion may differ as to whether we overstated the evils of local conditions. We scarcely could have overstated the forces which in Pittsburgh and elsewhere tend to perpetuate those conditions. Even our most enthusiastic social movements have encroached but a little way upon the fastnesses of selfishness and inertia, ignorance and privilege.

In Pittsburgh, for example, it has been only within the last few months (1914) that the last wards of the North Side have had filtered water. The subsidy system still perverts the normal development of public and private charities of Pennsylvania. The insane, feeble-minded, and children are still housed in the almshouses of Allegheny and the other counties of the state; aldermen's courts still mete out injustice to immigrants. There is in Pittsburgh still no adequate system of probation work for adults or an inclusive system of placing-out work for children. Bad housing persists, in the city as well as in the mill towns, and Mr. Burns' review shows how the new bottles of municipal government need today as yesterday the new wine of disinterested public spirit. The twelve-hour day still weighs down household life and citizenship, children still work in the glass-houses at night. Pennsylvania remains the last of our great industrial commonwealths to pass a workmen's compensation law, and the situation with respect to the choking out of democratic organization among the men of the steel industry is if anything more tense than five years ago.

Testy as have been criticisms of the Survey in certain quarters in Pittsburgh, we were not amiss in expecting that private interests would not for long shunt local pride into a barrier between evil conditions and an aroused citizenship. The loyalty which Pittsburghers bear their city is of finer metal. "The truth is beginning to reach home," wrote a leading minister. "However much they damn you, there never was anything which stirred this town into action like the Survey," said a professional man. "I stand by everything you said about conditions,"

said a steel superintendent; "the solid body of the people are with you." For the progressive men and women, broad-minded enough to put up with the easy jibes of rival cities which had undergone no such diagnosis, and courageous enough to face daily the exacting work of municipal upbuilding, the staff on leaving the field bore with them a feeling of sincere respect. But the Survey has not given Pittsburgh a black eye. Rather, Pittsburgh is pointed out as a city which at the present time of deficit in urban well-being has had the civic grit to take an inventory and publish a statement.

NATIONAL BEARINGS

In judging of these objective facts we can distinguish between those conditions which are subject directly to local determination through civic and political action and those elements in the industrial situation which will respond when public opinion is aroused nationally. The Pittsburgh investigations were in fields where they could be of appreciable service to national movements. For example, Dr. Roberts' study in the mill neighborhoods was the first experimental work for immigration which has since been developed so adequately under his leadership by the International Young Men's Christian Association. Our housing investigations were one of the first pieces of interstate field work by the group which, under Mr. Veiller, has created the National Housing Association. Our responsible investigator in the field of industrial accidents became the secretary of the Employers' Liability Commission of New York—the first of the group of state commissions which in the last five years have written compensation laws in twenty-three states.

The inquiry into industrial accidents came at a strategic time in the inception of the safety movement. Under the Cabot Fund, Mr. Fitch carried his investigations of labor conditions in the steel industry to Gary, Pueblo, Birmingham, Lackawanna, and the other steel centers. *The Survey's* wide-spread publicity of the seven-day week, coupled with the courageous initiative of men inside the steel industry, led to the adoption of one day of rest in seven by the American Iron and Steel Institute. Miss Butler's findings as to women's work have been quoted in the remarkable series of briefs prepared by Louis D. Brandeis and Josephine Goldmark in the test cases on which has hung the constitutionality of labor legislation limiting the hours of women's work. In 1910 the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America sent out a broadside to its congregations and churches numbering 18,000,000 members. Using the Pittsburgh Survey findings as a text as to conditions in American industrial centers generally—"true to a greater or less extent, often to the same extent,"—the Council's Commission on Church and Social Service recommends that the official bodies of Christian churches, "standardize, as it

were, the simplest Christian obligations in the industrial field," by adopting resolutions

> "calling upon employers of labor within those churches to conform, in their industrial operations to these three simple rules:
>
> "One day's rest in each seven.
>
> "Reasonable hours of labor.
>
> "A living wage based on these reasonable hours of labor."

Mr. Devine acted as chairman of the committee which promoted the creation of a federal Industrial Relations Commission; Mr. Burns was granted leave of absence by the Pittsburgh Civic Commission to act as Washington representative in securing its enactment, and Professor Commons is one of its members.

More particularly, the Pittsburgh Survey crystallized the standards and spirit of the magazine which took over its name, and which in a staff of investigational reporters is developing a range of work midway between scientific research on the one hand, and newspaper and magazine journalism on the other.

It led to the creation of a Department of Surveys by the Russell Sage Foundation under the directorship of Shelby M. Harrison, who was in charge of our map and statistical work in Pittsburgh. The survey movement has been slow of development, but it has been cumulative. A survey of the Polish district in Buffalo the following year, carried on by local agencies; a Syracuse survey, directed by Mr. Harrison, in which the Chamber of Commerce, Associated Charities, Ministerial Union, and central federated labor body co-operated; a quick journalistic survey of Birmingham, as type of the new industrialism of the south, by *The Survey* magazine, were early examples. Surveys of various sorts have been carried out in over twenty cities, the two most comprehensive operations of the present year being a survey of health, delinquency, and correction, industry and municipal efficiency in Topeka, and a general survey of Springfield, Illinois, in which twelve national agencies have co-operated under the leadership of the Survey Department. Surveys are under consideration in Baltimore and Cleveland, which promise not only to match the Pittsburgh Survey in scale, but to eclipse it, extending the work over a five-year period, with expenditures of time and money in proportion.

THE SCHEME OF WORK

In its combination of spirit, scope, and technique, the Pittsburgh Survey was the first of its kind. If one were searching for great precedents for what was after all a modest undertaking, it would be the knot of scientists gathered by Pasteur in starting his institute in Paris; the group

of Oxford men who took up their residence with Arnold Toynbee in London's East End; or the group who, under the leadership of Jane Addams, founded Hull House in Chicago's South Side. On the other hand, the Survey was distinctly in line with progressive methods in business and in the professions. It was kindred to what the examining physician demands before he accepts us as insurance risks, what a modern farmer puts his soil and stocks through before he plants his crops, what the consulting engineer performs as his first work when he is called to overhaul a manufacturing plant. The wonder is not as to the nature of the undertaking, but that the plan had never been tried by a city before.

Not a little expert work for the Survey was done in brief periods, practically without pay—a contribution on the part of leaders in social work to what they looked upon as the demonstration of a way for social advance. We can only speculate as to the results which would accrue to any one city were it able to call to its service permanently men and women each of whom had been able to give to his own city a position of leadership in some given field of civic well-being, and each of whom would be commissioned to map out the way to bring this super-city abreast of the foremost. The Pittsburgh Survey broke new ground. Against such a comprehensive scheme it is seen to be fragmentary, if prophetic.

If we were to reduce to six in number the methods which in their combination made the Pittsburgh Survey a distinctive enterprise, they would be these:

1. To bring a group of experts together to co-operate with local leaders in gauging the needs of one city in several lines.
2. To study these needs in relation to each other, to the whole area of the city, and to the civic responsibilities of democracy.
3. To consider at the same time both civic and industrial conditions, and to consider them for the most part in their bearings upon the wage-earning population.
4. To reduce conditions to terms of household experience and human life.
5. To devise graphic methods for making these findings challenging, clear, and unmistakable.
6. To establish natural relations with local agencies, to project the work into the future.

INDEX

INDEX

Abatement of smoke nuisance. See *Smoke nuisance*

Accidents. See *Trade accidents*

Administration—
Absentee, 14; industrial, concentration of, 14; industrial, lack of economy in, 14

Adult delinquency law—
Skunk Hollow demonstrates need for enforcement of, 129

"Agricultural lands"—
Definition of, for tax classification, 161

Aldermanic courts. See *Courts, aldermanic*

Aldermanic system—
Defects of the, 154, 155

Aldermen and Their Courts, The, 139–155

Allegheny—
Annexation of, 19, 20, 45, 49; housing conditions in, at time of annexation, 116; municipal costs of, a burden on taxation, 22; water supply, 65

Allegheny County Association for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 341

Allegheny County Court. See *Court, Allegheny County*

Allegheny County Juvenile Court. See *Court, juvenile*

Allegheny County Light Company, 202

Allegheny Heating Company, 202

Allied Boards of Trade, 27, 54, 55, 156. See also *Boards of Trade*

Alpern, Louis, 146, (Table) 147, 153

Ambridge, 122

American Civic Association, 42

Animals—
Keeping, in dwellings prohibited, 110

Annexation of old boroughs, 45. See also *Allegheny, annexation of; Government, centralized*

Annual Report of the President of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce—
By H. D. W. English, 120

Anthony, Mr., 287

Arnold, Bion J., 50, 52, 480–491

Arsenal Park, 319

Art gallery. See *Carnegie Institute*

Ashes—
No provision for removal of, 110

Assessed Valuation of Property per Pupil in Public Schools, (Map) 178

Assessed value per capita—
Third city in, 12

Assessments. See *Tax assessments*

Associated Charities. See *Charities*

Association for the Improvement of the Poor, 335

Australia—
Reduced tax rate on buildings in, 211

Avery Trade College, 344, 367

Ayres, Leonard P., 272, 276

Bailey Farm—
Real estate prospectus of Grandview formerly, 171; tax situation, 170, 171

Balch, Emily Greene, 231

Baltimore—
Extract from report on taxation and revenue submitted to mayor of, 193, 197; high school attendance in

295, 296, 297; retardation in schools, 276, 277

Bank defalcations, 24

Banking—
Under Mayor Guthrie, 22

Banking capital—
Second city in, 12

Banks—
Connection of, with political chicanery, 24; reaction against, 24

Basement rooms, 97–98; building regulations concerning, 107, 108, 113; housing conditions in, 97, 98; written permit required for occupancy of, 107. See also *Cellar dwellings*

Basin Alley. See *Tammany Hall*

Bastable, Professor, 206

Bath House Association, 335

Bath houses—
Public, 33

Bedford Basin. See *Park, Washington*

Beltzhoover—
Drained by Saw Mill Run, 93; separate school tax district rates in, 158, 179

Benefactions—
Effect of, on community, 18

Betterment work—
Public, women in, 33

Birtwell, Charles W., 335

Blaxter, H. V., 139–155

Blind—
Work of library for, 329. See also *Children's institutions*

Board of education. See *School Board, Central*

Board of health. See *Health, board of*

Boarders—
Number of, in tenement houses, 117. See also *Immigrant lodging houses*

Boards of Trade—
Activities of, 27; branch libraries secured by, 27; measures against tuberculosis promoted by, 27; member of housing conference, 119; membership of, 27; movement of, to abolish tax classification, 156; oppose elevated roads, 27; playgrounds secured by, 27; secured equipment of cars with fenders, 27; street improvements handled by, 27. See also *Allied Boards of Trade*

Boston—
Power of board of health in, to vacate, 106; tax system in, 177

Boyle, Reverend Hugh, 232

Boys' Industrial Home at Oakdale—
Vocational training at, 366

Brashear—
Astronomer, at University of Pittsburgh, 30, 324

Bribery—
Arrests and convictions for, 23, 24

Bridges. See *Toll bridges*

Brothers of Mary, 229

Browns, Rival, 47

Budget conference, 55

Buffalo—
High school attendance in, 295, 297; retardation in schools, 276, 277

Buffington, Judge Joseph, 497

Building—
Conversion of, to tenement, 111

Building code—
Cleveland, 112

Building code commission, 114. See also *Housing laws*

Building inspection, bureau of—
Commission to be appointed if permit is refused by, 111; construction and alterations without permit from, prohibited, 111; duties of, 111; established by act of 1895, 111; plans for new buildings and alterations to be filed with, 111

Building regulations—
Certificate of compliance before occupation lacking, 113, 114; concerning basements and cellars, 113; drainage, 113; fire protection, 113, 114; incorporated in state and city ordin-

ances, 112; light and ventilation, 113; one- and two-family houses, 113; open spaces, 113; plumbing, 113; penalties for violation of, 113; report of commission on, 50; tenement houses, 113. See also *Housing laws*

Buildings, new, and fixed laws, 111–113

Bureau of building inspection. See *Building inspection*

Bureau of fire. See *Fire, bureau of*

Bureau of health. See *Health, bureau of*

Bureau of police. See *Police, bureau of*

Bureau of recreation grounds. See *Recreation grounds, bureau of*

Burns, Allen T., 44–59, 156

Business district. See *Mercantile territory*

Business men—
Results of efforts of, 26

Business methods in city departments, 22

Butler, Elizabeth B., 498, 500

Byington, Margaret F., 102, 308, 379, 493, 498, 500

Cameron, Simon, 11

Canada, Western—
Reduced tax rate on buildings in, 211

Capital—
Industrial, concentration of, 14

Capitalism, absentee, 3, 14, 15, 24

Capitalist—
Gift of absentee, 18

Carnegie, Andrew, 24, 325, 326

Carnegie Institute—
Art gallery, 28, 326; endowed by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, 326; music hall, 28; natural history museum, 28, 326; not a part of library, 326

Carnegie Institutions, 18

Carnegie Library. See *Library*

Carnegie Steel Company—
Factors entering into improvement of Painter's Row by, 134, 135; indifference of, to conditions in Painter's Row, 132, 133; owner of Painter's Row, 130; stockholders protest against housing conditions in Painter's Row, 135

Carnegie Technical Schools, 28, 29, 292, 293, 300; vocational training in, 29

Cases cited—
Showing causes and consequences of typhoid fever, 76, 77, 78; showing playground influence, 314, 315; showing results of tax classification, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171; showing school conditions, 246, 251, 252, 258, 259, 260, 263, 264, 266, 267, 268; showing insanitary housing conditions, 94, 96, 97, 100, 101, 105, 106, 131, 132, 133; showing use of library as a means of self-education, 328, 329; showing workings of aldermanic courts, 140, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 150, 151, 152, 153; showing workings of children's institutions and needs of children and families, 360, 361, 362, 368, 369, 371, 372, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 413, 414, 416, 417, 418, 420, 421, 423, 424, 425, 426, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437

Cathedral School, 234

Catholic schools. See *Schools, parish*

Cellar dwellings, 97

Cellar rooms—
Building regulations concerning, 113; housing conditions in, 97, 98; power to vacate, 106; unlawful occupancy of, 106, 108

Census, tenement house, 116, 117, 118. See also *Schools*

Central District and Printing Telephone Company, 202

Cesspools—
On premises adjacent to sewer, prohibited, 107

Chamber of Commerce, 25, 26, 27, 49, 54, 55, 119; committee on real estate and taxation, 156

Characteristics—
General, of city, 7, 8, 9, 10

Charitable institutions—
Survival of unregenerate, 3

Charities, Associated, 34, 119; alliance of philanthropic agencies with, 53; unsuccessful attempt to organize, 47

Charities, Pennsylvania Board of Public, 349, 350, 448; legislation creating, 349; supervision of children's institutions by, 349, 350, 351, 448; woman's auxiliary connected with, 350; work of, superficial, 350

Charities, Pittsburgh Department of, 337

Charities Publication Committee—
Made first contribution toward Pittsburgh Survey, 497; staff, 499

Charity organizations—
Federation of, 35, 36; subsidized, effect of, on legislation, 11, 12

Charity work—
Co-ordination and unity in, 35, 46

Charter, City—
Legislation authorizing new, 25, 57, 58; movement for new, 57, 58; new era of government under new, 58; provision for non-partisan elections in new, 58. See also *City government*

Chicago—
Expenditures of, for sanitary inspectors, 119; municipal court, 153; neighborhood educational and recreation centers in, 286; percentage of illiteracy in, 326; power of board of health in, to vacate, 106

Child dependency—
Analysis of interrelation of, and civic conditions by children's institution, 347, 430, 440, 441; cause of increasing, 429, 430; caused by delays in courts, 429, neglected city and industrial conditions, 430, 437, smallpox, 437, trade accidents, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 437, 440, trade conditions, 429, 430, 436, 437, trade diseases, 429, 430, 431, 436, 437, tuberculosis, 428, 429, 437, 440, typhoid, 428, 429, 430, 437, 440; causes of, 377, 378–383, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 440; causes of abnormal, subject for study by children's institutions, 438; investigation of, duty of children's institution, 372, 373, 374, 439; prevention of, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 415, 428, 429, 430, 431, 439, 440, 441, 448; problem, 338, 346, 372, 428; relieved in family home by Pittsburgh Association for the Improvement of the Poor, 341, by Western Pennsylvania Humane Society, 341

Child labor—
Children's institutions and, 348, 417, 418, 419, 443; danger facing children discharged from institutions, 367, 368

Child Labor Association, 34

Child labor problem, 348, 417–419, 443; schools of play one solution of, 314

Child law—
Effect of unification of school and child labor laws, 222; enforcement of, responsible for school congestion in certain districts, 223

Child population and enrollment, 219, 220

Childhood—
Recipe for healthy, 370

Children—
Allegheny County Association for Prevention of Cruelty to, 341; anemic and underfed, fresh-air homes for, 445; backward and defective, special clinic for, 447; blind, state school for, 445; committee to revise laws affecting desertion and non-support of, 447; county parental school for, 447; crippled, private institution for industrial training of, 337, 445; deaf, state school for, 445; dependent and delinquent, committed by juvenile court, boarded by Roman Catholic orders, 339; detention rooms for juvenile court, 344; discharged, 347, 348, 411–417; epileptic, private institution for, 445;

feeble-minded, menace to community, 423, 424, 425, 426; state institution for, 445; Industrial Home for Crippled, 337; junior republic for, 447; juvenile court's work for, 445; legislation covering county payment for, 339, 340, covering desertion, 406, governing adoption of, 403, 404; normal, not as carefully trained as handicapped children, 446; of the City, 215–324; Pittsburgh as a foster mother of, 337–449; rescue homes for female, 345; social needs of, 382, 383, 447, 448, 449; Western Pennsylvania Conference on the Care of Dependent, 446. See also *Libraries; Play, schools of; Playgrounds; Schools*

Children, placed-out, 340–342; by Children's Aid Society, 340, 341; by Children's Home Society, 341; by children's institutions, 341, 342, 347, 348, 440, 442, 443; by juvenile court, 341; by Pittsburgh Association for the Improvement of the Poor, 341; by Western Pennsylvania Humane Society, 341; need of centralized bureau for, 347, 348, 444, 445

Children's Aid Society—
Placing-out work of, 340, 341

Children's Bureau—
Activities of, 447; object of, 447; opened, 446; organization of, 53

Children's Home Society—
Placing-out work of, 341

Children's Hospital—
Under private management, 445

Children's institutions—
Age and sex of 557 children in, 379, 380, (Table) 382; age of boys when discharged from, 345; age of girls when discharged from, 345; ages at death of 77 fathers and 89 mothers having children in, 379, (Table) 381; ages at time children became dependent of 159 fathers and 144 mothers having children in, and known to be living at time of investigation, 379, (Table) 380; almshouse, 342, 343, 344; almshouse, children illegally kept in, 343, 344; amount and sources of income of, (Table) 339; and the child, 351, 371; and the community, 428–438; and the family, 371–428, 431, 439, 441, 448, 449; attitude of relatives toward children in, 399, 400; basis for comparison of standards of, 351; board of visitation to furnish juvenile court judges with list of approved, and report on conditions found, 350; by religious control, sex, and age of wards, (Table) 342; care of children in, by Pittsburgh Association for the Improvement of the Poor, 341; centralized placing-out bureau needed by, 347, 348, 444, 445; child labor danger facing children discharged from, 367, 368; child labor, problem of, 348, 417–419, 443; children per family in 275 families having children in, 379, (Table) 381; children placed-out by, 341, 342, 347, 348, 440, 442, 443; children sent to, by juvenile court, 341; class of "industrial" work in, 365, 366; clothing, 356; community causes found to underlie applications for institutional care of children in 275 families having children in, 437, (Table) 438; community more advanced than, in child betterment work, 370, 371; comparison of home care with care of, 369; conservation and rehabilitation of homes, 369, 382, 383, 387, 395, 427, 440, 441, 448; conservation of families helped by contribution of amounts paid, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437; conservation of family resources by, 406–411; conservation of family ties by, 398–406; conservation of family ties through opportunity afforded relatives to visit children in, 401, 402, 403, 404; constructive co-operation among, lacking, 410; constructive program lacking in, 396, 397, 398, 427, 428, 440, 442, 443, 446, 448; co-operation among, lacking, 396, 397, 398, 410, 445, 448; co-operation resulting in helpfulness, 445; co-ordination of, and charitable agencies, 429, 430; co-ordination of, and specialization, 445, 449; corporal punishment in, 363; delinquents, need of skilled teachers in, 366; difficulties attending work of, 443, 444; discipline in, 363; diseases spread by common bath and towel, 354; dormitories,

multiple, 354, 355; dormitories, overcrowded, 443; earning capacity of fathers having children in, 431; educational work of, 363–365, 422, 439, 443; employes of, underpaid and unqualified, 443; failure of, to investigate home conditions socially and financially expensive, 372, 397, 398, 406, 407, 415; families of children in, classified, 383; families where parent or parents were found, but were not living with any member of the original family group nor maintaining a home to which a child might return, Group B, 383, (Table) 385, 390, 391, 392, 393; families where parents were dead, insane, or could not be found, Group C, 383, 392, 393; families where two or more members of original group were living together or where a parent was maintaining a home to which a child might return, Group A, 383, (Table) 384, 386, 387, 388, 389, 393; family background of children in, 374–378; fire drills in, 356; fire protection in, 355, 356; food diet in, 356, 357, 439, 443, 446; food diet in, medical adviser responsible for balanced, 357; grouping in, on basis of misfortune, 373; gymnasiums in, 360, 361; hand-to-mouth struggle of, making intensive work impossible, 444; hazards of children discharged from, 411–417; high standards in, social need of children, 449; high standards lacking in, 370, 447, 448; home influences, physical environment and resources in 140 families in which children who were discharged from, to a parent or parents were found to be living at the time of the investigation, (Table) 412, 413; home influences, physical environment and resources in 111 families of Group A at time of investigation, (Table) 384; home life of families of children in, 383–394; housing, congregate, economy of administration, argument for, 353; housing, congregate, effect of, on inmates, 352, 353, 362, 369; housing, cottage system of, recommended, 352, 369; housing of, 352, 353, 354, 355, 362, 369, 443; housing, suitability of, plans, 353; immediate grounds of appeal for admission to, 378–383; immediate reasons discovered to underlie applications for care of children in, in 275 families (Table) 377, 378; inadequate training in, results in future limitations of children, 367, 368, 369; income and cost of maintaining, 338; increased capacity of, without increase of discrimination, 346, 444; in Skunk Hollow for colored children, 127; interested support given, 347; investigation by, before admission, 347, 375, 376, 396, 397, 398, 427; investigation by, before discharging, placing out, or returning children to parents, 347, 348, 394, 395, 397, 413, 414, 415, 416, 427, 428, 443; investigation of child dependency duty of, 372, 373, 374, 439; keeping in touch with children discharged, placed out, or returned to parents by, 347, 348, 394, 395, 396, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 421, 428, 443; keeping in touch with families of children in, 400, 427; kindergarten classes in, 364; lack of investigation by, sometimes hardship on parents, 406, 407; legal protection of children by, 383, 392, 403, 404, 405, 406, 413, 414, 415, 440, 447; location of numerous, 338; management, technique of, defective, 394; medical examination and inspection in, 357, 358, 359, 360, 419, 420, 421, 439, 443; menace in low mentality of children in, 421–426; mentality tests and records in, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426; mentally deficient children exploited after discharge from, 443; method of procedure in discharging children from, 347, 348; method of securing state appropriations for, 349, 350; misconception of vocational training in, 365, 366, 368, 443; moral education, 362, 363; moral education in congregate type of, 362; narrow limits of activities of, 351; nativity of parents in 247 families having children in, 379, (Table) 380; need for stimulating moral leadership in, 362; neglect of, to secure legal record of transferred guardianship, 413, 414, 415; no complete list of, 346; no data showing results of stewardship of, 383, 397; number of children cared for in, in 1907, 337; obligation of, to children, 351–371, 439, 448, 449, to community, 428–438, 439, 448, 449, to families, 371–428, 439,

448, 449; opportunity of, for child research work, 371, 439, for promoting social betterment measures, 429, to back legal reform movements, 440, to study causes of abnormal child dependency, 438; overwork at drudgery in, 366, 443; parental influences and conjugal relationship of parents in 96 families of Group B at time of investigation, (Table) 385; parents' needs deserving consideration by, 405, 406, 408, 409, 410; parents of children in, needing friendly visitation and moral stimulus, 393, 409, 410, 441; pension to mothers sometimes better than care in, 387; physical jeopardy of children in, 419–421; physical training for normal children in, generally lacking, 361; physical welfare of inmates of, 357–360, 439; play equipment in, 360, 361, 443; play leader needed in, 361, 362; play space in, 361; play spirit in, 361; plumbing, 353; potential storehouses of facts, 441; private, for colored people, 344, for infants, 344, 345, for orphans, 344, "non-sectarian," 344, per cent of, receiving both sexes, 345, scope of, 344, 345, 346; protection at home better than care in, 382, 383, 393, 441; protection of children by, from future control of unfit parents, 383; quality of work of, 382, 383; quarantine of incoming children in, 360; records inadequate, cause loss of identity, 395, 396; records inadequate or lacking, 359, 360, 373, 376, 383, 394–397, 422, 439, 443, 448; records of health of children in, inadequate, 359; records of mental progress of children in, lacking, 419; records of physical progress of children in, lacking, 360, 419; records of school grades of children at time of admission to, lacking, 422; recreation in, 360–362, 443; relief received by 275 families having children in, 379, (Table) 382; religious training in, 362, 363; remedial measures lacking in, 420, 421, 428, 448; reports of, inadequate, 346; results of trade accidents and occupational diseases to 68 fathers and 3 mothers having children in, (Table) 430; sanitation and hygiene of, 353, 354; school teachers, character of, 363, 364; school teachers, need for special ability in, 364, 365; schools, average number of children to each teacher in, 363, low standards in, 443, retardation of children in, 422; scope of, 342–346; securing foster homes duty of, 400, 442, 449; separation of brothers and sisters in, 401, 445; sex hygiene instruction in, 362; social auditor for, 350, 351, 448; social bookkeeping of, 394–397, 439, 448; social rights of children overlooked in, 447; socially-minded lawyer needed by, 404, 405; study of individual children and personal welfare work duty of, 411, 427; supervision of, 349, 350, 351, 370, 447, 448; table service in, 357; test of efficient work of, 369; toilet arrangements in some, morally unsuitable, 353, 354; uncorrected remedial defects of children in, resulting in serious complications, 420, 421; unity of, first imperative need, 46, 346, 439, 441, 444, 445; use of public playground by children in, 361, 362; utilizing public or parochial schools, 363, 364; ventilation and sleeping arrangements, 354, 355; vital statistics of parents in 275 families having children in, 379, (Table) 380; vocational training, 365–369, 439, 443; vocational training at Avery Trade College, 367, at Boys' Industrial Home at Oakdale, 366, at Industrial Home for Crippled Children, 337, 367, 445, at Institution for Blind, 367, at Newsboys' Home, 366, at Pennsylvania Reform School at Morganza, 366, at St. Joseph's Protectory and Industrial School for Boys, 367, for normal children in, 366, 367, for white girls not provided in, 367; wages of male heads of families having children in, 379; whereabouts at time of investigation of 208 children discharged from, (Table) 411. See also *Avery Trade College; Pennsylvania Board of Public Charities; Pennsylvania Reform School at Morganza; Pittsburgh Association for the Improvement of the Poor; Pittsburgh Department of Charities; Western Pennsylvania Humane Society; Woodville County Home*

"Children's Law," 340, 343, 344

Churches—
Organization of, 53; social work of, 38, 39, 40, 41

Cincinnati—
High-school attendance in, 295, 297; housing problem in, 89; retardation in schools, 276

Citizenship, future—
Dependent on present social conditions, 41

"City"—
Definition of, for tax classification, 162

City charter. See *Charter*

City engineer—
Work of, in new districts, 18

City government—
New type of, 43. See also *Charter*

City market, 26

City planning—
Capacity of citizens for broad, 26; comprehensive, 50, 51; co-operative, work of wholesale grocers in, 26, wholesale provision dealers in, 26; importance of wise, 20; report on, 480–491

City Planning Commission, 50, 322

City's income. See *Tax revenue*

Civic awakening—
Hopeful, 43

Civic center, 51; created by University of Pittsburgh buildings, 30

Civic Club, 54; work of playground committee, 310, 311, 312, 316, 317, 318, 319

Civic Club of Allegheny County, 33, 34, 55, 115, 119, 497

Civic Commission, 42, 54, 55, 119, 156, 208

Civic conditions, 61–213; causing child dependency, 430, 437

Civic exhibit in 1908, 42

Civic Forces, Coalition of, 44–59

Civic improvement—
Organized action for, 53, 54, 55

Civic Improvement Possibilities of Pittsburgh, 49

Civic morality, 10–13

Civic neglect—
Skunk Hollow an example of, 124

Civic organizations—
New tax laws backed by, 156

Civic progress—
Effect of tax classification on, 209

Civic responsibility, 21–28

Civic unity. See *Unity, civic*

Civil court. See *Court*

Civil reform by substitution, 153, 154

Civil service—
Reform under Mayor Guthrie, 21

Civil War—
Attitude of city during, 9

Cleveland—
Building code, 112; expenditures of, for sanitary inspectors, 119; high school attendance in, 295, 297; housing problem in, 89; percentage of illiteracy in, 336; retardation in, schools, 276

Clingers. See *Skunk Hollow*

Closets—
Insanitary cellar, in Negley Run, 94; unventilated, unflushed, contributing to insanitary housing conditions, 94; water, number of sanitary, installed up to 1909, 93

Colfax school district, 246, 268, 282, 283, 286, 287, 293

Cologne—
Reduced tax rate on buildings in, 211

Columbian School and Settlement, 37

Commercial leaders—
Responsibility of, for social work, 41

Commercial property—
Enjoying tax exemption, 200, (Table) 201, 461–463, 468; non-, enjoying tax exemption, 200

Commissions and plans, 50

Common pleas court. See *Court, common pleas*

Community—
Significant progress of, 26

Community spirit. See *Unity, civic*

Community, The, 3–60

Congested districts, one of the, (Map) 101

Congestion. See *Overcrowding*

Congress—
Asked to share in expense of river improvement, 51

Connelly, C. B., 292

Consolidated Gas Company, 202

Cooper, Charles C., 36

Council of Jewish Women, 33, 119

County court. See *Court*

County parental school. See *Children*

Court—
Chicago municipal, a distinctive type, 153; decision concerning tax exemption of railroad right of way and property in Allegheny, 203; defining three tax-classes of real estate, 161, 162; methods causing child dependency, 429; percentage of commitments to, ignored, 150; proceedings in criminal cases, 149, 150

Court, aldermanic, 3, 46, 56; a relic of the middle ages, 139, 140; appeals from decisions of, 140, 145, 148; as a vehicle for spite and oppression, 140, 154; as collecting agencies, 143; auditing the criminal docket of the, 148; cases cited showing workings of, 140, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 150, 151, 152, 153; close connection between politics and the, 155; comparison of records of Alpern, Frankel, and McMasters, judges of, (Table) 147; competition in and advertising policy of, 141; constable of, 141, 142; constitutional amendment required to abolish, 141; corrupt practices in, 142, 143, 144, 145, 149, 150, 151, 152, 155; county's proportion of, fines, 148; court of the people to alien wage-earners, 139; criminal jurisdiction of, 139, 149, 152, 153; decisions for plaintiff almost universal in, 143, 144; defrauding of aliens by constables of, 142; dockets in, private records, 143, 144; effect of redistricting city on, 154; evils of fee system in, 155; fees, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146; fines, 148; glutting of appeals in, 148, 149; ignorance of, officials, 154; illegal bail given and accepted in, 153; income derived from fees in, 140, 142, 145; indifference of public to abuses of, 152; inefficient, 150, 152; J. V. McMaster, as judge of, 146; jailing without cause, 149–153; judge of, as plaintiff's attorney, 143; jurisdiction of, covers cases involving $300 or less, 139, 140; jurisdiction of, covers violation of city ordinances, 139; legislative proceedings necessary to abolish, 152; Louis Alpern as judge of, 146, 147, 153; Louis Alpern judge of, and city magistrate, 153; minor civil litigation practically confined to, 139; minor officials of, 141; no appeal from decision of, in cases involving less than $5.33, 140; original jurisdiction of, holds in preliminary hearing of criminal cases, 152, 153; originated in time of Edward III, 139, 140; preliminaries connected with criminal prosecutions entrusted to, 139, 149; profits without indictments, 146–148; protection afforded aliens against, 142; Samuel Frankel as judge of, 146, 151, 152; Samuel Frankel, proceedings of, in criminal case, 151, 152; suits may be entered in more than one, 144; system, defects of the, 154, 155; system extravagant, 148, 152; territorial jurisdiction of, unlimited, 140; usurers assisted by officers of, 144; well-to-do public know little about, 139

Court, Allegheny County—
Character of work of, 154; jurisdiction of, 141, 149, 154

Court, civil—
Of limited jurisdiction authorized by legislation, 57, 58

Court, juvenile, 34, 129, 339, 341, 344, 445; association, 337; children committed by, boarded by Roman Catholic orders, 339; children placed-out by, 341; diet of children in detention rooms, 357; judges to be furnished with list of approved chil-

dren's institutions, 350; Skunk Hollow demonstrates need of single judge for, 129

Court of Oyer and Terminer—
Jurisdiction of, 149

Court of Quarter Sessions—
Criminal jurisdiction of, 149

Court problem—
Substitution an immediate solution of the, 153, 154

Court reform—
Hampered by constitutional limitations, 154; results accomplished in, 154

Courts, common pleas—
Volume of appealed cases from aldermanic court in, 148, 149

Courts, magistrates'—
Class of cases tried in, 152

Courts of industrial Pittsburgh, 140–141

Covode House, 37

Crime—
An outgrowth of insanitary housing conditions, 104

Criminal court. See *Court*

Crowell, F. Elisabeth, 87–123, 130–138

Crucible Steel Company—
Insanitary closets in houses of, 94

Cultural institutions, 28–30

Culture—
Cause of backwardness in development of, 17, 18; lack of, 10

Davidson, Wm. M., 472

Deacon, J. Byron, 34

Denny estate—
Owner of Tammany Hall lot, 138

Department of health. See *Health, department of*

Detroit—
High school attendance in, 295, 297; retardation in schools, 276

Development—
Difference between growth and, 47; effect of electric transit on, 15, 16; effect of street railway, 16; industrial, early, 7, 8; into industrial metropolis, 16; of transportation facilities, 8, 21; physical factors influencing, 15; suburban, 16; unified organic, of city. See *Unity, civic*

Devine, Edward T., 3–6, 493, 495, 497

Devlin, Reverend Thomas, 232, 237

Dinwiddie, Emily W., 87–123, 500

Discretion and the fire hazard, 113, 114

Discretionary power—
In housing laws, 112, 114; in New York building law, 111, 112; no, in building act of 1895, 111

Diseases. See *Smallpox; Trade diseases; Tuberculosis; Typhoid*

Dispensary—
Unity in, work lacking, 46

Disproportion of Taxation in Pittsburgh, The, 156–213. See also *Taxation, disproportion of*

Dixon, Dr. Samuel G., 81

Domestic science, 292–294. See also *Schools, domestic science in*

Drainage—
Building regulations concerning, 113. See also *Housing conditions*

Drive belt, proposed, 51

Duquesne school district, 224, 251, 263

Dwelling, the converted, 110, 111

Dwellings, cellar, 97, 98; one- and two-family, 118; the need for more, 120–122. See also *Houses, dwelling*

Eastman, Crystal, 493, 498, 500

Economic cost of typhoid fever, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 85

Economic problem—
Typhoid fever an, 64

Economic situation, 12

Economies—
Lack of, in process and administration due to resources and demand, 14

Education—
New central board of public, appointed, 218. See also *Children's institutions; Schools*

Edwards, Dr. James F., 81, 89, 107, 115, 119, 120

Elections, non-partisan—
Provision for, in new city charter, 58

Electric lighting. See *Lighting, electric*

Electric transit. See *Street railway*

Elevated roads—
Opposed by local boards of trade, 27

Elliott—
Drained by Saw Mill Run, 93

English, H. D. W., 26, 42, 120, 497

Epiphany School, 234, 235

Evening school. See *School, evening*

Ewart "farm"—
Tax situation, 173

Ewing, Sherrard, 89, 119

Ewing Street. See *Skunk Hollow*

Exemptions, tax, 203, 461–463, 468

Exploiters of women—
Effort to restrain and punish, 22

Families—
Number of, in tenement houses, 117

Family life—
Destruction of, 3

Federal public health service, 81, 82

Federation of agencies. See *Charity organizations*

Federation of Women's Clubs, 156; campaign of, for better schools, 55; funds for playground, contributed by, 317; joint committee with Civic Club on playgrounds, 317

Fees. See *Court, aldermanic*

Fenders. See *Street railway*

Field Work of the Pittsburgh Survey, 492–515

Filtration Commission—
Appointment of, 83

Filtration plant—
Construction of, delayed by politics, 83, 84, 85; delay in construction of, responsible for excess of typhoid fever, 64, 70, 71, 84, 85. See also *Water supply, pure*

Fire, bureau of—
Cost of maintenance, 192

Fire danger in Tammany Hall, 137

Fire hazard, 113, 114

Fire protection—
Provision for, 110, 113, 114. See *Children's institutions; School houses*

Fiscal solidarity, 55–58; movement for, 55, 56

Fitch, John A., 5, 10, 498, 500

Flies—
As carriers of typhoid fever, 82

Flinn-Bigelow feud, 47

Flinn, Senator, 25

Flood Commission—
Work of the, 51, 52

Flood problem, solution of, 51, 52

Floods—
Protection against, 26, 27

Forbes school district, 280

Foreign steel. See *Steel*

Fortunes, personal—
Effect on, of railroad rates, price and wage standards, 14

France—
State supervision over parish schools in, 241

Franciscan Brothers, 229

Frankel, Samuel, 146, (Table) 147, 151, 152

Frankfurt—
Reduced tax rate on buildings in, 211

Franklin Flats, 121

Franklin school district, 254, 255, 287, 290, 293, 312

Franklin school house, 254, 255

Freeman, John R., 50, 480–491

Frick Building, 179

Garbage disposal, 3, 110

Gateway of the West, 324

General office of public safety. See *Public safety*

Geographical division—
According to tax classification, 164, 165; of population, 44

Geographical situation, 7

George, W. D., 156

German Catholic Church of St. Philomena, 229

Germans—
School attendance among, beyond required age, 31, 32

Germany—
State supervision over parish schools in, 241

Glenn, John M., 498

Glutting of appeals, 148–149

Government—
Centralized, movement for, 49. See also *Charter, city*

Grandview. See *Bailey Farm*

Grant school district, 224, 261, 283

Great Britain—
Reduced tax rate on buildings in, 211

Great Lakes—
Water connection with. See *Lake Erie*

Greater Pittsburgh, 19–21

Grocers—
Work of, in co-operative city planning, 26

Growth—
Difference between development and, 47

Guthrie, George W., 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 35, 42, 81, 107, 115, 200, 497

Gymnasiums. See *Children's institutions; School houses*

Halferty bill—
Abolishing tax classification, 156

Hamburg—
Reduced tax rate on buildings in, 211

Hang-outs in Skunk Hollow, 129

Harper, Mrs. I. M., 115

Harrison, Shelby M., 56, 156–213, 250, 455–468

Hawkins, Thomas J., 156

Hazen, Allen, 52

Health—
Authorities, sanitary work by, a help in housing reform, 121; conditions dangerous to, provision for removal of, 107

Health, Board of—
Power of, to vacate in Boston, Chicago, Jersey City, New York, Rochester, and Washington, 106

Health, Bureau of—
Certificate from, required for conversion of building to tenement, 111; expenditures for 1907, 339; increase of sanitary inspectors in, 118, 119; local sanitary control vested in, 105; power of, to vacate, 105, 111, 119, privy vaults abandoned by order of, 93; raised to rank of department, 118, 119; report of, on housing conditions, 90; summary of housing conditions issued by, 90; tenement house inspection by, 115, 116

Health conference, 53

Health, Department of—
Cost of maintenance, 192

Health, public—
Movement for improvement of, 35; present opportunity to enforce 119, 200

Heeter, S. L., 472

Heinz, H. J., 37, 497

Heldman, Anna B., 73, 74

High school. See *School, high*

Highland Park, 307

Highland Park Reservoir, 64

Hiland school district, 246, 251, 293

Hill, C. Phillips, 119

Hill District—
Housing conditions in, 96, 97; play space, 309. See also *Skunk Hollow*

History. See *Industrial developments*

Hodges, Rev. George, 36

Homestead play space, 308

Homestead: The Households of a Mill Town—
By Margaret F. Byington, 102, 308, 379

Homewood school district, 246

Horn Hill Reservoir, 64

Hospital—
Movement, 18; unity in work lacking, 46

Hospital, municipal—
Cost of maintenance, 192; for contagious diseases, 34

"Household Basis," The, 108–109

Houses—
Construction and alterations of, without permit prohibited, 111; for higher-class workmen more profitable, 122; occupation of, without certificate of compliance, 113, 114; plans for new, and alterations to be filed with building inspection bureau, 111; shortage of, 120, 121, 122, 123, 133, 134; unsanitary closets in, owned by Crucible Steel Company, 94. See *Overcrowding; Vacate, power to*

Houses, dwelling—
Converted, provisions affecting, 110, 111; converted, unsanitary housing conditions in, 95, 96, 118; one- and two-family, building regulations, 113; great housing problem, 118, 123; no provision for proper maintenance of, 107; one-family, converted into tenement houses, 118

Houses, tenement—
Building regulations relating to, 113; census of, 117, 118; compulsory registration of, 116, 119; inspection of, 115, 116; nationalities and racial groups in, 117, 118; nationalities of heads of families in, (Table) 117; number of boarders in, 117; number of families in, 117; number of people in, 117; number of registered, 116; one-family dwellings converted into, 118; regulations covering, extended to include "other dwelling houses," 119; small part of housing problem, 118, 122, 123; sociological data of, 116, 117

Housing and Responsibility, Three Studies in, 124–138

Housing committee of Civic Commission—
Halving tax rate of buildings recommended by, 208

Housing committees merged, 55

Housing conditions—
A district problem, 123; *Collier's Weekly* editorial on, in Painter's Row, 135; deterioration of, in certain sections, 120; effect of inadequate transportation on, 122; effect of physical conformation on, 90, 92, 122, 124, 125, 130, 131; effect of tax classification on, 173; effect of tax system on, 92; effect of undeveloped large estates on, 90, 92; fire danger element in, at Tammany Hall, 137; in Allegheny at time of annexation, 116; in cellars and basement rooms, 97, 98, 125, 130; in children's institutions, 352, 353, 354, 355, 362, 369, 443; in Hill District, 96, 97; in Mulberry Alley, 97; in Painter's Row, 130–136; in Painter's Row, a type, 104; in Penn Avenue district, 87; in Pike Street, 97; in Skunk Hollow, 124–130; in Skunk Hollow, a type, 103; in Soho, 87, 100; in Spring Alley, 97; in Tammany Hall, 136–138; in Tammany Hall, a type, 104; inimical, 87, 89, 106; on North Side, 87; on South Side, 87, 97, 100; protest of stockholders against, in Painter's Row, 135; reduced tax rate on buildings to secure better, in Australia, 211, in Cologne, 211, in Frankfurt, 211, in Great Britain, 211, in Hamburg, 211, in New Zealand, 211, in Vancouver, 211, in Western Canada, 211; report of interviews with four men regarding, 121; summary on, issued by board of health, 90

Housing conditions, insanitary—
Cases cited showing, 94, 96, 97, 100, 101, 105, 106, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 132, 133; crime an outgrowth of, 104, 309; in converted dwellings, 95, 96, 118; in immigrant lodging houses 98, 99, 100, 101, 102; inadequate sanitation contributing to, 98–102, 125, 130, 131, 132, 133, 137; inadequate water supply contributing to, 95, 96, 125, 130, 131, 132, 137; indifference to, 89, 90, 132, 133, 135; lack of proper ventilation contributing to, 125, 130, 131, 137; lack of provision for disposal of waste water contributing to, 95, 96, 132, 133; localization of, 118; not confined to slums, 87; overcrowding contributing to, 98–102, 131, 132, 133, 134, 136, 137; privy vaults contributing to, 92, 93, 94, 125, 130, 132, 133; psychological effect of, 104; responsibility for, 102–104; secondary cause of typhoid fever, 79, 80; three types of, 103, 104, 124–138; unventilated, unflushed closets contributing to, 94, 125. See also *Tammany Hall*

Housing conference—
Formation of, 119

Housing enforcement under Mayor Magee, 119

Housing facilities—
Available real estate for, 121

Housing improvements in Painter's Row, 135, 136

Housing investigations—
Two, for Pittsburgh Survey, 89

Housing law—
Prohibits cesspools on premises adjacent to sewer, 107; of 1903, advances in public control marked by, 109

Housing laws, 104–108; abatement of nuisances under, 107; affecting: basement rooms, 107, 108, cellar rooms, 106, 108, converted dwellings, 110, 111, fire protection, 110, plumbing, 109, removal of ashes, garbage and rubbish, 110, removal of conditions dangerous to health, 107, ventilation, 108, water supply, 109; applicable to all dwellings, 108; campaign for better, 34; discretionary powers in, prejudicial in practice, 112, 114; no provisions in, for proper maintenance of one- and two-family dwellings, 107; non-enforcement of, 109; power to vacate under, 105, 106; provision in, against keeping certain animals in dwellings, 110; provision in, against use of any part of dwelling as stable, 110; specific sanitary provisions in, 107; weak in specific provisions, 112. See also *Building regulations*

Housing of Pittsburgh's Workers, The—
Discussed from the standpoint of sanitary regulation and control, 87–123

Housing problem—
Effect of absentee landlordism on, 17; great, one- and two-family dwellings, 118, 123; in Cincinnati, 89; in Cleveland, 89; in New York, 89; in St. Louis, 89; law halving tax rate on buildings, a solution of, 211; legislative developments in, 118, 119, 120

Housing properties—
Inventory of, 116

Housing reform—
Beginning of, 91; model tenements not a solution of, 121; movement for, 114–120; of 1911, 111; sanitary work by health authorities a help in, 121; shortage of houses one obstacle to, 120; transition from residence to business districts obstacle to, 120; under Mayor Guthrie's administration, 115; work to be done in, 122, 123

Housing situation—
As a whole, 122, 123; summing up of, by Pittsburgh Survey, 87

Housing Situation in 1907–1908, The, 87–123

Humane Society, Western Pennsylvania—
Children placed out by, 341

Humboldt school house, 289, 293

Hungarians—
Necessity for social work among, 30

Hungry Club, 35, 53

"I can" watchword, 59

Iams, Mrs. Franklin P., 90, 119

Illiteracy—
Percentage of, as compared with Chicago and Cleveland, 326

Immigrant as a reader, the, 330, 331

Immigrant lodging houses, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102

Immigrant problem, 3

Immigrants—
Inflow of, 3; responsibility for low standards of living among, 103

Immigration—
Effect of, on increase in school congestion, 223; effect of, on organized labor, 13, 14; unlimited, 13

Incidence of Taxation—
By E. R. A. Seligman, 187

Individualism—
Passing of, 54; responsible for lack of civic unity, 46

Industrial—
Aspect, 19, 20; early, developments, 7, 8; expansion or recession, influence of, on prevalence of typhoid fever, 83

Industrial accidents. See *Trade accidents*

Industrial administration. See *Administration*

Industrial capital. See *Capital, industrial*

Industrial Home for Crippled Children—
Vocational training at, 337, 367, 445

Industrial leaders—
As future social service leaders, 12, 13; responsibility of, for social work, 41

Industrial metropolis—
Development into, 16

Industrial territory—
Widening of, 21

Industrial training. See *Vocational training*

Industries—
Effect on, of localization of transportation facilities and resources, 14

Initiative—
Provision for, in new city charter defeated, 25

Inquiry into Nature and Causes of Wealth of Nations—
By Adam Smith, 207

Institution for Blind—
Vocational training at, 367

Intemperance. See *Liquor*

Intercommunication—
Difficulty of, with Allegheny, 20

Irene Kaufman Settlement, 37

Irish—
School attendance among, beyond required age, 31, 32

Jailing without cause, 149–153

Janitors. See *School janitors*

Jersey City—
Power of board of health in, to vacate, 106

Jewish women. See *Council of Jewish Women*

Johnson, G. E., 321

Jones, B. F., 24

Judicial shop-keeping, 141–144

Junior Order of American Mechanics, 156

Junior Republic. See *Children*

Juvenile court. See *Court*

Juvenile Court Association. See *Court, juvenile*

Kaufman lands, 173

Kennard, Beulah, 306–324, 469–479

Kindergarten—
In children's institutions, 364. See also *Schools*

Kindergarten Association, Free, 290, 291, 335

Kindergarten Association, Pittsburgh-Allegheny, 290

Kingsley House, 36, 37, 89, 96, 119, 146, 153, 335

Labor. See *Child labor*

Labor, organized. See *Trade unionism*

Labor situation—
General, 15

Labor unions. See *Trade unionism*

Laggards in Our Schools—
By Leonard P. Ayres, 272, 276

Lake Erie—
Canal to, 21, 53

Land—
Causes for high price of, 209, 210

Landlord—
Gift of absentee, 18

Landlordism, absentee, 3, 8, 17; effect of, on housing problem, 17

Landlords. See *Immigrant lodging houses*

Langley—
Astronomer, at University of Pittsburgh, 30

Lattimer's Row, 115

Lattimore, Florence Larrabee, 124–130, 337–449, 498, 500

Laughlins, 24

Lawrence Park, 319, 320

Lawrence Park Playground, 333

Laws—
Committee to revise, affecting desertion and non-support, 447

Legal Aid Society, 34

Legislation—
Affecting price and wage standards, 13, affecting school houses, 254, school systems, 55, 56, 57, school yards, 316; authorizing construction of canal, 53; authorizing court of limited jurisdiction for civil suits, 56, 57, 58; authorizing use of school yards as playgrounds, 316; building inspection law of 1895, 111; "Children's Law" affecting retention of children in almshouses, 340, 343; covering adoption of children, 403, 404; covering county payment for destitute children, 339, 340; covering family desertion, 406; creating board of public charities, 349; early, affecting public schools, 242, 243; effect on, of state subsidies to charitable organizations, 11, 12; fire protection law of 1885 and 1889, 114; granting power to vacate, 119; housing, 104–108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 118, 119; housing law of 1895, 110; housing law of 1901, 107; housing law of 1903, 105, 107, 108, 109, 110, 113; housing law of 1911, 111, 119; liquor, enforcement of, 10; new city charter, 25, 57, 58; raising bureau of health to rank of department, 118; tax classification abolished by, 56, 156, 208; tax districts, separate school, abolished by, 208; tax exemption, 203, 461–463, 468; law, Pennsylvania, of 1913, 465–468; tax rate on buildings halved by, 56, 209; taxation of city railroad property affected by, 203. See also *Ordinances; State laws*

Legislative—
Developments in housing problem, 118, 119, 120; proceedings necessary to abolish aldermanic court, 152

Liberty school district, 246, 251, 254, 268, 289, 293

Librarians, children's—
Field work of, 334; school for, 28, 335; valuable social lessons instilled by, 334

Libraries—
Children's rooms in, 333

Libraries, home, 334, 335; co-operation between, and philanthropic agencies, 335; friendly visitors for, 355; nationalities represented in, 335; separate supervisor for, 335

Libraries, playground, 310, 311, 333, 335, 336; co-operation of Pittsburgh Playground Association with, 335, 336; story-telling in connection with, 310, 311, 334, 335

Libraries, semi-public—
Assisted, 329

Libraries, school, 291, 292, 334, 335; method of securing sub-district co-operation in placing, 291, 292; number of, supplied and number of volumes circulated, 334; relation of teachers to, 291, 292; value of, 291, 292

Library, Allegheny—
Controlled by City Councils, 325; gift of Mr. Andrew Carnegie, 325

Library, branch—
Comparison of nationalities and social make-up in three districts, 330; dependence on, for reaching wage-earners and foreigners, 329; Homewood, 325; local boards of trade interested in, 27; number of, buildings, 326; South Side, 325

Library circulation department—
Field work of, 28, 334

Library circulation department for adults, 326, 329, 330, 331, 332; effort of, to reach foreigners, 330, 331; lists posted in mills by, 331; sub-stations in factories, department stores, institutions, fire houses, and other centers established by, 329; wage-earners and foreigners reached through branch libraries, 339; work of, with mill men, 331, 332

Library circulation department for children, 291, 292, 326, 329, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336; co-operation of civic and philanthropic institutions with, 333; selection of, books for children, 332, 333; story telling successful adjunct to, 310, 311, 333, 334; work with mothers, 334. See also *Libraries, home; Libraries, playground; Libraries, school*

Library distributing agencies—
Number of, 326

Library, Pittsburgh Public—
Annual appropriation from municipality received by, 325; annual circulation, 336; appropriation for, for 1907, 339; book distribution difficult on account of city's topography and foreign population, 325, 326; campaign to build up people's, 326; care taken by, to prevent spread of contagious diseases, 332; Carnegie Institute not a part of, 326; center of the, system, 326–329; circulation of books in foreign languages, 331; classes for foreigners in English and Civics encouraged by, 331; controlled by board of trustees, 325; educational force and socializing factor, 336; field for development of, 325; founded by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, 325; growth of, 336; organization of, 326, 328, 329; periodical division of, 328; popularity of, among children, 332; popularization of, greatest problem, 329; problem, solution of, 332; registered borrowers, 336; a social force in Pittsburgh, 325–336; success of, due to close co-operation, 336; supported by public taxation, 325; work of, for blind, 329. See also *Public Library*

Library reading clubs—
Established by supervisor of home libraries, 335; for the "gang," 335; members of, 335

Library reference department, 326, 328; bibliographies for monthly bulletins, 328; collection of local newspapers and books in, 328; "letter" service in, 328; lists for literary clubs, 328; number of books in, 328; "telephone" service in, 28, 328

Library technology department, 326, 328, 329; as a means of self-education, 328; indexes and lists issued by, 328; number of books in, 328

Lighting, electric—
Cost of, reduced, 22

Lillian Home. See *Kingsley House*

Lincoln school district, 246

Liquor—
Legislation, enforcement of, 10; licenses, 460; situation, 11

Local magistrates. See *Aldermanic courts*

Local option. See *Liquor situation*

Local politics. See *Politics, local*

Lodging houses. See *Immigrant lodging houses*

Lowell—
High school attendance in, 295, 297; retardation in schools, 276, 277

Magee, Chris, 25

Magee, William A., 25, 49, 119, 156, 200, 281

Magee-Flinn—
Falling out, 47

Magistrate's court. See *Court*

Manual training—
And domestic science, 292–294. See *Schools; Schools, parish; Vocational training*

Manufacturing properties—
Tax exemption of, 174

Margaret Morrison Carnegie School, 293

Mariana, 122

Market. See *City market*

Masses—
Necessity for social work among, 30

Material resources, 12

Matson, Dr. E. G., 81, 82

Matthews, William H., 36, 89, 96, 146

McKnight, Kate Cassatt, 33, 89

McMahon, Thomas C., 156

McMasters, J. V., 146, (Table) 147

Medical inspection. See *Children's institutions; Schools; Schools, parish*

Mellon Institute for Industrial Research, 30

Men and Religion Movement, 39, 53

Mercantile territory—
Improvement of, 26

Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, 54

Milk—
A vehicle for typhoid fever, 82

"Mill-ends"—
Skunk Hollow a settlement of, 127

Milwaukee—
High school attendance in, 295, 296, 297; retardation in schools, 276

Minneapolis—
High school attendance in, 295, 296, 297; retardation in schools, 276

Model Housing Law, A—
By Lawrence Veiller, 108

Monongahela school house, 260

Montesquieu, 206

Montooth—
Drained by Saw Mill Run, 93

Mooreheads, 24

Moorhead school district, 251, 255, 258, 259, 260, 261, 263

Moorhead school house, 255, 258, 259, 260, 261

Moral adolescence—
Public, 12

Moral capacity, 12

Morrow, Eustace S., 23

Morse school district, 257

Most Holy Name School, Allegheny, 235

Mt. Washington—
Drained by Saw Mill Run, 93

Mulberry Alley—
Housing conditions in, 97

Municipal administration—
Under Mayor Magee, 25

Municipal hospital. See *Hospital*

Municipal reform, movement for, 21; under Mayor Guthrie, 22, 23, 24, 25; under the Voters' League, 23, 24

Municipal unity. See *Unity, civic*

Music hall. See *Carnegie Institute*

Musical festival, annual, 28

Nationalities—
In tenement houses, 117, 118

National Municipal League, 42

Natural history museum. See *Carnegie Institute*

Neglect—
Contrast between, of individuals and prosperity of community, 4

Negley Run—
Insanitary cellar closets in, 94

Neighborhood work. See *School as a Social Center; Playgrounds; Parks, recreation*

New epoch, the, 47–49

New York—
Discretionary power in, building law prejudicial, 111, 112; housing problem in, 89; neighborhood educational and recreation centers in, 286; power of board of health in, to vacate, 106; school system, 261; tax system in, 177, 193, 197

New Zealand—
Reduced tax rate on buildings in, 211

Newark, New Jersey—
High school attendance in, 295, 297; retardation in schools, 276, 277

Newsboys' Home—
Vocational training at, 366

Newspapers—
Character and attitude of, 37, 38

Nicola, Frank F., 169, 170

North, Lila Ver Planck, 217–305

North school district, 224, 251

North Side—
Housing conditions on, 87

Nuisances—
Abatement of, 107. See also *Housing conditions; Typhoid fever*

Oakland school district, 287

Occupational diseases. See *Trade diseases*

O'Hara school district, 251

Ohio River—
Improvement of, 26, 27; nine-foot channel, 21; sewage emptying into, 93

Olcott, Frances Jenkins, 325–336

Old third ward—
Separate school tax district assessment on building in, 158, 159, 179

Oliver, David B., 156

Oliver-Flinn—
Enmity, 47

Olivers, 24

Olmsted, Frederick Law, 50, 51, 480–491

Open spaces—
Building regulations concerning, 113

Orchestra, Pittsburgh, 28

Ordinances—
City, building regulations incorporated in, 112; housing, 107, 109, 111, 119

Organ recitals, free, 29

Organization in social and religious fields, 53–55

Ormsby Park, 320

O'Shell, Thomas, 156

Our Slavic Fellow Citizens—
By Emily Greene Balch, 231

Overcrowding—
And inadequate sanitation, 98; conducive to trade accidents, 17; conducive to trade diseases, 17; conducive to typhoid fever, 17; contributing to unsanitary housing conditions, 98–102; effect of, on morals, 311; in downtown section, 16, 17; secondary cause of typhoid fever, 79, 80. See also *School congestion*

Overwork, 3, 4, 5; destroying family life, 3; effect of, on religion, 10, 11

Painter's Mill Section—
Example of housing shortage, 133, 134

Painter's Row—
After housing improvements, 135, 136; Carnegie Steel Company owners of, 130; cellar kitchens and living rooms in, 130; "closet accommodation" in, 133; *Collier's Weekly* editorial on, 135; disposal of waste water in, 132, 133; housing conditions in, 130–136; improvement of housing conditions in, 134, 135, 136; indifference of Carnegie Steel Company to conditions in, 132, 133; lack of ventilation in, 130; overcrowding in, 131, 132; physical situation of, 130, 131; rent revenue received by Carnegie Steel Company from, 134; rents in, 134; sanitary problems, 130, 132, 133; sketches of conditions in,

131, 132, 133; sleeping quarters in, insanitary, 131; stockholders protest against housing conditions in, 135; "town pump" of, 132; type of housing conditions, 104; ventilation, water supply, and sanitary conveniences, problems of, 131; water supply, 130, 132

Painter's Row, The Company House, 130–136

Parental school. See *Children*

Park—
Arsenal, 319; Highland, 307; Lawrence, 319, 320; Ormsby, 320; Riverview, 307; Schenley, 307; Snyder's Square, 317; South Side, 317, 318, 320; Washington, 317, 318, 319, 320; Washington, Fieldhouse, 333

Park, James R., 156

Parks—
Inaccessibility of, 307; lack of, 307, 308, 309; no provision for recreation in, 307; report of outside commission on, 50

Parks, recreation—
As neighborhood centers, 320; bond issue for, 322; city wide provision for, 321–323; development of, 317–321; equipment of, and activities connected with, 319, 320, 321; first, 317, 318; funds expended by Bureau of Recreation Grounds, 318, 319; funds for, appropriated by Pittsburgh Councils, 317, 318, 319; joint committee on playgrounds becomes Bureau of Recreation Grounds in charge of, 318, 319; Pittsburgh in forefront in providing, 33; plan for, submitted, 321; progress in development of, 319; sites for, purchased, 322; sites for, reported on by City Planning Commission, 322; superintendent of, 321; supervisors and instructors in charge of, 321; use of buildings of, by outside clubs, 320, 321. See also *Playgrounds*

Parks, steel firm, 24

Patterson, Burd S., 316

Penalties—
For violation of building regulations, 113

Penn Avenue district—
Housing conditions in, 87; play space, 309

Pennsylvania Reform School, Morganza, 337; co-operation with Playground Association, 362; gymnasium at, 361; progressive spirit in, 366; vocational training at, 366

Pennsylvania Teaching Society and Free Circulating Library for the Blind, 329

Persons per acre—
In each ward in 1900 (Map), 99

Phelps, Thomas H., 166, 167

Philadelphia—
School playgrounds maintained by board of education in, 316; school system, 261, 262; tax system in, 160, 161, 163

Philadelphia Company, 202

Philanthropic organizations. See *Charity organizations*

Phipps Model Tenement, Allegheny, 121

Phipps Playground, 319

Physical conformation, Pittsburgh—
Barrier to play space, 308, 309; effect of, on housing conditions, 90, 92, 122; in Painter's Row, 130, 131; in Skunk Hollow, 124, 125; obstacle to free transportation, 44, 45

Physical factors—
Influencing development in Pittsburgh, 15–19

Physical improvements—
Effect of, on transportation, 53

Physical resources, 7

Physical training. See *Children's institutions; Schools*

Pike Street—
Housing conditions in, 97

Pittsburgh—
In its ensemble, 19. See also *Physical conformation*

Pittsburgh: An Interpretation of its Growth, 7–43

Pittsburgh and Allegheny Telephone Company, 202

Pittsburgh and Castle Shannon Railroad, 202

Pittsburgh Railways Company. See *Street railway*

Pittsburgh Survey—
Organization of, 492; publication scheme, 501 ff.; staff, 499–501

Pittsburgh Survey, Field Work of the, 492–515

Pittsburgh the Year of the Survey, 1–3

Play activity—
Work desired by parents and children instead of, 311, 312

Play festivals, 315, 316, 321

Play, schools of, 312–214; betterment of home conditions a result of, 314; desire for work satisfied in, 312, 313; development of, 312, 313; festival of 1908, 315, 316; first fruits of, 314–316; form of work included in program of, 312, 313; funds for, contributed by central board of education, 289; influence of, on the "gang," 314, 315; one solution of child labor problem, 314; permanent results of, 315; Pittsburgh in forefront in providing, 33; play period not encroached upon in, 313; social results of, 315, 316; voluntary movement for, 289

Play space—
City without, 308, 309; in Hill District, 309; in Homestead, 308; in Penn Avenue district, 309; in West End, 309; on South Side, 309; physical conformation a barrier to, 308, 309

Play spirit, 323, 324; affected by absence of recess periods, 312; lack of, 306, 310, 311, 312

Play traditions—
Foreign element not rich in, 306

Playground—
First, 310; use of public, by children in institution, 361, 362

Playground associations, 30, 33, 287, 289, 307, 313, 319, 321, 323, 335, 336

Playground districts—
Character of children in, 311, 312

Playground, Lawrence Park, 333

Playground, Phipps, 319

Playground schools. See *Play, schools of*

Playground, Skunk Hollow, 128, 130

Playground system—
Administration of, 316–319

Playground work—
University of Pittsburgh course in, 30, 321

Playgrounds, 33, 34, 306–324; bond issue for, 322; books and story-telling, 310, 311, 333, 335, 336; central board committee on, 286; city wide provision for, 321–323; Civic Club committee on, 310, 311, 312, 316, 317, 318, 319; classification of children in, 312; daily programs, 310, 312; differentiation between, and parks, 318; flower distribution at, 310, 313, 314; funds appropriated for maintenance of, 322, 323; funds for: appropriated by Allegheny Councils, 317, appropriated by central board, 316, appropriated by City Councils, 318, 319, contributed by Civic Club, 316, contributed by women's clubs, 317, expended by Civic Club, 317, 318, 319; large private contributions of, 317; joint committee on, 317, 318, 319; joint committee on, becomes Bureau of Recreation Grounds, 318; joint committee on, division of, into separate committees for Pittsburgh and Allegheny, 319; joint committee on, formed by Civic Club and women's clubs, 317; movement to place, under control of municipality, 323; Pittsburgh in forefront in providing, 33; plan for, submitted, 321; plans for schools to be erected include ample, 322; school, lack of, 31; school, maintained by board of education in Philadelphia, 316; school, sub-district school board system a hindrance to development of, 316, 317; school yards as, 286, 310, 316, 317; school yards as, use of, authorized by state law, 316; school yards for, under control of sub-district board, 316, 317; sections not provided with, 322; secured by local boards of trade, 27; sites for, 322; sites for, reported on by City

Planning Commission, 322; teachers and assistants, 310, 312, 313; vacation school combined with, at Franklin School, 312; vacation schools and, main work of Allegheny Playground Association, 319. See also *Libraries, playground; Parks; Schools, socializing*

Playgrounds of Pittsburgh, The, 306

Plumbing—
Building regulations concerning, 109, 113

Police, bureau of—
Cost of maintenance, 195

Political problem—
Effect of, on typhoid, 64

Political situation—
General, 11. See also *Legislation*

Politics—
Close connection between, and aldermanic court, 155; connection of banks with, 24; construction of filtration plant delayed by, 83, 84, 85; lack of constructive moral aspects in, 13; local, 45; pure water supply delayed by, 83, 84, 85. See also headings under *School; Unity, civic*

Poor, Pittsburgh Association for the Improvement of the—
Children placed-out by, 341

Population—
Character of, 7, 8, 9, 10; early, 8; element of technical men in, promising, 27; geographical and social division of, 44; metropolitan, 20; number of, 7; percentage of English-speaking foreign born among all foreign born, 326; religion of, 9, 10; Roman Catholic element in, 229; within ten-mile radius, 20

Press—
Yellow journalism of the, 37

Price standard—
Effect of, on personal fortunes, 14; protection of, 13

Privy vaults. See *Vault, privy*

Probation officers—
Skunk Hollow demonstrates lack of sufficient number of, 129

Producers—
City of, 13

Profits without indictments, 146–148

Prosperity—
Contrast between, of community and neglect of individuals, 4

Prosperity of 1898—
Effect of, on community, 18, 19

Protection, 13–15; effect of anomalous standards of, on community, 14; on personal fortunes, 14; none, of wage standard, 13; of price standard, 13; restrictive, against foreign steel, 13; tariff, uncertain footing, 42

Protective system—
Dominance of steel, in questions of national welfare, 13

Provision dealers—
Work of, in co-operative city planning, 26

Public—
Moral adolescence of, 12

Public betterment, 33–40; agencies for, 33–40. See also *Social service*

Public control—
Advances in, marked by housing law, 109

Public Finance—
By Charles Francis Bastable, 206

Public health. See *Health, public*

Public safety, general office of—
Cost of maintenance, 192

Public Library, The, A Social Force in Pittsburgh, 325–336

Public schools. See *Schools*

Public service corporations—
Quasi-, enjoying tax exemption, 203; tax exemption of, 159, 160, 173; uniformity in tax assessment of, 213

Public spirit—
Cause of backwardness in development of, 17, 18

Publicity—
Burden of taxation aggravated by lack of, 193; of tax assessments recommended, 213

Pupils. See *Schools*

Purdy, Lawson, 193

Quarter Sessions. See *Court*

Racial groups—
In tenement houses, 117, 118

Racial problem—
In Skunk Hollow, 127

Railroad—
Property in Allegheny entitled to tax exemption by court decision, 203; right of way entitled to exemption by court ruling, 203; special act making property subject to taxation, 203

Railroad rates—
Effect of, on personal fortunes, 14

Railway switchyards—
Overwork in, 3. See also *Street railway*

Rates. See *Railroad rates; Tax rates*

Reading clubs. See *Library reading clubs*

Real estate—
Available for housing facilities, 121; best basis for tax assessments on, 193; difference between taxable and cash value of, 163; law halving tax rate on buildings incentive to develop, 209; problem, complicated by absentee landlordism, 17; tax exemption of, unjustifiable, 204; three tax classes of, defined by court, 161, 162; undeveloped, result of tax classification on, 209, 210; threefold classification of, 160–173; valuation of, by tax classification, 163. See also *Landlordism*

Recall—
Provision for, in new city charter defeated, 25

Recreation. See *Parks; Playgrounds*

Recreation grounds, bureau of, 318, 319

Referendum—
Provision for, in new city charter defeated, 25

Reform, movement for, 114–120. See also *Civil service reform; Housing reform; Municipal reform; Sanitary reform; Tax system reform*

Registration of tenement houses, 116, 119

Religion—
Effect of overwork on, 10, 11; of population, 9, 10

Religious fields—
Organization in, 53–55

Rents—
In Painter's Row, 134; in Tammany Hall, 137, 138

Rescue homes for girls, 345

Reservoirs—
Equalizing, proposed, 51

Resources—
Effect of localization of, on industries, 14; physical and material, 7, 12

Responsibility, 102–104

Retardation. See *Laggards; Schools, retardation in*

Revenue—
Leakages in. See *Tax revenue, leakages in*

Riis, Jacob, 335, 493

River banks—
Importance of improvement of, 20

River front—
Improved, proposed, 51

River improvement—
Congress and State asked to share in expense of, 51

Riverside school district, 263, 267, 268

Riverview Park, 307

Robinson, Charles Mulford—
Civic Improvement Possibilities of Pittsburgh, 49

Rochester—
Power of board of health in, to vacate, 106

Roman Catholic—
Element in population, 229; parish schools, 228–241. See also *Schools, parish*

Rosenau, Dr. Milton J., 81

"Rural"—
Definition of, for tax classification, 161

Russell Sage Foundation—
Pittsburgh Survey financed by, 492, 497–498; Typhoid Fever Commission financed by, 35, 81

Sabbath legislation—
Enforcement of, 10

St. Agnes' School, 235

St. John the Baptist, 234

St. Joseph's Protectory and Industrial School for Boys—
Vocational training at, 367

St. Kieran's, 235

St. Louis—
Housing problem in, 89

St. Mary of the Mount, 234

St. Paul's (Catholic) Church, 229

St. Peter's School, 234, 235

Saloons. See *Liquor*

Sanitary—
Control vested in bureau of health, 105; inspectors, expenditures for, 119; provisions in housing law of 1903, 107; reform under Mayor Guthrie's administration, 22; regulations, united effort to promote higher, 55. See also *Health, bureau of; Housing conditions*

Sanitary code—
City, new, 107, 108. See also *Housing laws*

Sanitation—
Inadequate, 98–102

Saw Mill Run, 93; privy vaults on, 79

Schenley estate, 157, 158; tax situation, 168, 169, 170

Schenley Park, 18, 30, 307

School administration—
Revolutionized by new code, 218; type of, 217, 218

School area, the, 222–224; physical conformation of, necessitates comprehensive planning, 223

School as a social center, 286–288

School athletics—
Central board committee on, 286

School attendance—
Beyond required age, 31, 32; cause of decrease in, 274, 277; central board committee on compulsory, 220; in public elementary and high schools, by nativity and race of fathers (Table), 225; in public elementary schools by age and grade (Table), 273, 274, 275; in public elementary schools by nativity, race of fathers and school grades (Table), 278; law and child labor law, effect of unification and enforcement of, 222; law inadequate in performance, 220, 221; proportion of, of foreign-born white children and of white children of foreign or mixed parentage between September 1, 1909, and April 15, 1910, (Table) 226

School Board, Central—
Appropriation made by, for kindergarten teachers, 290, for playgrounds, 316, for vacation work, 289; committee on compulsory attendance appointed by, 220; committees on kindergartens, athletics, summer playgrounds, industrial, evening and high schools, 286; corrupt district boards represented on, 250; duties of, 249; failure of, to unify local management, 249; financial statement published by, 251, 252, 253; high schools under control of, 294; in Allegheny, manual training and domestic science introduced by, 292; method of electing members of, 249; school funds under control of, 249; scope of, 249

School board system, sub-district—
Appointment of state superintendent under, 243; at its best, 245–247; children unprovided for in 1868 under, 243; children's needs not met under, 304; defects of, 31, 46; development of, 242, 243, 244; effect of: on assignment of teachers, 280, on domestic science, 293, 294, on kindergarten schools, 290, on

manual training, 293, 294, on overfull school rooms, 280, on physical training, 288, 289; exploitation of schools under, 266, 267, 268, 304, 305; group of sub-districts showing, at its best, 246; hinders development of school playgrounds, 316, 317; lack of uniformity in curriculum and instruction result of, 284, 285; number of sub-districts under, 245; school housing under, 244, 253–264; school plants not fully utilized under, 287, 288, 289; scope of central authority of, 249

School boards, sub-district—
Accounting methods under, 251, 252, 253; accounts of, unsupervised, 251; auditors for annual accounts of, 252, 253; banks as treasurers under, 251; corrupt, represented on central board, 250; expenditures of, for "other purposes," 251; financial irregularities in, 253; illegal award of contract for school building by, 252; rooms and equipment for kindergartens furnished by, 290; sale of building bonds and disbursement of proceeds by, 252; secretaries and salaries under, 250; social center and evening school work carried on by, 286, 287; treasurers and salaries under, 250, 251; ward picnics under, 251

School Bulletin, Pittsburgh, 271, 272

School census, 219, 220; federal, 225, 226; no reliable, records, 219, 224, 227; taken by district assessors. unreliable, 219, 220; taken by truant officers, first dependable, 220

School children—
At their studies, 272–285; geographical distribution of, 223, 224; mentally defective, provision for, 283; mentally or physically defective, applying for labor certificates, 283; mentally or physically defective, as law breakers, 283; needs of, not met, 304; racial make-up of, 224, 225, 226, 227; unprovided for in 1868, 243

School code—
New, vetoed by Governor Stuart, 55, 218

School congestion, 260, 261; enforcement of child law responsible for, in certain districts, 223; in lower grades, cause of, 279, 280, 285; no child congestion in any district responsible for, 224, 227; not due to increase in immigration, 223

School curriculum—
Defects in, 284, 285; fitness of, 272

School directors, sub-district—
Duties of, 245; general run of, 247, 248; in dual political positions, 248; interest of, in parish school, 267; method of electing, 247; occupations of, 247, 248; political chicanery of, in Riverside district, 267, 268; presupposed qualifications of, 245; school funds under control of, 250, 251, 252, 253; ward politicians as, 247

School district—
Colfax, 246, 268, 282, 283, 286, 287, 293; Duquesne, 224, 251, 263; Forbes, 280; Franklin, 254, 255, 287, 290, 293, 312; Grant, 224, 261, 283; Hiland, 246, 251, 293; Homewood, 246; Liberty, 246, 251, 254, 268, 289, 293; Lincoln, 246; Moorhead, 251, 255, 258, 259, 260, 261, 263; Morse, 257; North, 224, 251; Oakland, 287; O'Hara, 251; Riverside, 263, 267, 268; South, 224, 260, 263, 289, 293; Sterrett, 246, 254, 259; Thaddeus Stevens, 287, 321

School districts—
Division of state into, 243, 244

School enrollment—
And attendance, increase in, 222; and average attendance in public and parish schools from 1905 to 1909, (Table) 222; and child population, 219, 220; and per cent of attendance, 220–222; figures, authorities unable to supply comprehensive, 221; total, by type of school, (Table) 221

School finances—
Mismanagement of, brought out by Pittsburgh Survey, 253; sub-district, 250–253

School funds—
Accounting for, under sub-district boards, 251, 252, 253; expenditure

of, for "other purposes," 251; under control of central board, 249; under control of sub-district directors, 250, 251, 252, 253; wasted, 304

School gardens, 286

School house—
Franklin, 254, 255; Humboldt, 289, 293; Monongahela, 260; Moorhead, 258, 259, 260, 261; Moorhead, fire hazard in, 255; Shakespeare, in Liberty district, 254, 289; Sterrett, 254, 259

School houses—
Artificial lighting of, 260; classroom arrangements in, 258, 259, 260; cleaning, 256; disposal of wraps in, 256; fire protection in, 255; gymnasiums in few, 254; hygienic conveniences lacking in, 254; hygienic importance of, 255, 256; interior spaciousness of, 254; legislation affecting lighting, heating, and ventilation of, 254, 257, 258; light in, 257–260; light in, insufficient, contributory cause of defective vision, 259, 260; light standards for, 259; not fully utilized, 287, 288, 289; open spaces about, 254; recreation spaces in, lacking, 254; safety and hygiene in, 255–257; single seats in, 256; site and type of, 254; toilets in, 257; ventilation in, 257

School housing—
Remodeling in Pittsburgh, 472–3, 474–5; test of efficient administration, 253; typical cases showing poor, 258, 259, 260; under the local board system, 253–264; volume on, issued by state superintendent, 244

School hygiene—
Important movement toward, and prevention of disease, 282

School janitors—
Apartments in school buildings assigned to, 263, 264; boilers run by, without engineer's certificate, 263; disproportion of salaries of, 251; election of, 262; engineer's certificate required for, 262; incompetence of, 263; independence of, 262, 263, 264; positions of principals and teachers at mercy of, 262, 263, 264; typical cases showing independence, incompetence, and corruption of, 263, 264; under the, 262–264

School "jobs," 266–268

School legislation—
Unifying system, 55, 56, 57, 218

School, Librarians' Training. See *Libraries*

School libraries. See *Libraries, school*

School management—
Local, failure of central board to unify, 249; success of, 272

School of Applied Science, 300

School planning—
Facts necessary for intelligent, unknown to authorities, 218, 219, 227

School playgrounds. See *Playgrounds*

School population—
In business district, 223, 224

School principals—
Attendance records "doctored" by, 269; handicapped by local situation, 265; incapable in many cases, 265; no sex distinction in salaries of, 268; number of, and assistants, 268; salaries of, and assistants, 268, 269

School Principals' Associations, 156. See also *School teachers*

School pupils—
Distribution of, 260, 261; overcrowding, in Grant School, 261; overcrowding, in Moorhead School, No. 1, 261; seating capacity for, 260, 261

School rooms overfull, 279, 280. See also *School congestion*

School superintendence—
Corrupt and inefficient, 284, 285

School superintendent—
Elementary, method of electing, and duties of office, 249; state, appointment of, 243; appointed under new administration, 472

School system—
Central, rudiments of a, 248–250;

centralized, opposition to, 246; defective, 30; New York, 261, 262; Philadelphia, 261, 262; preparation for citizenship reason for, 303; public, 242–253; reform movement for, 31; work of reconstructing, placed on new board of public education, 218; new, established in Pittsburgh, 469–479

School System, New Pittsburgh, 469–479

School tax, 249, 250; disproportion of local, 250; method of levying and disbursing, 250; sub-district, 459; uniform, under new code, 250, 470. See also *Tax district, separate school; School system, new Pittsburgh*

School teachers, 264–272; assignment of, in Forbes district, 280; as social servants, 270–272; association, 156, 271, 272; effect of remuneration on quality of work of, 268, 269; elected by district boards, 264; election of friends and relatives as, 266, 267; election of illiterate, 265, 266; failure to recognize qualities demanded for work of, 271; for higher grammar grades, 266; for youngest children, 266; half developed girls as, 270; ideal, necessary qualities of, 270, 271; in children's institutions, 363, 364, 365; living wage, 268–270; living wage for, perverted funds which might have gone to make a, 270; lowest bidders awarded positions as, 270; mass of ill-equipped, in third to fifth grades, 266; method of assigning, 280; method of certificating, 264, 265; movement of, for reform, 266; number of salaried, 268; pension system for, 271; permanent or state certificates for, 265; professional certificates for, 264, 265; provisional certificates for, 264; provisional certificates only required for election of, 265; relation of, to school libraries, 291, 292; salaries of grade, 269, 270; why women of higher caliber do not become, 269, 270, 271. See also *School principals*

School teaching—

Inferior, 279, 280; inferior quality of, deep injustice to community, 304

School, the rounding out of, 285–294

School truant officers, 220, 221; character of, 220; school census taken by, 220

School truants, 220, 221, 222

School yards. See *Playgrounds, school*

Schoolmasters' Club of Western Pennsylvania, 156

Schools, 30–33, 217–305; aim of, 303–305; appropriation for, by municipality, 249, by state, 249; campaign for better, by Federation of Women's Clubs, 55; children for the, 218–227; children of immigrants in, 273, 276, 278, 295, 298, 391; distribution of pupils in, 260, 261; division of, along religious lines weakens attack against ignorance, 228; domestic science in, 292–294; domestic science in, effect of sub-district school board system on, 293, 294, in Allegheny under central board, 292, in Old Pittsburgh, 292, 293, 294; duty of city and church to establish convenient and accessible, 222, 223; early history of, 242, 243, 244; early legislation affecting, 242, 243; exploitation of, 266, 267, 268, 304, 305; exploitation of, shown by typical cases, 266, 267, 268; lack of supervision in, 283–285; manual training in, 31, 34, 292–294; manual training in, effect of sub-district school board system on, 293, 294; manual training in, in Allegheny under central board, 292, in Colfax Franklin, Hiland, Liberty and Humboldt districts, 293, in old Pittsburgh, 292, 293, 294, inadequate provision for, 31; medical inspection in, 34, 281, (Table) 282, 286; medical inspection in Colfax district, 282; physical director for Allegheny, 288; physical training in, 254, 288, 289, prevention of epidemic disease in, hindered by school management, 281; racial make-up of, 224–227; retardation in, 272–285; retardation in, in children's institutions, 422; socializing of, 286, 287, 321; socializing of, in Colfax, Franklin, Oakland, and Thaddeus Stevens districts, 286, 287, 321, on North Side, 319; utilization of, by children's

institutions, 363, 364; vocational training in, 29, 31, 286. See also *Children's institutions; Education*

Schools, evening, 286, 287; central board committee on, 286; for adults, 287

Schools, evening high, 32; course of study in, 295; popularity of, 294

Schools, high, 286, 294–303; accommodations inadequate, 32; attendance: abnormally low, 295, decreased by lack of co-ordination between high and elementary schools, 301, 302, effect of enforcement of existing laws on, 300, effect of foreign population on, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, effect of inaccessible and inconvenient buildings on, 302, 303, effect of management of schools on, 300, 301, 302, 303, effect of necessity to earn on, 300, encouraged by Carnegie Technical Schools, 300, in Baltimore, 295, 296, 297, in Buffalo, 295, 297, in Cincinnati, 295, 297, in Cleveland, 295, 297, in Detroit, 295, 297, in Lowell, 295, 297, in Milwaukee, 295, 296, 297, in Minneapolis, 295, 296, 297, in Newark, N. J., 295, 297, increasing, 32; central board committee on, 286; courses of study in, 294; distribution by school year of pupils attending public, of the United States, of the State of Pennsylvania, and of the city of Pittsburgh, (Table) 301; first year classes held in ward school buildings, 294; new buildings for, delayed by political chicanery and graft, 302, 303; proportion of pupils attending, among pupils attending public elementary and high schools by nativity and race of fathers, (Table) 298; proportion of pupils attending, and of pupils whose fathers were foreign born among all pupils attending public elementary and high schools in 10 cities, (Table) 295, (Diagram) 297; situation and condition of central building, 294, of Fifth Avenue building, 294, of South building, 294; teachers in, 294; under control of central board of education, 294

Schools, industrial—
Committee on, 286

Schools, kindergarten, 32, 286, 289–291; appropriation for teachers in, made by central school board, 290; central board committee on, 286; effect of sub-district school board system on, 290; expenditure of funds for, 290, 291; in Franklin School district, 290; opened by Free Kindergarten Association, 290; rooms and equipment furnished by sub-district boards, 290, successful management of, 291; supervision of, 32; training, maintained by Pittsburgh-Allegheny Kindergarten Association, 290; voluntary movement for, 289, 290, 291

Schools of play. See *Play, schools of*

Schools, open-air—
Special instructions to mothers in connection with, 283

Schools, parish, 228–241; academic loss in, 241; academic loss in, balanced by religious gain, 241; administration of, 231, 232; administration of, in early days, 231, administration of, under school board, 232; attendance after fourth grade, 236; children in, under educational disadvantage, 240; civics course in, arranged by Father Devlin, 237; construction and equipment of, compared with public schools, 234; course of study approved by Archdiocese of Philadelphia, 237; course of study in, 237, 238; defective toilets in, 233; difficulty of eliminating recognized faults in, 241; domestic science in, 237; drawing in, 237; early, 229; effect of lack of uniformity in standards of, on educational system, 228; enrollment and attendance, (Table) 230; enrollment by grades, (Table) 236; enrollment by racial character, (Table) 231; enrollment in first grade, reasons for excessive, 236; enrollment in 1907–08, 227, 228; enrollment increased by immigration, 231; equipment and sanitary conditions in, 232, 233, 234; "equivalent course of study" not provided by, 240; "foreign," instruction below modern standards in, 239; funds for, 233; German, 229; grading in, 234, 235, 236; growing in numbers, standards,

and efficiency, 228; heat in, 233; kindergartens in, no, 235; light in, 233; lights and shadows of, 232; limited space in class rooms of some, a serious fault, 232; little known to non-Catholics, 228; manual training in, no, 237; medical inspection in, no, 237; no press publicity given affairs of, 228; not subject to city educational authorities, 228; not supported by tax revenue, 228; number of, in Greater Pittsburgh, 229; numbers and nationalities, 230, 231; orders engaged in work of teaching in, 229, 234, 235, 238, 239; overcrowding in, 234–237; physical development of pupils in, neglected, 237; Pittsburgh, superior to majority, 236, 237; placed under control of school board, 232; preparation for confirmation in, 231, 232; private institutions, 228; public supervision of, needed, 240, 241; racial make-up of, 229, 230, 231; recreation and exercise in, 237; religious training primary purpose of, 238, 240, 241; report of, of Pittsburgh Diocese, 235; sanitary conditions in, 233, 234; sanitary inspection of, insufficient and inefficient, 234; secretary of school board and superintendent of, appointed, 232; sewing in, 237; singing in, 237; source of help for betterment of, 234; state supervision over, abroad, 241; state supervision over, important, 241; teachers, board of examiners for, 232, capacity and preparation of, 238, 240, Catholic authorities urge higher standards of training for, 239, character and training of, 238, 239, improvement in caliber of, 240, institute meetings of public school teachers attended by, 239, lay, 238, normal training in Mothers' Houses for, 239, problem of providing properly trained, 239, salary of, 238, Saturday morning normal classes attended by, 239; teaching in, desire among advanced sisterhoods to improve standards of, 239; time table for, arranged by superintendent, 237; time table, provisional, (Table) 238; unhygienic condition of class rooms in some, a serious fault, 232; utilization of, by children's institutions, 363, 364; ventilation in, 233

Schools, Roman Catholic parish. See *Schools, parish*

Schools, Society for the Promotion of Public, 242

Schools, vacation. See *Play, schools of*

Sectionalism—
Passing of, 54. See *Unity, civic*

Sedgwick, Professor William T., 81

Seligman, E. R. A., 194

Sesquicentennial of 1908, 48

Sewage—
Emptying into Ohio River, 93; insanitary disposal of, 92, 93, 94

Sewage disposal—
General, system proposed, 52; report of commission on, 50, 52

Sewer—
Agitation for sanitary, 93; privy vault on premises adjacent to, prohibited, 107; system, plan for a, 52

Shakespeare school house, 254, 289

Shame of the Cities, The—
By Lincoln Steffens, 25

Sister Gertrude, 239

Sisters—
Of Charity, 229, 239; of Divine Providence, 229, 239; of Mercy, 229, 235, 239; of Notre Dame, 229; of St. Benedict, 229; of St. Francis, 229, 239; of St. Joseph, 229, 239

Skunk Hollow—
An example of civic neglect, 124; bad streets, insanitary housing, dangers, and races, problems of, 124–127; cellar rooms in, 125; charitable home for colored children in, 127; demonstrates lack of sufficient probation officers, 129, need for enforcement of adult delinquency law, 129, need of single judge for juvenile court, 129; Ewing Street in, 124, 125; hang-outs in, 129; housing conditions in, 124–130; lack of proper ventilation in, 125; outside privy vaults, 125; pest hole of neglect, 130; physical situation and aspect of, 124,

125; playground in, improvised by boys, 128; playground problem in, 130; sanitary toilet in, 125; settlement of "mill ends," 127; sketches of, and inhabitants, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129; social problems manifested in, 124; squatters and clingers of, 125; type of housing conditions, 103; water supply, 125

Skunk Hollow, The Squatter, 124–120

Slavs—
Necessity for social work among, 30; school attendance among, beyond required age, 32

Smart, William, 207

Smith, Adam, 206, 207

Smoke nuisance—
Abatement of, 22, 27, 29; abatement of, report of commission on, 50

Snyder's Square Park, 317

Social activities—
Statesmanlike initiative expressed in, 15

Social center—
See *School as a social center*

Social conditions—
Adverse, awakening of community to, 5, 6, cause of, 5, remedy for, 5; present, responsible for future citizenship, 41; similarity of tendencies in, in Pittsburgh and elsewhere, 6

Social cost of typhoid fever, 76, 77, 78, 79

Social division of population, 44

Social federation. See *Charity organizations*

Social fields—
Organization in, 53–55

Social force—
Library as a, 325, 326; schools of play as, 315, 316

Social institutions—
Archaic, 3

Social neglect, 4

Social problems—
Manifested in Skunk Hollow, 124

Social service—
Necessity for, 30. See also *Board of trade; Charities; Children's institutions; Churches; Industrial leaders; Play, schools of; Playgrounds; Public betterment; Schools*

Social settlements, 37, 53

Social unity. See *Charities, Associated; Unity, social*

Social unrest—
Effect of absentee capitalism on, 15; Pittsburgh chief point of, 15

Social workers—
Commercial and industrial leaders as, 12, 13, 41

Soho—
Housing conditions in, 87, 100. See also *Lattimer's Row*

Soho Baths Settlement, 37

Southern Society, 9

South Hills tunnel, 51

South school district, 224, 260, 263, 289, 293

South Side—
Housing conditions on, 87, 97, 100, 130–136; park, 317, 318, 320; play space, 309; shortage of houses on, 133, 134; water supply, 65. See also *Painter's Row*

Spirit of Pittsburgh, 323, 324

Spring Alley—
Housing conditions in, 97

Springs—
Contaminated, responsible for typhoid fever, 82

Squatters. See *Skunk Hollow*

Stable—
Use of any part of dwelling as, prohibited, 110

State—
Asked to share in expense of river improvement, 51

State laws—
Building regulations incorporated in, 112; tax laws, 464–468. See also *Legislation*

State supervision—
Over parish schools abroad, 241

Steel—
Foreign, restrictive protection against, 13

Steel market—
Competitors in, 42

Steel mills—
Overwork in, 3

Steel protective system—
Dominance of, in questions of national welfare, 13

Steel Workers, The—
By John A. Fitch, 5, 10

Steffens, Lincoln—
The Shame of the Cities, 25

Sterrett School—
District, 246, 254, 259; house, 254, 259

Stevens, Thaddeus, 242, 243, 274; school district, 287, 321

Stowe, Judge, 161

Street improvements—
Handled by local boards of trade, 27

Street railway—
A monopoly, 14; cars equipped with fenders, 27; effect of, on development, 16; gross receipts tax and car tax, 203; improvement in, operations, 22; inadequate transfer system on, 45; no through routes on, 45; report of B. J. Arnold on, 52; subway propositions, 52; tax exemption, 468. See also *Transportation*

Stuart, Governor, 55

Sub-district school board system. See *School board system, sub-district*

Sub-letting—
To peddlers, 138. See *Immigrant lodging houses*

Subsidized charitable organizations, 11, 12

Suburban development, 16

Suburbs, 20

Sunday work, 10

Surface wells—
Responsible for typhoid fever, 82

Survey, Pittsburgh—
Field work of the, 492–515; housing situation summed up by, 87; mismanagement of school finances brought out by, 253; special significance of, 42; summing up of, 3, 4; two housing investigations for, 89, 115–116. See also *Pittsburgh Survey*

Tammany Hall—
Bureau of health not empowered to vacate, 105; demolition of, consequence of violation notices, 138; fire danger in, 137; formerly a planing mill, 136; housing conditions in, 136–138; income from, 138; inspection visit to, in 1907, 137; lot owned by Denny estate, 138; number of occupants per room in, 137; number of rooms and families in, 136; rents, 137, 138; sanitary conditions in, 137; sanitary conditions in houses adjoining, 137, 138; subletting to peddlers in houses adjoining, 138; type of housing conditions, 104; ventilation in, 137; water supply, 137

Tammany Hall, A Common Rookery, 136–138

Tariff. See *Protection*

Tax—
County, 460; liquor, 460; personal property, 460; state, 464; street railway, 203. See also *Tax exemptions*

Tax assessing boards, duplicate, 198, 199

Tax assessment—
Annual, recommended, 213; market value as best basis of, on real estate, 193; publicity of, recommended, 213; uniformity in, of public service corporations recommended, 213. See also *Assessed valuation*

Tax assessors—
Dual board of, 197, 198, 199, 212

Tax classification—
And separate ward rates, results of the combination of, 181–192; board of trade movement to abolish, 156; changes in, made by Thomas H. Phelps, 166, 167; development

of, system, 162; effect of, on Bailey Farm, 170, 171, on civic progress, 209, on Ewart "farm," 172, on housing conditions, 90, 92, 173, on Schenley estate, 168, 169, 170; financial loss to city from, 163, 164; geographical divisions according to, 164, 165; injustices inherent in, system, 165, 166, 168, 169, 172, 173; legislation abolishing, 56, 156, 208; of real estate for purposes of local taxation, 164; Pennsylvania law permits, in cities of first and second classes, 160; real estate valuations by property, (Table) 163; separate school district tax rates affected by, 158, 174; three classes of real estate defined by court for, 161, 162; undeveloped real estate result of, 209, 210; valuation of real estate by, 163

Tax collection—
Fees, 199; tardy, 198, 199, 212

Tax collector—
Delinquent, 198, 199, 200, 212

Tax delinquents, 199

Tax discounts, 198, 199, 122

Tax district—
Assessment, school, in Beltzhoover, 158, 180, on building in old third ward, 158, 159, 179; effect of land classification on, rates, 158, 174; effect of millage on general rates, 180; favors downtown business property, 173, payment-for-benefit theory basis for, 205; rate compared with single rate, 177; rates in adjacent territory, 175, (Table) 176; rates in residence and business wards, 178, 179, 180; rates variable, 173, 174; social and civic effect of, 178, 179; system abolished, 156, 208; system archaic, 3; system, inequalities resulting from, 159, 173; system maintained after consolidation with Allegheny, 174

Tax districts—
Separate school, sixty-three, 173

Tax exemptions, 200–205, 461–463, 468; basis for, 202, 203, 204; effect of state fiscal policy on, 202; of Allegheny County Light Company property, 202; of Allegheny Heating Company property, 202; of Central District and Printing Telephone Company property, 202; of commercial property, 200, (Table) 201, 461–463, 468; of Consolidated Gas Company property, 202; of manufacturing properties, 173; of noncommercial property, 200; of Pennsylvania Railroad property, 201; of Philadelphia Company property, 202; of Pittsburgh and Allegeheny Telephone Company property, 202, 462; of Pittsburgh and Castle Shannon Railroad property, 202; of public service corporations, 159, 160, 173; of quasi-public service corporations, 203; of real estate unjustifiable, 204; railroad real property in Allegheny entitled to, by court decision, 203; railroad right of way entitled to, by court ruling, 203; seeming justification for, 203, 204; special act affecting, 203, 462–463

Tax laws—
New, backed by civic organizations, 156

Tax problem, 156–160; cases cited showing, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171

Tax rate—
Actual and nominal in different localities by property groups, (Table) 188, 189, 190, 191; increase in, to cover leakages and exemptions, 197; on "agricultural" property, 160; on buildings, halving, a solution of housing problem, 209, 211; incentive to develop vacant land, 209; legislation, 56; means development of city, 210, 211; precedent for, 211; recommended by housing committee of Civic Commission, 208; socially desirable, 210, 211; in foreign countries, 211; on "full city" property, 160; on "rural or suburban" property, 160

Tax rates—
A measure of pressure of taxation, 175; actual city, applied to real estate on basis of assessed valuation, 185, (Table) 188–191, 456–459; actual city, inequalities of, 185; actual, in different localities in order of size of rate, (Table) 188–191; Allegheny's municipal costs a burden on, 22; decline in, under Mayor Guthrie, 22; for current expense,

separate indebtedness, and schools, 456–459; general, actual, and nominal, in different localities, 186, 187 (Table) 188–191; comparison of, in residence and business wards, (Table) 180, 181; disproportions of land classification and separate ward rates accentuated in, 186; effect of school millage on, 180; effect on city's income had maximum or minimum been universally assessed, 192; graphic division of localities into three groups according to, 185, 186; nominal, by wards, in order of size of rate, (Table) 180; results of combined classification and separate ward, 181–193; schedule of, used by assessors in 1910, (Table) 176; separate, simplification of, 212; six different, in new eighteenth ward, 176; sub-district school, 459; ward, (Table) 181; ward, method of figuring, 178, 179

Tax revenue—
Leakages in, 197–200; suggestions for method of collecting, handling, and conserving, 212

Tax system—
Any mitigating elements in, 193, 197; distinctive features of, 173; in Boston, 177; in New York, 177, 196, 197; in Philadelphia, 160, 161, 163; in Washington, D. C., 177; inequalities of old, 56; phases of, deserving attention, 193; reform in, 27, 212, 213; unprogressive, 204

Tax valuation of Frick Building, 179

Taxable value—
Difference between, and cash value, 163

Taxation—
And revenue, report on, 193, 197; burden of, aggravated by lack of publicity, 193; changes necessary in administration of, 211, 212; confusion in regard to, caused by redistricting, 175; definition of, by Professor Bastable, Adam Smith, Montesquieu, and in United States Bulletin, 206; disproportion of, 156–213; disproportion of, a burden on the small man, 160, 173, 179, 180, 186–193, 204, 205; disproportion aggravated by tendency to scale down assessments, to undervalue large properties, and by triennial assessment plan, 197, emphasized by its magnitude, 192; inequalities of, 160, 173, 186–192, 204, 205, 210; modern view of, 205–211; payment-for-benefit theory of, 205, 206, 208; proportional, fairness of, 207, 208; supplementary inquiry into, 160

Taxation of Land Values—
By William Smart, 207

Tax-bearing ability—
Tests of, 207, 208

Teachers. See *Children's institutions, School; Schools, parish*

Teachers' Association, 271, 272

Teaching. See *School teaching*

Technical men—
Element of, in population, 27

Technical schools. See *Carnegie Technical Schools*

Temperance. See *Liquor*

Tenement—
A modern city problem, 108–120

Tenement census, 116–118

Tenement house laws. See *Housing laws*

Tenement houses, (Map) 88; sociological data concerning, 116, 117. See *Houses, tenement*

Tenement Improvement Company, 90, 91; folder of 1893, 91

Tenements, model. See *Housing reform*

Tener, Governor, 25

Terminer. See *Court*

Territorial separation. See *Geographical divisions*

Thoroughfare—
Tunnel, proposed, 51

Thoroughfares, 50, 51; report of commission on, 50

Toll bridges, 20, 45, 53

Tonnage of products—
First city in, 12

Topography. See *Physical conformation*

"Town Beyond the Mountains," The, 7–10

Toy Mission, 335

Traction Company. See *Street railway*

Trade accidents—
Causing child dependency, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 437, 440; congestion in downtown section conducive to, 17; destroying family life, 3; problem in Skunk Hollow, 127

Trade, boards of. See *Boards of trade*

Trade conditions—
Causing child dependency, 429, 430, 436, 437

Trade diseases—
Causing child dependency, 429, 430, 431, 436, 437; congestion in downtown section conducive to, 17

Trade unionism—
Effect of immigration on, 13, 14; limitations of, 15

Transfers. See *Street railway*

Transit, street railway. See *Street railway*

Transportation—
Early, difficulties, 8; effect of inadequate, on housing situation, 122; facilities, 8, 14; facilities, effect of localization of, on industries, 14, improved, 53, new developments in, 21; physical improvements affecting, 53; physical obstacles to free, 44, 45; problems, 52, 53; report of commission on, 50

Truancy. See *School truants*

Tuberculosis—
Camp, open-air, 34; causing child dependency, 428, 429, 437, 440; effort to combat, 22; practical measures against, promoted by local boards of trade, 27

Tuberculosis League, 282

Tunnel—
South Hills, 51; thoroughfare, proposed, 51,

Twentieth Century Club, 33

Typhoid fever—
A water, economic, and politica problem, 64; augmented by insanitary privy vaults, 92; case rate per 100,000 by wards, (Map) 68; cases and deaths per 100,000 population from 1883 to 1907, (Diagram) 71; cases and deaths reported from 1883 to 1907, (Diagram) 70; cases, distribution by wards of, (Map), 167; cases reported from 1883 to 1908, 69; cases, short residence of one-fourth of, 82; caused by contaminated water supply, 64, 65, 66, 67, 71, 82, 84, 85; caused by springs and surface wells, 82; causing child dependency, 428, 429, 430, 437, 440; cost, 72–83; cost of, cases cited showing, 76, 77, 78, economic, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 85, social, 76–79; death rate per 100,000 by wards, (Map) 69; death rate per 100,000 compared with other large cities, (Table) 66; death toll from, shown by frieze, 63; destroying family life, 3; effort to combat, 22; endemic for thirty-five years, 65; excess mortality among girls from, 82; in congested downtown section, 17; infection, flies as carriers of, 82; infection, milk as a vehicle of, 82; morbidity records of, unreliable, 68, 69; prevalence of, connection between industrial expansion or recession and, 83, effect of acidity, alkalinity or low water, and season on, 82, 83, influence of disease in up-river settlements on, 83, loss of wages due to, 83; secondary causes, 79–81, 82; social consequences, 76–79

Typhoid Fever Commission—
Financed by Russell Sage Foundation, 35, 81; report of, 81, 82; study of epidemiological facts by, 35, 81, 82; summary of the report of the, 81–83

Typhoid Fever; Its Causation, Transmission and Prevention—
By George Chandler Whipple, 65

Typhoid, Thirty-five Years of, 63–86

Unionism. See *Trade unionism*

United States—
Bulletin, 206; commissioner of education, 301

United States Immigration Commission, 224, 225; report on the children of immigrants in schools, 273, 276, 278, 295, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 422

United States Steel Corporation. See *Carnegie Steel Company*

Unity—
Civic, growth of, 47–59; individualism responsible for lack of, 46, lacking, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 58; in charity work lacking, 46; in hospital and dispensary work lacking, 46; in social service lacking, 47; social, growth of, 53

University of Pittsburgh, 29, 30; co-operation of, with Playground Association, 30, 321

Uplift meetings, 54

Urban coherence, 21

Vacate, power to, 105–107, 111, 119; in Boston, Chicago, Jersey City, New York, Rochester, and Washington, 106

Vacation schools. See *Play, schools of*

Vancouver—
Reduced tax rate on buildings in, 211

Vandergrift, 122

Vaults, privy—
Abandoned by order of bureau of health, 93; contributing to insanitary housing conditions, 92, 93, 94; on premises adjacent to sewer prohibited, 107; on Saw Mill Run, 79; secondary cause of typhoid fever, 79, 80; typhoid fever augmented by, 92

Veiller, Lawrence, 89, 108

Ventilation—
Building regulations concerning, 108, 113

Vice—
Protest against spread of, 49

Village and city dangers, 109–110

Violation. See *Penalties*

Violation notices—
Resulted in demolition of Tammany Hall, 138

Visitation, board of—
Of children's institutions, 350

Vocational training—
In Carnegie Technical Schools, 29. See also *Children's institutions; Schools; Schools, parish*

Voters' League, 23, 25, 119, 253

Wage, living. See *School teachers*

Wage standard—
Effect of, on personal fortunes, 14; unprotected, 13

Wages—
Inadequate, 3; laborers, 3; loss of, due to prevalence of typhoid fever, 83; time, 5; women, 3

Walters, E. R., 119

Ward courts. See *Courts, aldermanic*

Ward school system. See *School board system, sub-district*

Washington—
Power of board of health in, to vacate, 106; tax system in, 177

Washington Park, 317, 318, 319, 320

Washington Park Fieldhouse, 333

Waste water. See *Housing conditions*

Watchword for Pittsburgh, 59

Water—
The long fight for pure, 83–86

Water-closets. See *Closets*

Water supply, 95; city, and distribution, 64; contaminated, responsible for typhoid fever, 64, 65, 66, 67, 71, 82, 84, 85; contaminating elements in, 65; effect of acidity or alkalinity in, on prevalence of typhoid fever, 82, 83; effect of low, on prevalence of typhoid fever, 82, 83; effort to improve, 22; general, system proposed, 52; inadequate, contributing to insanitary housing conditions, 95, 96; of Allegheny or North Side, 65;

of Old Pittsburgh, 64; of South Side, 65; provision for separate, 109; pure, delayed by politics, 83, 84, 85; pure, public campaign for, 34; report of commission on, 50

Weihl, Addie S., 37

Weil, A. Leo, 23

Weller, Charles F., 34, 496

West End—
Play space, 309

West Liberty—
Drained by Saw Mill Run, 93

Western Pennsylvania Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, 446

Whipple, George Chandler, 65

White slavery. See *Exploiters of women*

Wing, Frank E., 63–86

Women—
In public betterment work, 33; wages of, 3

Women's Christian Association, 344

Women's clubs. See *Federation of Women's Clubs*

Wood, Harmon and Company, 171, 172

Woodlawn, 122

Woods, Robert A., 7–43

Woods Run House, 37

Woodville County Home, 343, 344

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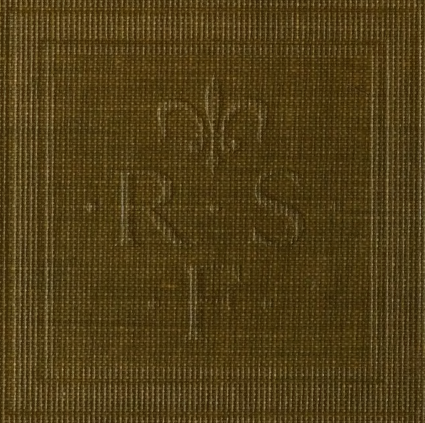
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